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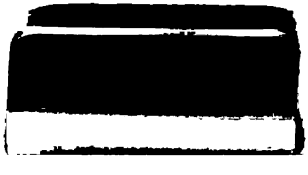

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METHODIST

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1876.

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METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1876.

ART. I.—AFRICA.

Livingstone's Last Journals. Harpers, 1875.
Baker's Ismaïlia. Harpers, 1875.
Schweinfurth's Heart of Africa. Harpers, 1874.

IN reading Livingstone's last book and comparing it with his two former works, "Missionary Researches," and the "Expedition to the Zambezi," one is struck with the tone of sadness that pervades the later volume. Its spirit is autumnal. The great discoverer of Lake Ngami, the Victoria Falls, Lakes Nyassa, Moero, Bangweolo and Kamolondo treads bravely on to the last, despite sickness, poverty, and African ignorance and perversity, "The first," says Waller, "to set foot on the shores of vast inland seas, and with the simple appliances of his bodily stature for a sounding pole, and his stalwart stride for a measuring tape, to lay down new rivers by the hundred," yet the cheerful elasticity of earlier years is gone, expended in toil and destroyed by disease in part: ingraved, in part, no doubt, with the partner of his youth and earlier missionary labors on the banks of the Shupanga. All through these "Last Journals," the reader discerns the veteran traveler's dominant passion, "to work while the day lasts," feeling that the afternoon shadows are lengthening, and that coming night sends forward its monitory chills. His latest anniversary prayers grow earnest, and finally agonizing:—

Jan. 1, 1871. O, Father, help me to finish this work to thy honor!
Jan. 1, 1872. May the Almighty help me to finish my work this year, for Christ's sake!

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March 19, 1872. Birthday—Grant, O gracious Father, that ere this year is gone I may finish my task.

March 19, 1873. (Sixtieth and last birth-day.) Can I hope for ultimate success? So many obstacles have arisen! Let not Satan prevail over me, O my good Lord Jesus! *

Belief in the divineness of his mission was an ever present stimulus to exertion, a living guarantee of ultimate success. Though, from the time when he became a geographical explorer, he ceased to draw pay from the funds of the Society, dropped direct missionary labor and immediate connection with the London Board, Livingstone never ceased to be a missionary. After nine years of peaceful and successful Christian labors among the Bakwains (1843 to 1852) a treaty between the English and the Dutch Boers, left the missionaries out in the cold and the station of Kolobeng was broken up, the mission premises plundered, and the natives driven to the mountains or carried into slavery. It was then that Livingstone uttered those plucky words that give the key to his future course. "The Boers," said he, "resolved to shut up the interior, and I determined to open the country, and we shall see who have been most successful in resolution, they or I." †

Which would beat, Dutch or Scotch? The next twenty years would show. He traversed Africa, from Linyanti to St. Paul de Loando on the Atlantic coast, (1853–4,) and then tramped down the Zambezi to Kilimane, (1855–6,) eleven thousand miles, discovered Victoria Falls, grander in some respects than Niagara, never before seen by European eyes, but "scenes so lovely must have been gazed upon by angels in their flight;" cut his initials on a tree, with the date, 1855, in the midst of their thunder and spray; the only instance in which he indulged in this piece of vanity. The expedition to the Zambezi, in 1858, was organized to explore its mouths and tributaries, with a view to their being used as highways for commerce and Christianity to pass into the vast interior of Africa. In 1866 the veteran traveler was at Zanzibar, setting out upon a tour of exploration from which he never returned.

In these twenty years of geographical research he never laid aside his missionary character or remitted his missionary

* "Livingstone's Last Journals," pp. 354, 405, 414, 497.

† "Travels and Researches," p. 45.

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labors. The Christian Sabbath was always duly observed, and, to the last, a portion of the day was set apart for public prayers, reading the Scriptures, and instructing the natives or his camp followers. Jan. 12, 1869, he writes: "Short of food; obliged to travel on Sunday. We had prayers before starting, but I always feel that I am not doing right—it lessens the sense of obligation in the minds of my companions; but I have no choice."

One of the last entries in Livingstone's diary, one of those of which autograph fac-similes are given in the "Last Journals," "20th April, 1873," has the so-often-recurring "S," on which his editor remarks (p. 182) in a note: "In his journal the doctor writes 'S,' and occasionally 'service,' whenever a Sunday occurs;" and, at all times, during his travels "uses the services of the Church of England," though, on page 94, we find this characteristic note, (Sept. 16, 1866:) "The Prayer-book does not give ignorant persons any idea of an unseen Being addressed; it looks more like reading or speaking to the book. Kneeling and praying with the eyes shut is better than our usual way of holding divine service." Stanley's record is: "Each Sunday morning he [Livingstone] gathers his little flock around him, and reads prayers, and a chapter from the Bible, in a natural, unaffected, and sincere tone, and afterward delivers a short address in the Kisawahili language about the subject read to them, which is listened to with evident interest and attention."

It is this intense devotion to the moral and spiritual well being of the African, earnest belief in his susceptibility for instruction and elevation, and his ultimate conversion and regeneration, that weds Livingstone to the heart of the Christian world. Years ago he wrote: "I view the end of the geographical feat as the beginning of the missionary enterprise." He has opened the way, and his grateful countrymen, as one tribute to his memory, have raised fifty thousand pounds to found an industrial mission on Lake Nyassa, a region of which it is said in the "Zambezi," never before in Africa have we seen any thing like the dense population on the shores of Lake Nyassa. In the southern part there was "an almost unbroken chain of villages," "hundreds of men, women and children," "a wondering multitude," "a thicket of dark bodies."

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It is his life testimony against slavery, his labors for its suppression, his exposure of its horrors in its native home, that interest philanthropists more than his scientific discoveries. In his letter to James Gordon Bennett, Jun., November, 1871, he says: "If my disclosures regarding the terrible Ujijian slavery should lead to the suppression of the East Coast slave-trade, I shall regard that as a greater matter by far than the discovery of all the Nile sources together." Slavery, called by Wesley, in 1772, the "execrable sum of all villainies," was named by Livingstone, a hundred years later, *the open sore of the world*, a phrase so felicitous that his countrymen immortalized it by engraving it on his tomb-stone in Westminster Abbey.

Old as the human race, and a vice peculiar to hot climates, barbarism, or low civilization, slavery received a new impetus at the discovery of America. The new continent had boundless land, but lacked laborers, and forthwith sprung up trade in muscles and sinews. Africans were deported to slaughter virgin forests, to test the capability of virgin soils, and to enrich both hemispheres with sugar, tobacco, cotton, and wines. It is due to the terrors of its harborless coast, the malaria of its mangrove swamps, its burning deserts, its dangerous beasts and reptiles, its impenetrable jungles, its wary tribes, prepared either for fight or flight, that Africa was not entirely depopulated to satisfy the greed of Christian nations for slaves during the last four centuries.

For the last hundred years, since, by the burning words of Clarkson, Wilberforce, and Wesley, the Christian conscience of England was aroused on the subject, (England was last to engage in the nefarious traffic and first out of it,) the wants and woes of the oppressed sons of Ham have fixed the attention of philanthropists steadily on Africa. Outlawed in England, abolished in the British possessions, made piracy on the high seas, expelled from the American continent, slavery, after having made the tour of the world, has been driven back to its original birthplace, the starting-point of the human race, where the corners of the three Eastern continents touch each other, where the Japhetic, Semitic, and Cushite races meet and mingle, the present possession of Turk and Moslem; there, pursued by the hostile sentiment of Buddhist and Christian,

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slavery cowers to-day, feebly protected by Sultan and Khedive, who protest against it, in compliment to the sense of the age, while they foster it or wink at it in concession to the ignorance and barbarism of the mass of their own subjects, who are yet insensible to its vileness and atrocity. In its mature age this blood-thirsty, world-hunted wolf has taken refuge in the land that cradled its infancy. There, we may hope, it will be speedily strangled and die.

In "Zambezi" Livingstone complains of the duplicity of the feeble Portuguese government on the slave question, as Baker complains of the two-sidedness of the Egyptian officials on the same question. While the slave-trade is destroyed, and slavery professedly abolished, it is still carried on to a frightful extent in the negro countries of the interior. In 1869 Livingstone wrote of Ujiji:—

> This is a den of the worst kind of slave-traders; those whom I met in Urungu and Itawa were gentlemen slavers; the Ujiji slavers, like the Kilwa and Portuguese, are the vilest of the vile. It is not a trade, but a system of consecutive murders; they go to plunder and kidnap, and every trading trip is nothing but a foray.*

On July 15, 1871, the Arabs perpetrated a fiendish massacre of unoffending and unsuspecting natives, in Livingstone's presence, in the Manyuema country, by firing upon dense masses of men, women, and children in a crowded market-place, and killing, by shooting or drowning, three or four hundred persons. He says:—

> When endeavoring to give some account of the slave-trade of East Africa it was necessary to keep far within the truth, in order not to be thought guilty of exaggeration, (something Livingstone always abhorred;) but, in sober seriousness, the subject does not admit of exaggeration. To overdraw its evils is a simple impossibility. The sights I have seen, though common incidents of the traffic, are so nauseous, that I always strive to drive them from memory. In the case of most disagreeable recollections I can succeed, in time, in consigning them to oblivion; but the slaving scenes come back unbidden, and make me start up at dead of night, horrified by their vividness.†

The White Nile trade is, similarly, a trade of kidnapping and murder. In his "Albert Nyanza" Baker tells us how it

* "Livingstone's Last Journals," p. 292. † Ibid., p. 442.

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was done in 1861, and similar accounts may be found in all the books on Africa. A trading party makes its way into the interior, establishes intimacy with some negro chief, and forms an alliance to attack a hostile neighbor.

> Marching through the night, guided by their negro hosts, they bivouac within an hour's march of the unsuspecting village, doomed to an attack, about half an hour before the break of day. Quietly surrounding the sleeping village, they fire the grass huts in all directions, and pour vollies of musketry through the flaming thatch. Panic-stricken, the unfortunate victims rush from their burning dwellings, the men are shot down like pheasants in a battue, while the women and children are kidnapped and secured, the herds of cattle are driven away, and the human victims, lashed together, form a living chain, while a general plunder of the premises ensues.

In January, 1863, he arrives at Gondokoro, and writes thus respecting it in the "Albert Nyanza:"—

> Gondokoro was a perfect hell. It is utterly ignored by the Egyptian authorities, although well known to be a colony of cut-throats. The camps were full of slaves, and the Bari natives assured me that there were large depots of slaves in the interior, that would be marched for shipment to Gondokoro.

The German traveler Schweinfurth, a botanist and draughtsman of eminent ability, to further the ends of science and discovery put himself in charge of these Nile slavers, lived in their zareebas or seribas, (fortified trading posts,) traveled in their escort, and witnessed their proceedings. In his two volumes he treats of slavery and slave-traders in dozens of places and has nothing good to say of either. In the hold of a Nile boat of fifty tons, "two hundred slaves are packed away." "The traders of Darfoor and Kordofan are as coarse, unprincipled, and villainous a set as imagination can conceive." Slaves die of starvation, are loaded with a heavy wooden yoke fastened to the neck, are belabored, even in a dying state, with the cruelest lashes. At the beginning of the century Mungo Park estimated that the slaves bore the proportion to the free of three to one of the population in Africa. Schweinfurth says, "Taken one with another, every Nubian possesses about three slaves," and he thinks the computation not too large that places the total number of private slaves in the country at between fifty and sixty thousand. There are boy-slaves, soldier-slaves, female household, and male farm drudges. The

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slave-trade on the Nile suppressed by Baker was "quite insignificant compared with the overland traffic;" the great source of the slave-trade is to be "found in the negro countries to the south of Darfoor." "The Egyptian government itself was the first to teach its subjects to kidnap slaves:" "it is the fashion of good society in Egypt to have a house full of slaves:" "the traveler in these lands is kept in a constant state of irritation by what he sees; on every road he meets long troops of slaves; on the sea and round the coasts he comes in contact with Arab boats crammed full of the same miserable creatures." Dr. Schweinfurth suggest plans for suppressing the slave-trade, but is hopeless of reform or amelioration "until the slave-trade is not only held in check at its sources, but also stopped at its outlets." This, he thinks, can only be effected by foreign interference, placing the negro countries that suffer most from the slave-trade under the protection of European governments by founding States expressly for their defense. The reigning Khedive is willing to suppress slavery, but is powerless to do it in the face of interest, fashion, and the indolence bred by a hot climate and the indifferentism of the Mohammedan religion. Dr. Schweinfurth's chapter on slavery* is worthy of attentive perusal.

The author of "Ismaïlia," Sir Samuel W. Baker, the owner of a dozen honorary titles, is a Ceylon elephant hunter transformed into an African explorer and philanthropist. In 1861 he entered upon the "exploration of the Nile tributaries of Abyssinia." His first great discovery was that the "Atbara was the parent of Egypt." Dry through a greater portion of the year, in the rainy season it filled its banks to overflowing, and "mud rushed in torrents down countless water-courses," hurrying away to form the fertile soil of Egypt. Baker's first year in Africa was one of apprenticeship, and the account of it is a pleasant record of hunting exploits, adventures with antelopes, buffaloes, crocodiles, hippopotami, rhinoceroses, giraffes, lions, and elephants. A more serious undertaking was his trip from Khartoum to Gondokoro, (December, 1862, to February, 1863,) where, in the middle of February, he met Speke and Grant, "ragged, care-worn specimens of African travel," who had successfully traversed the whole distance from Zanzibar to

* "Heart of Africa," vol. ii, pp. 410–442.

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the lake sources of the White Nile. On March 14, 1864, he made his grand discovery of Lake Albert Nyanza, and on his return to England published, in 1866, an interesting volume with the name of the new lake for a title. In it he says:—

> What curse lies so heavily upon Africa? . . . it is the infernal traffic in slaves. Nothing would be easier than to suppress this infamous traffic were the European powers in earnest. Every European government *knows* that the slave-trade is carried on to an immense extent in Upper Egypt, and that the Red Sea is the great Slave Lake by which these unfortunate creatures are transported to Arabia and Suez. . . . All idea of commerce, improvement, and the advancement of the African race, must be discarded until the traffic in slaves shall have ceased to exist.

But Baker's greatest work is chronicled in the "Ismaïlia," a narrative of the expedition to Central Africa for the suppression of the slave-trade, organized by Ismail, Khedive of Egypt, a marvel every way: first, that an Egyptian ruler should attempt to abolish slavery at all in the face of the inveterate prejudices fostered by the custom of his race and state for immemorial ages, extending away back to the time, or rather far beyond the time, when Hebrew Joseph was sold into Egyptian slavery; and, secondly, that the Khedive, a Moslem, should intrust the work to a Christian, and endow him with ample means and unlimited power, even of life and death, over those under his command. This was "carrying the war into Africa" in earnest. While British cruisers had been obliged to confine their operations to the outside coast, here was a determined blow struck at the very heart of the evil, the central mart of the traffic. Schwienfurth, to be sure, intimates that but little was accomplished either by Baker or the viceroy. "Satisfied with having, in the eyes of the world at large, made a clean sweep of the upper waters of the Nile, Sir Samuel and his supporters did not perceive, or could not remedy, what was going on on either side of the great river highway." Probably the overland slave-trade along the roads of Kordofan had never been so flourishing as in the winter of 1870–71, just after Baker had commenced scouring the Upper Nile, and, by capturing all slave vessels, left no doubt of the earnestness of his purpose.* To our mind, the moral effect of Baker's outfit and expedition

* "Heart of Africa," vol. ii, pp. 410, 411.

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was greater than the actual results. It was much even to have "scotched the snake."

Baker had the organizing genius of a Colbert, the energy of a Cromwell, the executive ability (on a small scale) of a Bonaparte, and the ready mother-wit of a Ben. Butler. His employments were as various as his resources were endless. He "bags" elephants, hippopotami, and crocodiles; stalks gazelles; fishes in all waters; tans hides; makes a ferry-boat of his bath-tub, or extemporizes an impromptu raft from bundles of dry grass; fights boa constrictors; makes arrow-root; heads off deserters; tells us how to make a horse to swim a river; boils soap, and preserves flesh, fat, and bread for a journey. It is something of a misfortune that he is the hero of his own epic. He is not offensively egotistical, but his book might have had for a motto Cesar's celebrated dispatch, read not according to the "new-fangled" continental pronunciation, but after the Old and New England style of vocalizing Latin, and written with a visible *ego*, thus: "*ven-I, vid-I, vic-I.*" On page 18 he says:—

> It is impossible to know the actual number of slaves taken from Central Africa annually, but I should imagine that at least fifty thousand are, positively, either captured and held in the various zareebas (or camps,) or are sent *via* the White Nile and the various routes overland by Darfur and Kordofan.

Armed with a firman from the good intentioned Khedive, Baker had built in England four steam vessels for navigating the inland seas of Africa, transported them in sections, with immense labor and pains, as far as he could find the means of transport, "hundreds of miles across the Nubian desert, and by boats and camels, alternately, from Alexandria to Gondokoro, a distance of three thousand miles." While he was about it, with the prudent foresight of a commander, who knows that "out of sight out of mind," he laid in every thing that could be deemed necessary to secure the success of the expedition: "steam saw-mills," "galvanized iron magazines," "Manchester cotton and woolen goods," "tools of all sorts," so that "the magazines could produce any thing, from a needle to a crowbar, from a handkerchief to a boat sail." Six steamers were to ascend the Nile to Khartoum, fourteen hundred and fifty

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miles," with fifteen sloops and fifteen Nile boats, or thirty-six vessels, to convey his merchandise; three steamers and twenty-five vessels were to carry his troops; his whole river force to be nine steamers and fifty-five sailing vessels, a flotilla as formidable as that which rode the Mississippi during the rebellion. For military he was to have troops, cavalry, and artillery. The first division of heavy baggage started August 29, 1869, but his instructions were neglected, and his plans thwarted. His unpopular expedition was opposed openly, or secretly undermined by all parties. "It was a house divided against itself. The Khedive would issue orders in the north that would be neutralized by his own authorities in the south." *

There were some ridiculous sides to the matter. Baker is a humorist, and never fails to show up the mirth-provoking. The cavalry promised him would have rivaled Falstaff's infantry; "two hundred and fifty riders" mounted on "lank, half-starved horses; round, short horses, horses that were all legs; others that were all heads;" the accouterments and riders were of a piece with the steeds. Baker dismissed the whole squad with equivocal compliments.

When he was ready to sail from Khartoum, there was a general stampede of boatmen to avoid being impressed into the hated expedition. The Egyptians, by delays, thwarted plans that they could not destroy by open force. The grass barriers—vegetation filling and clogging the Nile, changing the face of a running stream into an interminable swamp—were a fearful hinderance to his progress up the river. "The greater portion of his Egyptian regiment was composed of felons convicted of offenses in Cairo, 'ticket-of-leave' men transported to the White Nile. The first suspicious vessel he overhauled was 'innocent' looking enough, but yielded when searched a hundred and fifty slaves, 'a mass of black humanity,' boys, girls, and women, closely packed like herrings in a barrel." To furnish employment for his men, while advance was impossible, he put thirty acres of the river bank under cultivation, and at once had a practical illustration of the beauties of African farming, worse than western grasshoppers. Guinea-fowl did terrible damage, small birds of the sparrow tribe

* "Ismailia," p. 28.

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infested the newly-sown land in clouds; worse than these were vast armies of great ants; the large, crimson-headed goose of the White Nile flocked in great numbers to the new farm, while mole-crickets attacked the crops in formidable numbers."

Arrived at Gondokoro in the spring of 1871, he recommences gardening, and vents a philanthropic suggestion: "I believe that a taste for gardening has a most civilizing influence among savages; and if I were a missionary I should commence with such practical teaching, thus proving, in joint labor with the natives, the principle that industry and peace will create prosperity." * At Gondokoro, as at Khartoum, the expedition to destroy slavery was suspected, thwarted, and silently resisted, both by resident slavers and their allies, the native tribes. The policy of these allies was to starve Baker's troops into the necessity of evacuating the place and returning to Khartoum. In May, 1871, Baker and his force went through with the ceremony (we are half disposed to call it farce) of officially annexing Gondokoro to the dominions of the Khedive of Egypt, and changing the name of the place from Gondokoro to Ismaïlia, in compliment to his patron prince.

The German, Schweinfurth, who recommends European interference to stop African slave-trading, objects to this being undertaken single-handed by the feeble Khedive of Egypt, himself a dependent upon a higher power. In volume second he says:—

> The conquest of Darfur by the Egyptians would be a great step in advance, but I most emphatically protest against Ismail Pasha being allowed to send Turkish troops into the heathen negro countries. The kindest thing the enlightened ruler of Egypt can do for these lands is to let them alone. . . . Any assistance to be expected from the Khedive, under the circumstances, is quite a delusion. It is commonly supposed that the ruler of Egypt is a despot of the purest water; this, however, is a great mistake. . . . He is no more than a viceroy; the high-sounding Persian title of Khedive, which he assumes is, in reality, no more than a title.†

Relief must come to the suffering negro from some more efficient quarter. The Christian-moslem general's most efficient helpers were his body-guard, which early in the march

* "Ismaïlia," p. 129. † "Heart of Africa," pp. 442, 441.

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of the expedition he christened "the forty thieves," a band which became the "nucleus of military morality," for the virtuous "forty" would neither steal, nor sully their ranks by admitting a thief. In connection with this compliment to the honesty of his vagabonds, Baker volunteers another of those philanthropic plans, with which his books are sprinkled, for missionizing heathen Africa. His theory is, that civilization precedes Christianity, and hence any thing to convert idle savages into decent men, except preaching the Gospel. Just now he would civilize by giving them a taste for agriculture, now he would send them to military schools. He says:—

> I believe, that if it were possible to convert the greater portion of African savages into disciplined soldiers, it would be the most rapid stride toward their future civilization. A savage who has led a wild and uncontrolled life must first learn to obey authority before any great improvement can be effected.*

A more peaceful and agreeable style of taming barbarians, and one better adapted to influencing Africans, is suggested, namely, the use of music:—

> The music of our band, produced by bugles, drums, and cymbals, aided by a military bass-drum, might not have been thought first-rate in Europe, but in Africa it was irresistible. The natives are passionately fond of music. I believe the safest way to travel in these wild countries would be to play the cornet without ceasing, which would insure a safe passage. A London-organ grinder would march through Central Africa followed by an admiring and enthusiastic crowd, who, if his tunes were lively, would form a dancing escort of most untiring material. . . . A man who, in full highland dress, could at any time collect an audience by playing a lively air with the bagpipes, would be regarded with great veneration by the natives, and would be listened to when an archbishop by his side would be totally disregarded. He should set all psalms to lively tunes, and the natives would learn to sing them immediately. Devotional exercises should be chiefly musical.†

This hint should not be lost on future missionaries. An African's religion finds vent at his heels, as well as through his vocal organs.

"At sunset all Africa dances." Songs and dances form no

* "Ismaïlia," p 165. † Ibid., pp. 281, 488.

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inconsiderable part of the worship at a Southern colored camp-meeting. If we were constructing a ritual for the race we should certainly include this Shaker element, and give a place to the "poetry of motion," as well as to the poetry of speech and song. The king of the Monbutte, Munza, who now idolatrously dances before wives and courtiers, when he becomes a Christian should be instructed to "dance before the Lord with all his might," and the wandering minstrels of the land should be taught to sing the "songs of the Lord" in place of profane and ribald verse.

Baker's declaration of annexation was followed by war with the Bari, natives of the country; by disaffection in the ranks of the invaders, who, from inveterate habit, could not understand a style of warfare that did not include burning villages, plundering the country, killing of the males, and enslaving the women and children for the personal profit of the marauders. The Arab slavers also banded against the government troops and offered resistance. Abou Saood was one of those slave factors to whom the Egyptian Government had leased a portion of negro territory for plunder, over which it had no more jurisdiction than it had over the lands of the Khan of Tartary. Baker represents him as a vicious, villainous, intriguing scoundrel. He was evidently a great thorn in the pasha-general's side.

On his return to Cairo, August, 1873, the tourist conqueror complained personally to the Khedive of the conduct of this man, and filed a formidable bill of charges which he was not permitted to prosecute. The melancholy "finis" to Ismaïlia is, "after my departure from Egypt, Abou Saood was released and appointed assistant to my successor," (Col. Gordon.) The king slaver of the White Nile, instead of being punished, was rewarded. Perhaps he has become as virtuous as one of Baker's "forty," and is now the scourge of slave hunters. Thieves, when enlisted in government service, make the best of detectives. Abou Saood may turn out an Egyptian Vidocq. Meanwhile Egypt revels, in slaves and Arab slavers devastate inner Africa. When shall the end come?

In a review of the moral and religious needs of Africa we are only secondarily interested in the solution of geographical problems. The Nile sources still elude discovery. Stanley

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and Livingstone found the Rusizi, contrary to former supposition, flowing *into* the northern end of Lake Tanganyika; yet Baker, in the appendix to Ismaïlia, still clings tenaciously to the idea that "there must be a channel," undiscovered by Stanley and Livingstone, "which connects Tanganyika with the Albert Nyanza." The Lualaba of Livingstone, he thinks, (with Dr. Beke,) cannot be included in the Nile basin. Schweinfurth discovered a large river, the Uielle, or Wielle, flowing from east to west, which completely cuts off the basin of the Nile. Speke has not a doubt that "old Father Nile rises in the Victoria Nyanza." Stanley criticises Speke, and says, "never was such a costly expedition so barren of results, as this of Speke and Grant." They did not even get the latitude of Ripon Falls! Baker lays Speke's lake under contribution, and says positively, "the Victoria and Albert lakes are the two sources of the Nile." Burton's lake, the Tanganyika, as well as Speke's, must run through Baker's! With all this parade of assertion, we are not satisfied. The Pasha of Egypt it was, we think, who said that every traveler, from Herodotus down, had his own private sources of the Nile. Livingstone is more modest. On May 30, 1872, he says:—

> In reference to this Nile source I have been kept in perpetual doubt and perplexity. I know too much to be positive. The Lualaba may turn out to be the Congo, and Nile a shorter river after all. The fountains flowing north and south seem in favor of its being the Nile. Great westing is in favor of the Congo. It would be comfortable to be positive like Baker! How soothing to be positive!*

The mystery of the Nile, dark now, will some day be cleared up. Providence does not vouchsafe to any one man, or any single generation, the solution of all its problems. Livingstone did a noble share, and died regretting that he could not do more. We share his pangs, when, at the utmost verge of western exploration, with, apparently, only a hundred miles more between him and the solution of the problem of the ages, he was compelled, through the obstinacy of his men and the conduct of the wretched Arab slavers, to turn back to Ujiji from the very threshold of success. Why could he not have held on his way westward till he reached the Congo, and found be-

* "Livingstone's Last Journals," p. 428.

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tween Tanganyika and the Atlantic those "teeming millions" Stanley dreams of, "who never saw or heard of the white people, who make such a noisy and busy stir outside of Africa." It was not so to be. Something must be left for others to achieve. He did his proportion. It is mournful to hear him say, "If I could only have gone one month farther, I could have said, 'the work is done.'" He discovered so much that discovery became commonplace to him. Other travelers are immortalized by a single success. Park, by two visits to the Niger; Barth, by a trip to Timbuctoo and Lake Tchad; Burton, by the discovery of Tanganyika; Speke, by seeing the two ends of the Victoria Nyanza; and Baker, by touching the northern end of the Albert Nyanza. Says Stanley:—

> Suppose Livingstone, following the custom of the travelers, had hurried to the coast after he had discovered Lake Bangweolo to tell the news to the geographical world; then returned to discover Moero; and now away again, then come back once more to discover Kamolondo, and then race back again; had he followed the example of ordinary explorers he would have been racing backward and forward to tell the news instead of exploring. He might have been able to write a volume on the discovery of each lake, and earned much money thereby.

Horace Waller, editor of the "Last Journals," says:—

> On the 18th of July, 1868, Dr. Livingstone discovered one of the largest of the Central African lakes. It is extraordinary to notice the total absence of all pride and enthusiasm, as, almost parenthetically, he records the fact. Livingstone's Journal reads thus:—"*July* 17. Reached the chief village of Mapuni, near the north bank of Bangweolo. On the 18th I walked a little way out, and saw the shores of the lake for the first time, thankful that I had come safely hither."—P. 250.

Less than five years later, the undaunted and devout traveler was to breathe his last on the southern shores of this same Bangweolo, and his remains, in charge of his faithful African attendants, Wainwright, Chuma, and Susi, were to make the circuit of this noble sheet in their route to the distant coast and still more distant final resting-place.

Of small account are Livingstone's numerous discoveries to us if they have simply awakened curiosity respecting the geography of Inner Africa. The social condition of its numberless tribes, their moral character, their religious and educational

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improvability, their position in the scale of humanity, the possibilities of their being civilized and made useful members of the great world-family, are problems of the highest interest, worthy of earnest contemplation and devout study. The difficulties in the way of African regeneration are numerous and appalling: the child-character of the negro intellect, the absence of central government, the multiplicity of tribes, the mutual jealousies of the tribes, drunkenness, demonology, cannibalism, polygamy, all these, and scores of other formidable hinderances, exist in the way of African improvement. Transient visitors to the continent, scientists like Schweinfurth, fancy tourists like Reade, bilious philosophers like Burton, amateur philanthropists like Baker, sportsmen like Cumming and Baldwin, either give the negro up in despair, or propose impracticable plans for his education. Now and then Livingstone vents his impatience with the whole tribe of Negro abusers and speculative civilizers. In a letter to "The New York Herald" he says:—

> The irritability produced by disease made me pig-headed. The same cause operates with modern travelers, so that they are unable to say a civil word about the natives. Savages seldom deceive you, if put upon their honor; yet men turn up the whites of their eyes, as if deception showed an anomalous character in the African. Modern travelers affect a tone of moral superiority that is nauseous.

Schweinfurth is almost the only traveler in Africa that was fever-proof. Burton, Speke, Stanley, and even Livingstone himself at times, were terribly handled by the inevitable malaria that slaughters so many Europeans.

It is a pet notion with certain semi-skeptical travelers and writers that Mohammedanism is to do great things for Africa, though Barth, Baker, and Livingstone deemed its influence baleful in the extreme. Burton and Reade affect to believe that the blacks are to be civilized through Mohammedanism. An intelligent Arab assured Livingstone that "no attempt was ever made by Mohammedans to proselyte the Africans," whereupon the author of the "Last Journals" remarks:—

> As the Arabs in East Africa never feel themselves called on to propagate the doctrines of Islam among the heathen Africans, the statement of Captain Burton, that they would make better mis-

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sionaries to the Africans than Christians, because they would not insist on the abandonment of polygamy, possesses the same force as if he had said, Mohammedans would catch more birds than Christians because they would put salt on their tails.—P. 224.

The Arabs are doing nothing, and will do nothing, for the regeneration of Africa. Their presence there is a blight and a curse to the continent. It is about as true of them as of their masters, that "where the Turk's foot comes no grass will ever grow," and much of this is due to Islamism. Schweinfurth and Livingstone both rejoiced to get into purely heathen negro countries, and so did Park and Barth. The inland, uncorrupted natives were confiding, unsuspicious, child-like, hospitable according to their means, honest, peaceable, easily amused, delighted with simple presents, readily satisfied and eager to trade, and, like all unsophisticated tribes, easily imposed on. The Arabs, as they penetrate the interior, put an end to all this. Fire-arms were superior to spears and bows and arrows, and the *rôle* which the devilish white has mercilessly enacted among the Indians of the Western Continent and among all the tribes of the Islands of the Seas has been enacted in Inner Africa. The natives are cheated, debauched, made drunken, slaughtered with fire-arms, enslaved, plundered, driven to the mountains, scattered, peeled, and destroyed.

In the wake of this baleful tide of ruin comes Christianity. Superadded to native superstitions are innumerable imported vices. The task of Christianity is a hard one. Its agents are Caucasians, and so are the authors of the foulest and most flagrant wrongs inflicted on the world's dark races. In China, the missionary cannot be distinguished by the natives by any difference in speech, clothing, color of countenance, or eyes, or hair, from the merchant or sailor who debauches the native women, and forced the rulers to legalize the trade in the deadly Indian drug, opium. The native African flies from the white missionary, as he would from the white slaver, after he has experienced the deadliness of the friendship of the Arab trader. Nowhere in the world can the missionary have access to the races in their primitive simplicity. The very ship that carries him to foreign shores is a pocket edition of all the deviltry practiced in the refined and civilized regions that sway the world's commerce, and, ten to one, the infection spread from that ship

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will be such that the labors of ten missionaries will not be able to eradicate it in twenty years. Every book on Africa speaks of the destructive power of Arab-moslem rule. The sole virtue modern Moslems manifest is respect for Europeans. In the days of Park and Bruce and Burckhardt a Christian entered Mohammedan countries at the risk of his life. Bonaparte's raid on Egypt was one of the first demolishing blows dealt on the barrier of sectarian exclusiveness. French occupation in North Africa, the French and British alliance with Turkey against Russia, the building of the Suez Canal, the influx of traders and tourists, the education of Mohammedan youth in Christian countries, and the employment of foreigners as engineers, architects, and military officers, together with the general spirit of the age, induced by community of interest, and knowledge through telegraphs, steamers, and railroads, have leveled every impediment to intercourse, and given the Moslems a high idea of Christian prowess, learning, and inventiveness. The visits of pashas to European courts have strengthened the impression and widened the catholicity, and it is due to this feeling that the Khedive of Egypt is, through an impetuous Baker and a cooler Gordon, cautiously working out the problem of African emancipation.

Whether European diplomacy, the direct interference of Christian governments, in accordance with the suggestions of Baker and Schweinfurth, would promote their work, is a question for time and experiment to settle. Slavery in Egypt is an ulcer more incurable than those which impeded poor Livingstone's progress in Manyuema. It is a cancer that has seated itself in the very vitals of the body politic, the social system of the oldest State in the world. It is not to be eradicated in a day. The Sultan of Zanzibar has lately visited Europe, and we may hope that this interchange of courtesies, and the consequent increase of knowledge, influence, and good feeling, may induce this potentate, after the measure of his ability, to put an end to the abuses that exist between Bagamoio and Lake Tanganyika, and that ere long a highway for legitimate trade may be opened up in the track of Speke and Grant, and that Nile tourists, instead of stopping at the cataracts, may brave the heats of the torrid zone and extend their pleasure trips to Gondokoro. (We beg Colonel Baker's pardon,

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we should have said "Ismaïlia," though we do not see how it honors this feebly conservative ruler that such a harbor for cut-throats should wear the name of his vice-royal highness.) Thence they may steam to Murchison Falls, cross over to Ripon Falls, navigate the two Nyanzas and Tanganyika, and make the acquaintance of Ujiji, and so on to Unyanyembi and Zanzibar.

The more important practical question is, if merchants, scientists, tourists, and explorers can manifest so much zeal for Africa, can stand its annoyances, live in its heats, and brave its malarias, why not missionaries? The question is already answered in isolated instances. Southern Africa is the best missioned of any portion of the globe. It has less than two millions of inhabitants, but it is under British protection, part of it under British colonial rule, all of it safe from conflict or trouble with Boers, natives, Portuguese, or Arabs. The Report of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society for the year ending April, 1874, says:—

> The importance of these regions is not to be estimated by the number of their inhabitants but by their character and ability. The European races naturalized in South Africa, and the natives brought under Christian and civilizing influences through Christian missions and the restraining power of colonial law, are the agents to which we look for the future civilization and Christianization of all Africa as far as Abyssinia. The European and native races are to be the future civilizers of half the African continent, and this conviction is the only excuse which can be made for the large number of European missionaries sent by the various Churches to South Africa, a number altogether disproportionate to the ordinary claims of so small a population, especially considering the crying necessities of China and India. But the Churches in South Africa must be considered as the spiritual nurseries for Africa generally. In the climate of South Africa, so remarkably favorable to European health, missionaries and teachers are training up races which will, we trust, in due time be the civilizers of the continent.—Pp. 666, 667.

The same Report discusses the prospects of Western Africa:—

> In West Africa the obstacles peculiar to the country which impede the progress of Christianity are serious, and will require years of patient labor to overcome. The climate is, to say the least, very unfavorable to the health of Europeans, and the neglect of sanitary measures has largely increased the injurious influence of the climate; hence the difficulty of carrying on plans of mis-

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sionary labor, especially educational efforts, amid the interruptions occasioned by the sickness or death of European laborers; this difficulty will lessen as suitable agents are raised up from among the natives. Beyond the narrow boundary of the English settlements and the Gambia, Christianity is confronted by semi-barbarous tribes, who, professedly Mohammedan, have for some hundred years past dominated over the negro races, and are especially opposed to Christianity. A recent governor of Sierra Leone imagined that this varnish of Mohammedanism was due to the missionary zeal of Mohammedan priests in our day, whereas it has been the growth of six or seven hundred years. No effort has been made to grapple with the corrupt Mohammedanism of these races, but missionaries are hoping that political or other changes may open up a way from the coast to the mountains and elevated table-lands of the interior, in which the climate is known to be favorable to the health of Europeans.—Pp. 82–84.

Of Ripon Falls, Speke says, "What a splendid place for missionaries! They could not starve, the land is so rich, and if they introduced farming they might have hundreds of pupils." At Lake Nyassa the Livingstones, in the Zambesi, say:—

From the number of aged persons we saw in the highlands, and the increase of the mental and physical vigor we experienced on our ascent from the lowlands, we inferred that the climate was salubrious, and that our countrymen might there enjoy good health, and also be of signal service by teaching the multitude of industrious inhabitants to cultivate cotton, sugar, and other valuable products to exchange for goods of European manufacture, at the same time teaching them by precept and example the great truths of our holy religion.

Gushing Stanley, in "How I Found Livingstone," says:—

Who wishes to civilize Africa? Four days by steamer bring the missionary to the healthy uplands of Africa, where he can live among the gentle Wasagara without fear or alarm; where he can enjoy the luxuries of civilized life without fear of being deprived of them, amid the most beautiful and picturesque scenes a poetic fancy could imagine. Here is the greenest verdure, purest water; here are valleys teeming with grain stalks, forests of tamarind, mimosa, gum-copal trees; here is the gigantic mvule, the stately mparamusi, the beautiful palm—a scene such as only a tropical sky covers. Health and abundance of food are assured to the missionary; gentle people are ready to welcome him. Except civilized society, nothing that the soul of man can desire is lacking to him! From the village Kadetamare a score of admirable mission sites are available, with fine, health-giving breezes blowing over them, water in abundance at their feet, fertility unsurpassed around them, with docile, good-tempered people dwelling every-where at

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peace with each other and all travelers and neighbors. The passes of Mukondokwa may admit the Gospel and its beneficent influences into the heart of savage Africa.—P. 234.

In the "Last Journals" Livingstone has heard that some one was building a house at Bagamoio, over against Zanzibar. Is it a sanitarium?

Possibly the erection of a huge establishment on the main land may be a way of laboriously proving that it is more healthy than the island. It will take a long time to prove by stone and lime that the higher lands, two hundred miles inland, are better still for longevity and work.—P. 334.

His editor, Rev. Horace Waller, adds in a note:—

Dr. Livingstone never ceased to impress upon Europeans the utter necessity of living on the high table-lands of the interior, rather than on the sea-board or the banks of the great arterial rivers. Men may escape death in an unhealthy place, but the system is enfeebled and energy reduced to the lowest ebb. Under such circumstances life becomes a misery, and important results can hardly be looked for when one's vitality is pre-occupied in wrestling with the unhealthiness of the situation day and night.

Chaillu reached the "Fans and their mountains," and says:—

The climate is, of course, much healthier than it is on the rivers near the coast, and the people in consequence are more robust and energetic. It is a most promising country for the labor and settlement of white men at some time, or of civilized blacks.*

In the Appendix to Ismaïlia Baker says:—

My opinion has been frequently asked on the subject of missionary labor, and many have endeavored to persuade me that a rapid change and improvement of the natives may be effected by such an agency. I cannot resist by argument such fervent hopes, but if good and capable men are determined to make the attempt they may now be assured of peace and security at Gondokoro, where they will have the advantage of the good name left by the excellent but unfortunate members of the late Austrian mission. —P. 496.

This Romish mission in the heart of Africa had a sickly life, barren results, and a tragic end. "Ont of twenty missionaries [it is Speke that writes] who during the last thirteen years (1863)

* "Equatorial Africa," p. 130.

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had ascended the White Nile for the purpose of propagating the Gospel, thirteen had died of fever, two of dysentery, and two had retired in broken health, yet not one convert had been made." The missionaries had no occasion to complain of the blacks, who would have been kindly inclined to the Europeans if the traders of the White Nile had not brought the devil among them. Time was when they brought food for sale; but now they turn their backs upon all foreigners, and even abuse the missionaries for having been the precursors of such dire calamities. Want of employment was the chief operative cause in killing the poor missionaries; for with no other resource left them to kill time, they spent their days in "eating, drinking, smoking, and sleeping, till they broke down their constitution by living too fast."* Perhaps, on the whole, Africa will be none the worse off for the loss of these loose-living celibates.

From the books of travelers several things are evident. One is, that there are spots in Africa where the Caucasian missionary can live and labor. Where are they? Another is, that some constitutions stand the climate better than others. Which are they? Important questions for missionary societies to consider and settle: Can Africans live better than whites in Africa? What are the future hopes of Africa through her children, who through slavery have been acclimated and naturalized in America?

Livingstone's editor says:—

> We may venture a word in passing on the subject of native recruits enlisted for service in Africa, and who return thither after a long absence. All the Nassick boys were native-born Africans, yet we see one of them succumb immediately. The truth is, that natives under these circumstances are just as liable to the effects of malaria on landing as Europeans, although it is not often that fever assumes a dangerous form in such cases. The natives of the interior have the greatest dread of the illnesses which they say are sure to be in store for them if they visit the coast.†

There are constitutions, like Schweinfurth's, that are fever-proof; there are others that acclimate after a period of trial; there are others to whom the climate is deadly from the begin-

* Speke, pp. 544, 545.

† "Livingstone's Last Journals," p. 57.

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ning. To Park's second expedition the malarial fever was terribly destructive. Barth's two companions died, Baldwin's fellow-sportsmen were cut off; a tragic fate overtook the expedition of the heroic Miss Tinné, a Dutch lady, who penetrated to Gondokoro, and there lost her mother, physician, and several attendants by the terrible fever. Bishop Mackenzie's mission on the Shire was broken up by disease and deaths; all are more or less sick, some survive, many die. Stanley's white servants both died; Burton and Speke were fearfully invalided, and Stanley "regarded the wormwood and fever tone of Captain Burton's book as the result of African disease." In his "Coomassie" Stanley asks, "What is the element which produces so much sickness among Europeans in Africa?" and discusses the question as to the presence or absence of ozone in the atmosphere:—

> In a town on the coast where statistics are kept, records prove that within eight years the deaths numbered 1,649, while the births were only 812, so that the deaths exceeded the births by 837. These people, with the poor marines who went into action in the Ashantee war 105 strong, and returned aboard ship only 25 in number, may well say with some of us who have come to the Gold Coast, "we do not live, we die."

On the other hand many live. Sir Samuel Baker and Mrs. Sir Samuel spent nine years in Africa; the Presbyterian missionary, Wilson, was eighteen years on the West Coast; Krapf about as long on the East Coast; Livingstone was thirty years in the country, and his father-in-law, Dr. Moffat, forty-five years among the heathen tribes. In the Methodist mission at Liberia the early missionaries died rapidly, but Miss Wilkins and Rev. John Seys withstood the climate for years.

The Christian world seems to be waiting the developments of physical geography before making missionary ventures in the lake regions of Central Africa. Lieutenant Cameron, Colonel Long, Colonel Gordon, and others, will soon have stories to tell of points settled and discoveries perfected. Stanley is, at this writing, as deeply buried in Africa as Livingstone was when Bennett commissioned his "Herald" reporter to go in search of the lost traveler.* Many things might be done for Africa, but the greatest possible is to put the Africans in position and disposition to help themselves. Their country is the

* Stanley has since circumnavigated Victoria Nyanza.

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fertile garden of the world, reeking in its own richness, deadly with the malarial poisons arising from the festering masses of its own rotting vegetation. How shall its marshes be drained, its rivers and lakes be made navigable for steamers, its wastes and deserts tracked with rail-roads, its communities combined into central governments, its peoples rendered industrious and put in possession of peace, freedom from oppression, and the enjoyment of the fruits of their own labors? When shall the African elephant and zebra be tamed, and rendered, like their congeners in other lands, useful beasts of burden? When shall the mowing machine level the tall grasses, the steam plow turn up the endless prairies, and the locomotive whistle be heard along the Nile to Khartoum, Gondokoro, or the lake regions? Shall the elephants be exterminated in the mad pursuit for ivory, as the whales have been driven from the seas, or shall some substitute be found for the beautiful material? or, better, shall herds of elephants be tamed, domesticated, and finally slaughtered for their hides, flesh, and tusks, as Cincinnati rears and slaughters swine to fill up the demands of civilization? When shall slavery and intestine war disappear, when shall temperance prevail, when shall men learn some better employment than idling, hunting, fishing, and war, and woman be emancipated and elevated to her true social position? When shall Africa exchange her savage lays for genuine music, learn oratory and fitting architecture and the comforts of civilized life? Is she ever to learn these, or is the negro, according to the theories of some, like the American Indian, a transition race, commissioned to keep the soil and roam the forests with the wild beasts during a given period, and then to pass away and give place to races who can develope the capabilities of the country? Is it to be done by whites, or by their own descendants, or by Asiatics? When India and China are evangelized, missionaries may sail from these countries to undo the work of Moslems and Arabs. What part is the Church that sustains this "Quarterly Review" to have in this work? For forty years, at considerable expense, the Methodist Episcopal Church has sustained mission work in Africa. It is, however, mostly in English and among the colonists; very little has been done for the natives in the interior. Stanley, in his "Coomassie," says:—

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We steamed by Liberia's low wooded shores without the chance to observe how the sable republic flourishes by a personal view of things. Report speaks evilly of her—of her pride and her vanity, of the disinclination of her children to work, and their pretensions to high-sounding titles and high places. Those on board the "Benin," who have stopped at Liberia, say that mostly every other man is styled "Honorable;" that the people are fonder of standing in groups in the streets to discuss politics than of bringing the produce of the rich back country into the market for sale, which, if true, is very disheartening.—P. 9.

Statistics may show more favorable than the second-hand reports of a newspaper reporter, but our missionary reports speak from year to year in a very discouraged and discouraging tone with regard to this mission in Africa. The Liberia Conference, at its session in 1874, says in a strain of yearning appeal:—

The universal cry of Liberia is, "Back to the interior!" back from the briny waves of the boisterous Atlantic to the peaceful, salubrious, and more inviting everglades and mountain fastnesses of the far interior. . . . Men of means cry to us from beyond the Atlantic waves, "Back to the interior!" . . . The Liberia Annual Conference stands ready and anxious, awaiting the advance of the mother Church in America to qualify her for this aggressive interior move . . . the most interesting portion of the work in connection with this conference is our native work, the work among the aborigines of the country. . . . We long for the time when the mother Church, through the Missionary Board, will, with a will, enter into missionary operations in Liberia as in days of yore. . . . We have stations among the heathen occupied by strong men, but they and their work are feebly sustained.

Is it not time that the great Methodist Episcopal Church struck out for a new site, a new lead, something to create new enthusiasm, in the heart of Africa? Southern Africa is well manned; western Africa has had its share of our beneficence for forty years; might we not kindle the zeal of our ministers, members, and youth over some new enterprise in the lake region, some elevated and healthy position, where life and labor, and not disease and death, would be the rule? Women can live and labor in Africa. Mrs. Livingstone accompanied her husband from the Cape to Lake Ngami, a thousand miles inland; Mrs. Baker braved the Nile to the Albert Nyanza, over two thousand miles from the Mediterranean and civilization.

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One of the most effective of the many choruses used by the union soldiers in the late rebellion was that which canonized the brave American who struck the first blow for the liberation of the blacks:—

> "John Brown's body lies moldering in the ground
> His SOUL goes marching on."

Livingstone would have coveted a grave on the banks of the Bangweolo. He lies among England's great in Westminster Abbey, with a motto commemorating his abhorrence of the curse of Africa for thirty centuries. In the amelioration of the condition of the sons of Ham in both hemispheres, in philanthropic efforts and future missionary plans, HIS soul also goes marching on.

ART. II.—THE PROPÆDEUTIC OFFICE OF THE ETHNIC RELIGIONS,

AND THEIR COMPARATIVE VALUE IN THE DIVINE EDUCATION OF HUMANITY.

"The law was our school-master to bring us unto Christ, that we might be justified by faith."—ST. PAUL.

"One article of our faith, then, is possible, that Christ is the first begotten of God, and we have already proved him to be the very Logos (or universal Reason) of which mankind are all partakers; and therefore those who live according to the Logos are Christians, notwithstanding they may pass with you as Atheists; such among the Greeks were Socrates and Heraclitus."—JUSTIN MARTYR.

"God is the cause of all that is good: only of some good gifts he is the primary cause, as of the Old and New Testaments; of others the secondary, as of (Greek) philosophy. But even philosophy may have been given primarily by him to the Greeks, before the Lord had called the Greeks also. For that philosophy, like a a school-master, had guided the Greeks also...toward Christ."—CLEMENT, of Alexandria.

THERE are two words in the passage quoted from St. Paul, at the head of this article, which are employed by the writer in a peculiar sense. That we may fully apprehend the great principle here enounced, we shall find it needful to fix the precise meaning of these terms. The first of them is *law*, the second is *justification*.

In attempting, therefore, to ascertain the exact sense in which

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these words are employed by Paul, and to apprehend the specific idea which he designs to convey, we must be guided, neither by etymological principles, nor by classic usage, but by the consensus and use of Scripture alone.

The sacred writers must be allowed the indisputable right to this privilege of authorship, namely, they may create new terms in which to express new ideas, or they may employ old terms in a new sense, and infuse into them a new conception, provided this is clearly indicated by the connection, or else exhibited by a paraphrase; and in seeking to interpret their thought, we are bound to explain their terms according to their own peculiar usage. First, of the word *law*. The Greek νόμος, like the English correlative, law, is a generic term. In its most comprehensive sense it denotes that which is fixed, determined, settled, either by an inherent, subjective nature, or by an external objective power. As that which is fixed, determined, settled, it becomes a norm or rule for either voluntary or involuntary action.

The word is most commonly used in Scripture to express a definite rule of conduct, prescribed and fixed by a competent authority—that is, it is the expression and embodiment of the *supreme reason* enforced by *power*. This generic conception runs through all, or nearly all, the subordinate, and accommodated, and even figurative uses of the term "law" in the sacred writings.

In many passages "the law" means the ecclesiastical and ceremonial law of the Old Testament economy. But even here the fundamental idea is retained. The ceremonial law was a rule prescribed by a competent authority for the government of religious worship, determining its modes and rites.

In other passages it denotes the Decalogue or ten commandments delivered to Moses. This is called, by pre-eminence, "the law," because it is the appointed rule of moral, that is, of voluntary conduct, which determines or settles what ought to be our behavior toward God, and our conduct toward our fellow-men. Again, in other passages, it designates Divine revelation in general — the whole revealed mind of God, whether it relates to faith or to action, the conduct of the understanding or the conduct of life. In all these subordinate uses of the term "law" there is involved the fundamental con-

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ception of a norm or rule for the government of conduct, imposed by a competent authority.

In the writings of the Apostle Paul we recognize that this term is largely extended in its scope, and assumes a more abstract character. Νόμος, when used by him, especially without the article, embraces all powers and principles which influence the will, and determine the conduct of man, either by the impulses of an inward disposition or the constraint of external motives, whether their behests be or be not expressed in definite form. These powers or principles are, in the last analysis, resolvable into the *ideas of the supreme reason.* Thus it is that we meet in his writings the frequent antithesis between "works of law" (ἔργα νόμου)—works done under the constraint of outward formal rules—and "works of faith"—that is, works performed freely under the internal influence of faith. Accordingly we find in his epistles such correlated forms of expression as "the law of faith," (Rom. iii, 27;) "the law of my mind"—νὸυς, or reason, (vii, 23;) "the law of the Spirit of life," (Rom. viii, 2,) to denote an internal principle, or disposition moving men to action, in contradistinction to an outward prescribed, formal rule; "the law of works," (Rom. iii, 27.)

A still more remarkable use of the word "law" is found in Rom. vii, 23, where the power of sin over the will of man arising from a corrupt disposition is called "the law of sin."

Law, then, in the Pauline conception, denotes any *ideas, sentiments, principles* inherent in the nature of man which determine his conduct. When discussing the relation of the heathen nations to the moral government of God, he declares that "though they have not been favored with an oral, a word-revelation of the will of God," they are "a law unto themselves;" that is, they are taught by a subjective nature—by their own reason and conscience, as by an inward law, what they ought to do. And this inward law, written upon their hearts, corresponds to the teaching of the outward law written on tables of stone, because both were written by the finger of God.

I think, therefore, we shall not be doing any violence to the doctrine of Scripture if we understand the word *law*, in its most comprehensive sense, as embracing the law of conscience as well as the law of Moses. Indeed, I think we shall not err if

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we regard the law as the teaching of the human conscience in general—the voice of the immanent God speaking to all human hearts, whether as distinctly articulated by the mouth of Moses and the prophets, or by the less specially illuminated teachers of the heathen world—those "prophets of the human conscience" who in the distant Orient—in Persia and China and India, in Greece and Rome and Alexandria and Arabia—proclaimed those moral principles whereby men found themselves allowed, forbidden, or excused in their dealings with their fellow-men and in their behavior toward God.* This interpretation is justified by the connection of the passage. "For if there had been a law given which could have given life, verily righteousness should have been by the law"—that is, if man could have been delivered from sin, and lifted up into spiritual power, and freedom, and purity, by an inherent law of conscience, or any inspired moral rules, no other agency would have been appointed,—"righteousness would have been wrought out by law." But so far from this being the case, "the Scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise by faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe." Wherefore before the Gospel was published we (both Jews and Gentiles) were kept in durance under law—shut up to this only way of deliverance, to make us embrace the faith which should afterward be revealed. So that "the law was our schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ, that we might be justified by faith."

The second term to be explained is *justification*, (δικαιοσύνη,) or, as it is used in the passage in the verb form, *justified*, (δικαιωθῶμεν.)

This is one of the most significant words in the New Testament—the central word, so to speak, of the Christian system of doctrine—the word, in fact, which expresses the whole of Christianity. Christianity is called "the righteousness of God." "I am not ashamed," says Paul, "of the Gospel, for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believes, for therein is the *righteousness of God* revealed;" that is, the Gospel is the revelation of God's method of *justifying* sinful men through faith. Or, to amplify the statement, the Gospel is God's method of making a sinful man actually righteous

* Merivale's "Conversion of the Roman Empire."

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through the power of faith. For, as it is scarcely necessary to remark, it is one and the same Greek word which in our English New Testament is translated *justification* and *righteousness.*

I am not unmindful of the fact that in Wesleyan theology we have been taught to render the Greek *δικαιοσύνη* exclusively by the word "forgiveness." Justification, we say, is "the pardon of sin." And here, I think, we are wrong. Justification—righteousness—is a generic term, embracing several specific terms, as pardon, adoption, and regeneration or sanctification.

Of course, to *justify* means to forgive sin, but it means more than this. It means to be "made free from sin," and to be constituted inherently and actually righteous. This is unmistakably the sense in which the term is used in Rom. vi, 6, 7: "Knowing this, that our old man is crucified with him, that the *body of sin might be destroyed*, that henceforth we should not serve sin. For he that is dead is *freed from sin;*" literally, "is *justified from sin.*" So also in Rev. xxii, 11: "He that is unjust, let him be unjust still: and he which is filthy, let him be filthy still: and he that is righteous, let him be righteous still:" literally, "he that is *justified*, or *made just*, let him be just still."

Many more passages might be given to show that the term justification is employed in so wide a sense as to embrace sanctification also. These are sufficient for our purpose. We claim that the *righteousness of God* (*δικαιοσύνη γὰρ Θεοῦ*, Rom. i, 17) expresses the whole economy—the whole method and process of human recovery or redemption; and that the phrase, *righteousness of faith*, (*δικαιοσύνη εν πίστεως*, Rom. v, 1–11,) comprehends the totality and unity of Christian consciousness, from its first dawning light in the soul to its complete fruition in the eternal day.

I now sum up what has been so far said in the following words:—

1. By the *righteousness of God*, I understand the whole scheme of Christianity on its Godward side. By the *righteousness of faith*, the whole development of Christianity on its historic and human side. In other words, I understand by these terms the *method*, the *means*, and the *experience* of redemption. This I call the *religion of grace.*

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2. By the *law* I understand all the forms of ethnic religion which have appeared in the world as the outgrowth of certain ideas and sentiments implanted in the human mind by God. These I call the *religions of nature, of reason and conscience.*

In so far as Judaism was a national religion, I include it under the latter; in so far as it bore within itself the seeds of a spiritual and universal kingdom of God, I include it under the former.

Now, in regard to all the forms of ethnic religion comprehended under the generic term *law*, I understand Paul to say that, in the providence of God, they all had a propædeutic office. "The *law* was a school-master to bring us to Christ." The force of the great principle, here enounced, is lost in the English word "school-master." The pedagogue (παιδαγωγὸς) was the person who led the child to school. He was not the teacher, but the faithful attendant, who brought the scholar to the master. "He was a domestic servant who accompanied the child to school, bearing his satchel, and guiding and urging his steps."

The law, whether as revealed in the conscience or the ten commandments, could not convey any spiritual life—any inward power and grace by which men could be saved from sin. Its office was to direct and urge the wandering steps of men, to awaken in their hearts the sense of sin, to shut them up to the need of a Redeemer from sin, and bring the race, as it were, into the presence of the great Master and Teacher, that it might learn of him the way of "salvation by faith."

The doctrine of Paul, therefore, is, that all the ages and dispensations of divine providence prior to the advent of Christianity—all the forms of civilization which preceded the Christian civilization—all the revelations of conscience anterior to the revelation of the New Testament—in a word, the *law*, in the fullest sense of that term, antecedent to the *Gospel*, was a preparation and a discipline for the reception of Christianity. This is the thesis we propose to discuss.

At the outset, then, it is best we should recognize the fact that the proposition we have thus formally announced must encounter strong opposition in the minds of unreflecting men in Christian communities. We have been so long accustomed to hear all the efforts of earnest thought to solve the

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problem of the relation of the finite to the infinite denounced as "false philosophy;" and all the systems of ancient mythology and the forms of pagan worship ascribed to the invention of satanic mischief, that we are unprepared, and even reluctant, to allow them any place in the divine plan of history, and to regard them as, in any sense, a preparation and a discipline for the reception of Christianity. It has become, with most of us, a settled habit of thought, to regard a verbal revelation as God's only method of action upon the human soul—a "book-revelation" as the only mode in which he can communicate his will to man. A revelation through the symbolism of nature, through the ideas of the reason, in the voice of conscience, in the mysterious sentiments and instinctive yearnings of the human heart, is foreign to our modes of thought. A privileged minority of our race, a mere fraction of the teeming millions of humanity, has been regarded as under the care and direction of God. The family of Abraham—the Jewish nation—have been thoughtlessly specialized as the immediate favorites of Heaven. To these God was pleased to make himself known, and for four thousand years the rest of mankind were, in a great measure, abandoned by God, and left to perish. The outlying millions of our race, who have not been favored with an oral revelation, and to whom Christ has not been preached, have, (to use the vigorous words of Dr. Whedon,) "by a sort of geographical predestination, been excluded from the covenant mercy of God, and damned by whole islands and continents."

One might have hoped that a living Arminian theology would long ago have sloughed off this putrescent mass of dead Calvinism. But we have scented this malodorous plague-spot in many a Methodist sermon. Preachers have sought to inflame our missionary zeal by highly colored pictures of heathen nations trooping *en masse* into the yawning gulf, because they have not believed on a Christ of whom they had never heard—of whom it was just as impossible for them to have heard, as of the politics of the moon. This is but another face of that "horrible decree" which consigns infants to perdition, who have neither the capacity nor the opportunity to know and believe on Christ. Such sermons never aroused our missionary zeal. They provoke hard thoughts of God, and foster unbelief.

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A moment's reflection ought to have convinced us that such conceptions are unworthy of that God "whose name is Love." They are utterly opposed to the teaching of that revelation which, by pre-eminence, we call "the word of God." Every revelation of God which was given to the favored race taught that he is "the Father of the families of all the earth," and that he is "not the God of the Jews only, but of the heathen (ἐθνη) also." "We are all his offspring." "His tender mercies are over all his works." He has compassion on all the sons of Adam. They are all the objects of his care, and the subjects of his providence. The origin, the history, and the destiny of every nation, has been ordered and controlled by him. "He has determined the time of each nation's existence, and fixed the geographical boundaries of their habitation, that they may seek after God, and feel after him, and really find him, who is not far from any one of us." Nowhere, and at no time, has the human soul been utterly abandoned by its Maker and Father. He has not for one moment forgotten, or ceased his action upon the human race. "God has set his heart on man, he visits him every morning, and tries him every moment." Even in heathen lands, the inspiration of God continually enlightens the *reason* of man; the eternal Word still speaks in the *conscience* of man; and the omnipresent Spirit still stirs the *heart* of man with desires and yearnings after a higher and nobler form of life. "The word of God," before he became incarnate, "was in the world, for it was made by him;" and in the ages before he taught the people in Judea, he was "the true Light that enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world," whether in heathen or in Hebrew lands. The mind of Confucius and of Zoroaster, of Pythagoras and of Anaxagoras, of Socrates and of Plato, of Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius, were visited and enlightened by the eternal Logos.* These men were raised up by God, and employed by divine providence as the lights and guides of heathen nations. He who

* "I read to-day," says Mr. Wesley, "part of the Meditations of Marcus Antonius (Aurelius.) What a strange emperor! and what a strange heathen! Giving thanks to God for all the good things he enjoyed! In particular, for his good inspirations, and for twice revealing to him in dreams things whereby he was cured of (otherwise) incurable diseases. I make no doubt but this is one of the *many* who 'shall come from the east and west, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob,' while the children of the kingdom—nominal Christians—are shut out."

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called Cyrus, king of Persia, by name, and girded him for the work he assigned him, "though he knew it not," called these men to be "the prophets of conscience" in heathen lands. "The night of paganism had its stars to light it, and they (as said Clement of Alexandria and Origen) called to the morning star of Bethlehem."

The world, then, has not been left to itself; above all, it has not been abandoned to the government of the personal spirit of evil, commonly called the devil. The world is still God's world, for he made it, and still moves, vitalizes, and governs it. The evolution of the physical universe from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous has not been carried forward by the action of blind force, but by the immanent presence and immediate agency of God. And so the evolution of human history has not been an affair of accident or of chance, much less of pessimism, but of providence. God is in history as well as in nature. The comprehensive plan of divine providence sweeps over the history of all nations—it gathers into its movements all the systems of thought which have had a permanent vitality because they contained some elements of eternal truth, and it took up into itself all the forms of ethnic religion which were born of the sense of dependence, and the consciousness of relation to the Infinite. It made all these subservient to the final purpose of redemption, by awakening the consciousness of the want, and developing the desire, of *salvation*. So that all the moral truths known to the ancients were God's truth—that is, they proceeded from the same fountain-head of light as the "living oracles" we now call, *par excellence*, "the word of God." That fountain-head was the *eternal Word* "which was in the beginning with God," "which made the world," which in all ages had been "the light of men," and which, in the fullness of time, "was made flesh and dwelt among men." Christ was not only "the Hope of Israel," but, consciously or unconsciously, "the Desire of nations." The entire history of humanity gravitates around the grand idea of *redemption*. This, says Pressensé, is the pole-star which, even when unseen, holds together the moral system of the universe, and binds the past, the present, and the future of humanity, in one complete harmonious whole.

Therefore, as the same writer has well said, "Christianity

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can only be properly studied in connection with all the forms of moral truth, and all the systems of religion which preceded it, and, in an important sense, prepared the way. To isolate it from the past would be to refuse to comprehend its nature." The student of Christian theology cannot afford to overlook the influence which oriental mysticism, Platonism, and Aristotelian ism exerted on the theology of the patristic writers, the schoolmen of the Middle Ages, and is now exerting upon Christian thought. The very terminology of the Church symbols is drawn from these sources. And the history of Christianity can never be properly comprehended unless we take account of the surrounding conditions, and the inherent human forces through which it operated, and which it subordinates. As vitality subordinates the physical and chemical forces, as mind subordinates the vital forces, so Christianity subordinates the mental and the moral forces. The whole of God's action upon humanity in all the ages is, in fact, a part of the Christian scheme—a development—a progress toward a foreseen and predestinated goal. The advent of the new religion was not an abrupt event, a new commencement altogether unconnected with the past. It was, in fact, "the outcome" of the whole religious history of the world. It was the answer of heaven to the aspirations, and longings, and questionings of the human heart which gave birth to the philosophies and religions of the ancient world.

Religious truth has, therefore, like all other truths, had a progressive development. Redemption, like all the rest of God's action upon nature and humanity, has obeyed the emancipating law of progress. The revelation of God to man has been gradually unfolded, as have also the plan of his creation and the purposes of his providence. The favorite symbol of all God's action upon humanity is *light*—light shining upon the understanding of man, as the source of universal and necessary *ideas* which correlate the human with the divine reason; light shining upon the conscience of man as the source of all moral sentiments, holding man in everlasting bonds to the throne of God; light shining upon the heart of man, the source of those mysterious feelings of reverence, and awe, and fear, and wonder, of which worship is born. This light has been gradually unfolded. Revelation has had its twilight, its morning dawn, and its me-

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ridian splendor. From the first streaks of light which appeared in the eastern sky—the conjectures and hints of oriental naturalism, onward to the clearer symbolism of Hellenic humanism, and the yet distinctive and more positive light of Platonism in the advancing west; from the first conception of God among the Hebrews as the creating God, (*Elohim*,) then as the covenant God, (*Jehovah*,) then as the redeeming God, and then as the universal Father; from the protovangelium of Eden to the glory of the finished Apocalypse, there is progressive development. The ages and dispensations which preceded the advent were ages of preparation, of education and discipline, not for the Jews alone, but for entire humanity. And in "the fullness of the *times*"—the maturity of the dispensations—"*God sent his Son.*"

And in so far as we are able to trace the work of preparation going forward through the ages, and to estimate the nature and value of the forces and agencies employed; so far as we are enabled to recognize "the manifold wisdom of God" in the varied resources and agencies which he has employed to carry forward "the eternal purpose" which he purposed to achieve in Christ, so far are we approaching a *philosophy of religion.*

For what is philosophy but the adequate explanation of phenomena through the rational insight of first principles—that is, ultimate causes and reasons. It is the effort to determine the relation that exists between the subjective necessities of thought, and the resemblances, co-existence, and succession of objective things. In a word, it is "the mutual determination of *à priori* and empirical elements." Philosophy must include science, but science does not necessarily include philosophy. Science is the reduction of individual phenomena to general conceptions, (classification,) and the investigation of these conceptions in their relations of co-existence, resemblance, and succession in order to discover laws, (induction.) Philosophy is the bringing of these generalizations of science into harmony with *à priori* rational ideas or first principles. Philosophy is therefore the summit or completion of science. Phenomena, isolated facts, are comparatively meaningless; but, fertilized and illuminated by rational ideas, they become intelligible, and are reduced to harmony through the *unity* of first principles. We conclude, therefore, that a *philosophy of religion* can

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only be obtained by an accurate observation and systematic generalization of the religious phenomena of the world; by a study of the exterior and surrounding providential conditions under which the phenomena were developed; by carefully noting the history of that development; and by grasping the whole of the phenomena and conditions in their relation to fundamental principles—cause and reasons.

We must enter upon the study of the philosophy of religion (or, as it is sometimes designated, "the science of comparative religion") by seeking to form a clear and definite concept of religion—a concept which shall be at once comprehensive and fundamental.

When we ask the question, What is religion? we do not mean, what is the Christian religion, or the Jewish religion, or the Hindu religion, or the Mohammedan religion; but, What is that essential, changeless, permanent principle which is common to all the forms of religion that have appeared in the world?

In answer to this question, "What is religion?" I reply, Religion is a mode of thought, feeling, and action which has the *Divine* for its basis, object, and end.

This is the most generic conception. Specifically, we may say, 1. As a mode of *thought*, it is the effort of the human mind to conceive its relation to the Infinite, that is, "to know God." 2. As a mode of *feeling*, it is the consciousness of dependence on the Infinite, the feeling of reverence and of submission; in its highest form, it is confidence and love. 3. As a mode of *action*, it is a course of human conduct determined by these ideas and feelings. It is worship of, obedience to, and consecration of one's self to, God.

In a brief sentence, we may say, religion is true loyalty of soul to the Divine, whether revealed in the symbolism of nature, in the rational ideas and moral sentiments of the human mind, or in the facts of history.

This loyalty of soul to the Divine may exist in varied degrees, from the passive submission, the utter self-abnegation of the oriental mystic, to the active devotion and heroic suffering of the Christian martyr. It may be associated with ignorance, and misconception, and positive error in the mind of the polytheist, and it may co-exist with the highest abstractions of speculative

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thought in the mind of the rational theist. It may live in the pagan as well as in the Christian heart. To bring all nations to "the obedience of faith," which is but another form of expression for "loyalty of soul to God," is the end of all God's providential action upon humanity throughout the ages; the ethnic systems of religion contributed in some measure toward this end; the Christian system will achieve this end perfectly.

Now, that among the heathen there has existed, in a greater or less degree, what Dr. Whedon has felicitously called "*the spirit of faith* and the *purpose of righteousness*," is recognized by the sacred writers. Melchizedek was no doubt a Canaanitish priest, as Balaam was a Midianitish prophet. Jethro was a Midianitish prince, (an Arab sheik,) and Rahab was a Canaanitish woman. The Syro-Phenician mother and the Roman centurion were heathens. And these are but samples of the number of those in every nation under heaven who, "fearing God and working righteousness," were "accepted of him." Surely the man must be blinded by prejudices which are a dishonor to his Christian faith, who can refuse to admit that Zoroaster and Confucius, Socrates and Plato, Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius, are among that number who "shall come from the east and west, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven."

Starting, then, with the fundamental conception of religion, that it is a mode of life determined by the recognition of a relation to, and a consciousness of dependence upon, a superior power, we proceed to observe that a religious nature and destination appertains to man as man, whether he has been raised to a full religious consciousness, or is simply considered as capable of being so raised.

In all ages man has revealed an instinctive tendency and a natural aptitude for religion, and has developed emotions which have always characterized him as a religious being. As Saisset has said, "The religious instinct, the instinct of the Divine, is primordial in man, anterior and superior to every religion and every philosophy, the aliment and the foundation of every religious belief and every philosophical speculation. This is common to all men, savage or civilized, ancient or modern, of the Mongolian or the Caucasian race."

Religious ideas and sentiments have prevailed among all

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nations, and have exerted a powerful influence on the entire course of human history. Religious worship, addressed to a Supreme Being believed to control the destinies of men, has been coeval and co-extensive with the race. Plutarch wrote, eighteen centuries ago, and it holds equally true to-day, "If you go through all the world, you may find cities without walls, without letters, without rulers, without money, without theaters, but never without gods, without temples, without prayers, oaths, prophecies, and sacrifices, used to obtain blessings and benefits, or to avert curses and calamities." Every nation has had its mythology, and each mythological system has simply been an effort of humanity to realize and embody in some visible form the relation in which it feels itself connected with an external, overshadowing, and all-controlling Power and Presence. The voice of all ancient and all modern history clearly attests that the religious principle is interwoven with the very essence and constitution of the human mind.

It would lead me too far from the central question under discussion were I to enter upon a proof of the position which I hold to be incontrovertible, that *monotheism is at the foundation of all pagan mythology.* Such is the general belief of the most distinguished mythologists. One of the best accredited mythologists of our time, Professor Grimm, of Berlin, writes as follows: "The monotheistic form appears to be the most ancient, and that out of which antiquity in its infancy formed polytheism. . . . All mythologies lead us to this conclusion." * And M. Adolphe Pictet, in his work on the "Origin of the Indo-Europeans," arrives at the following conclusion: "To sum up; primitive monotheism of a character more or less vague, gradually passing into a polytheism still simple; such appears to have been the religion of the ancient Aryans." †

Polytheism is a parasitic growth which has wound itself around the original stem of instinctive faith in a supernatural power and presence which pervades the universe. The myths are oral traditions, floating down from that dim twilight of poetic history which separates real history with its fixed chronology, from the unmeasured and unrecorded eternity—faint echoes from the mystic border-land which divides the natural

* "Deutsche Mythology," p. 64, 3d edition.

† "Les Origines Indo-Européennes," ii, p. 720. Quoted by Naville.

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from the supernatural, and in which they seem to have been strangely commingled. They arose in that period of "the comparative childhood of humanity," when there was no abstraction, no analysis; when every thing was cognized in the concrete; when feeling, imagination, and wonder were predominant, and reason and reflection had not assumed the sway.

In all the myths there is a *theogonic* and a *cosmogonic* element. They tell of the generation of the celestial and aërial divinities—the subordinate agents and ministers of the divine government. They attempt the explanation of the genesis of the universe, the origin of humanity, the development of society, laws, and governments. In the presence of history, the substance of these myths is preserved in symbols, that is, by means of natural or artificial objects, which, either by some analogy or by some arbitrary association, shall suggest the idea to the mind. These symbols were designed to represent the invisible attributes and operations of the Deity—the powers that vitalize nature, that control the elements, that preside over cities, that protect nations; indeed, all the agencies of the physical and moral government of God. The universe appeared to their lively fancy as the living vesture of God. By this visible universe the Divinity was partly concealed and partly revealed. The unity of the all-pervading Intelligence was vailed beneath an apparent diversity of powers, and a manifoldness of operations. They caught some glimpses of this universal Presence in nature, but were more vividly impressed by the several manifestations of the divine perfections and divine operations as so many separate rays of the Divinity, or so many subordinate agents and functionaries employed to execute the will and carry out the purpose of the supreme Mind. That unseen, incomprehensible Power and Presence was perceived in the beauty of the morning dawn, the sublimity of the deep blue sky, the energy of the vitalizing sun, the surging of the sea, the rushing wind, the roaring thunder, the ripening corn, and the clustering vine. To these separate manifestations of the Divine they gave personal names, as Athene, the dawn; Zeus, the bright sky; Hephæstos, the rising sun; Juno, the air; Æolus, the wind; Neptune, the sea; Ceres, the corn; Bacchus, the vine. These personal names denote, not the things themselves, nor yet the *εἴδωλον*, or image by which they were

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symbolized in ancient mythology, but the *invisible divine powers* which were revealed in, and presided over, the varied departments of nature. They are, in fact, so many different names for the *one Divine Power* displayed under such varied forms. "God," says Aristotle, "though he is *One*, has many names, (is polyonomous,) because he is called according to states in which he enters anew."* "Great and divine Father, whose names are many, but who art one and the same unchangeable, almighty power." †

This succinct statement must stand as our vindication of the statement that all the forms of religion that have appeared in the world have had the *divine* as their basis, their object, and their end. They have had the *divine* for their basis because they have all rested on some revelation of the divine in man or to man; they have had the divine as their object, inasmuch as all worship has been addressed to some power above man—the supernatural; and they have had the divine as their end, inasmuch as their design was to bring man into a nearer relation with, and, as Plato expresses it, a fuller "assimilation to God."

To say that these ancient religions failed to accomplish this "end" does not by any means prove that they did not accomplish any thing, and that, therefore, they had no place in the divine plan. "It is bad reasoning against a religion," says Montesquieu, "to cram together in a great book a long list of the evils which it has produced if we will not do the same by the benefits which it has brought with it. Were I to recount all the evils which have been wrought in the world by civil laws, monarch, republican government, I could say frightful things." ‡ This species of argument is a two-edged sword which cuts both ways. The prevalence of slavery and treachery and voluptuousness in Greece and Rome is no more a proof that "the religions of the pagan nations were destructive of morality" than the polygamy of the Hebrews, the falsehood and impositions of medieval Christianity, the persecutions and martyrdoms of Catholic Christendom, the oppressions and wrongs of Christian England, and the slavery of Protestant America, are proofs that the Christian religion is destructive of morality. The Divine education of the race has been a long

* "De Mundo," ch. vii. † Cleanthes. ‡ "Esprit des Lois." xxiv, 2.

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process in which Divine patience and forbearance has been inexhaustible; in which many things have been tolerated because of "the hardness of men's hearts," (Matt. xix, 8,) and many evils have been "overlooked" during "times of ignorance" and imperfect development (Acts xvii, 30.) In every age human responsibility has been graduated on the scale of available light and knowledge.

We may sum up the results of all foregone inquiry in the following proposition: *All the religions of the world have their foundations, their roots, in certain ideas and sentiments of the supernatural—the divine; in the recognition of certain causal relations, in which nature and certain moral relations, in which humanity stand to the divine.* This is the general principle, the first and most fundamental principle, upon which we must proceed in a philosophy of religion.

If we desire to verify for ourselves this fundamental presupposition (*voraussetzung*, as the Germans would call it) we must proceed by analysis; that is, we must analyze the religious consciousness of man, (who is by nature and original constitution a religious being,) and then, as the counterproof of the psychological analysis, we must study the manifestations of the religious consciousness of our race as revealed in history; that is, we must check off psychological by historical analysis.

An analysis of the religious consciousness of man will reveal the following elements or root principles:—

1. A feeling of awe and reverence which arises spontaneously in presence of the vastness, and grandeur, and magnificence of the universe, and of that power and glory of which the created universe is felt to be the symbol and shadow.

2. A sense of dependence upon an overshadowing power and presence, in whose hands are our lives and destinies, and whose overruling providence is manifested in the course of history.

3. A consciousness of obligation to conform our conduct to the will of this supreme power as revealed in the conscience, which is regarded as "the voice of God," or as made known through some inspired prophet or seer.

4. An instinctive premonition of a future life, in which virtue will meet its due reward and vice its merited punishment.

5. A rational intuition of the *infinite*, the *absolute*, and the

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perfect—that is, of a *being* who has no limit, no equal, and no defect, as the ground of all finite and dependent existence, and the source of all that is good and beautiful and true in nature and man.

These are the fundamental elements of religious consciousness in man. I believe, also, they will be found to be the radical elements of all religions. Though sometimes partially hidden and obscured, they, by an inherent force, rise again and again to the surface. Though frequently distorted, they have an indestructible vitality, and struggle continually toward a more perfect development. Though this element has been most prominent in one form of religion, and that element in another form of religion, yet unless they had all constituted "the original dowry of the human soul, religion itself would have remained an impossibility," for there would have been nothing in the nature of man to which religious instruction could have addressed itself. You can as readily make a brute religious by instruction, as make a man religious by instruction if man does not possess these elements in his mental constitution by virtue of his being "the offspring of God." The grand *differentia* of humanity, which place an impassable gulf between man and the animal creation, are language and religion.

The philosophy of religion on the side of historical analysis is yet in its infancy. The difficulties surrounding the study are immense, arising not, however, so much from the lack of data, as from their variety and complexity. We have already indicated what are the conditions to be fulfilled, the work to be done, before we can say the task is achieved.

We have said a philosophy of religion must be based upon a science of religion; that is, upon a complete classification and generalization of all the facts of the religious history of the world. The classification must not be arbitrary, it must be natural, and, as far as possible, it must be complete. This will demand,

1. An accurate observation and careful comparison of all the *forms* of religion that have appeared in the world, so that we may have all the phenomena before us with their *actual* characteristics.

2. An exact analysis of these phenomena so as to reduce them to simple elements. And here we must observe the

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fundamental rules, "imagine nothing, overlook nothing, distort nothing."

3. A careful study of the varied ethnographic conditions under which these forms of religion were developed; that is, the exterior physical conditions in which the nations were placed in the providence of God, among whom the varied forms of religion originated. This will be found of vast importance, because the physiognomy, if I may so speak, of a religious system, like the individuality of a nation, has unquestionably been modified in a great degree by geographical and climatal conditions. These conditions have determined whether one or another of the root principles of religion should be most prominently developed so as to become the characteristic feature of that religion. Thus the recognition of God in nature as an overshadowing power and infinite presence was the characteristic feature of the Hindu religion, because it had for its theater an immense continent of vast deserts and almost impassable mountains, teeming with life in the most diversified and massive forms. The recognition of God in humanity was the characteristic feature of the Greek religion, because it had for its theater an elaborately articulated peninsula, with extended border-lands and easily-navigated inland seas, where man enjoys freedom of movement, and becomes conscious of power over nature. And, finally, the recognition of God in history becomes the pre-eminent characteristics of the Semitic nations, who occupied a position midway between the two, where nature, though vast, was mainly subject to man through a compact organization of society under rulers who were regarded as the direct appointment of God.

4. Finally, the varied forms of religion must be studied in their historic and genetic development, as successive phases in the evolution of the religious life of humanity regarded as an organic whole. "In vital development, every stage is determined by that which has gone next before it. The egg of an insect gives origin to a worm-like larva; this is transformed into a chrysalis, and the chrysalis into a winged insect. These changes follow each other in a fixed order, which depends, not so much on an external agency, as on the mysterious powers of life acting upon the species which determine the developing process." This is the conception of the philosophy of history

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and of religion which was presented by St. Augustine, who writes: "Divine providence, which conducts all things marvelously, rules the series of human generations from Adam to the end of the world *like one man*, who, from his infancy to his age, furnishes forth his career, in time, in passing through all its ages."* And again: "The right education of the human race, so far as it concerns the people of God, advances through certain divisions of time, as that of an *individual* through the consecutive ages of human life."† We believe that this will be found to be the true Ariadnean thread which will lead the student through the still dark labyrinth of the religions of the world. If we can determine the *order* in which the religious consciousness of the individual is gradually developed, we have the clew to the development of the religious consciousness of our race.

In the preceding paragraphs we have ventured to indicate the method according to which, in our judgment, the study of the philosophy of religion should be pursued. To suggest a method in accordance with which a problem may be solved is not by any means to intimate that we have either the control of the materials, or the requisite powers of analysis and generalization, for the achievement of the Herculean task. A vast amount of preliminary work has yet to be done in the collection of materials, and the classification of phenomena, which, for years to come, will demand the co-operation of earnest, painstaking scholars. And when the materials are collected, where will the architect be found, of sufficient comprehension and grasp of intellect, who shall reduce the whole to unity under the guidance of fundamental and ultimate principles? In the mean time it remains for us to give a brief summary of what has been already achieved, and to offer a few hints which may serve as finger-posts in the direction of future investigation.

Notwithstanding much adverse, and even just, criticism, we are still constrained to accord to Max Müller the honor of having achieved a large amount of useful labor in the collection of the materials, and even in the classification of the phenomena presented in the religious history of the race.

* "De Questionibus Octioginto tribus." Quest. 53.

† "De Civ. Dei." Lib. x, c. 14.

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Starting from the hypothesis that religion and language have been the most powerful agents in the organization of nations, pre-eminently religious, he claims that whatever classification has been found most useful in the science of language, ought also to prove equally useful in the science of religion. If there is a truly genetic relationship of languages, the same relationship ought to hold together the religions of the world.

Proceeding, then, upon genetic relationship, he finds three grand centers of language, the *Turanian*, the *Aryan*, and the *Semitic*. The Semitic embraces the Arabic, the Hebraic, and the Aramaic. The Aryan, the whole of the Indo-European classes—the Indic, Iranic, Celtic, Italic, Illyric, Hellenic, Windic, and Teutonic. The Turanian embraces a variety of classes too numerous to mention, and, indeed, not so well defined, of which we may, however, mention the Chinese, the Sythic or Tartar, and the Hamitic or Cushite as the most ancient.

Corresponding with the classification of languages he believes he finds three great centers of religion, the *Turanian*, the *Aryan*, and the *Semitic*. There are three Aryan religions —the Brahmanic, the Buddhist, and the Zoroastrian. There are two Turanian—the systems of Confucius and Loa-Tse. There are three Semitic—the Jewish, the Christian, and the Islamitic, in all eight religions. The chief characteristic of the Turanian religions is the worship of *spirits*, human and natural; that is, the worship of the spirits of ancestors, and spirits which animate natural objects. The chief characteristic of the Aryan religions is the worship of *God in nature*, (or, we would say, in humanity.) The chief characteristic of the Semitic religions is the worship of *God in history;* that is, God as by his providence determining the destinies of individuals, tribes, and nations.

Our first criticism on this classification by Müller is, that it is incomplete. It embraces only the forms of religion which are extant. A classification of religions which supplies a basis for a "philosophy of religion" should embrace, at least, all the marked and prominent systems which have appeared in history. The systems which survive have some vital connection with those which have passed away, and the former can only be properly understood in their relation with the latter. We therefore venture to suggest that under the *Turanian* ought to

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be included the ancient Chaldean and Egyptian; under the *Semitic*, the Assyrian; and under the *Aryan*, the Greek, the Roman, and the Scandinavian and Teutonic. The amended classification would then be represented by the following scheme:—

		Approximate Dates.
Turanian	Chaldean	B. C. 2400
	Egyptian	2300
	Chinese (Confucius and Lao-Tse)	2000
Aryan	Iranic (Magian and Zoroastrian)	2300
	Hindu (Brahmanism)	1900
	Buddhist	550
	Greek (Pelasgic, Hellenic, Athenian)	1600
	Roman	750
	Teutonic and Scandinavian	500
Semitic	Assyrian	2300
	Abrahamic (Patriarchal)	1900
	Mosaic	1400
	Mohammedan	A. D. 600
	Christian	0

Our second criticism on the classification of Müller is, that he has not faithfully represented the true spirit of the Turanian religions in characterizing them as "the worship of spirits, natural and human," rather than as "the worship of God in nature," and thus, by implication, denying to them any cognition of the Divine; that is, of God. This method seems to have been dictated by the Hegelian philosophy, which places God, not at the beginning, but at the end of a process of religious development. Whereas, he who holds that the idea of God is connatural to the human mind, is justified in proceeding on the *à priori* assumption that the Turanian races were not destitute of the idea of God. And in making this assumption we have the warrant of Max Müller himself. "As soon," says he, "as man becomes conscious of himself as distinct from all other persons and things, he at the same moment becomes conscious of a Higher Self—a higher power without which neither he nor any thing else would have any life and reality. . . . This is the first *sense* of the Godhead . . . which is the source of all religion; it is that without which no religion, whether true or false, is possible."* The Turanians, therefore, must have had the idea of God, and have worshiped him under some form. The Egyptian, next to the Chaldean, was the most ancient of all the Turanian religions. It had its

* "Science of Language." Second series, p. 455.

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origin at least twenty centuries before Christ. In the coffins of a large number of mummies have been found rolls of papyrus containing a sacred text, which is called the *Book of the Dead.* Here is a translation of some fragments which date from a remote antiquity, probably the 19th century before Christ. It is God who speaks: "I am the Most Holy, the Creator of all that replenishes the earth, and of the earth itself, the habitation of mortals. I am the Prince of the infinite ages. I am the great and mighty God, the Most High, shining in the midst of the careering stars, and of the armies which praise me above thy head. . . . It is I who chastise, and who judge the evil-doers, and the persecutors of godly men. I discover and confound the liars . . . I am the all-seeing Judge and Avenger . . . the guardian of my laws in the land of righteousness." * Can we believe that a people who entertained such exalted views of God, who placed such sacred texts in the coffins of the dead, would offer no worship to him when living? We prefer to regard the statement of Rawlinson, in his edition of *Herodotus*, as more in harmony with reason and sound philosophy: "The Egyptians adopted a Pantheism [spiritualistic Pantheism] according to which (while the belief in one supreme God was taught to the initiated) the attributes of the Deity were separated under various heads, as the 'Creator,' the 'Divine Wisdom,' the 'generative,' and other principles; and even created things, which were thought to partake of the *Divine Essence*, were permitted to receive divine worship." (Vol. ii, p. 244.) The Egyptian Turanians, unquestionably, worshiped *God in nature.*

Furthermore, in regard to the Turanians of China, we are justified in regarding Dr. Legge as qualified, by thirty years' study of the Chinese classics, to represent the ancient creed of China. He tells us what is the doctrine concerning God in the canonical books of the Chinese religion. The books recognized as of the highest authority are "The Five Kings," and "The Four Shoo." And here "the name of God" is common. *Te*, or *Shang Te*, appears here as a personal being, ruling in heaven and on earth, the author of man's moral nature, the governor among nations, by whom kings reign and princes decree jus-

* "Handbuch der gesammten ägptishen Alterthumskunde." Von Dr. Max Uhlemann. Quoted by Naville.

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ice, the rewarder of the good and the punisher of the bad." And he further adds: "Along with the worship of God there existed in China, from the earliest historic times, the worship of other spiritual beings, especially the worship of departed ancestors." * The Chinese Turanians, then, "*worshiped God.*"

Our third criticism of Müller's classification is, that after asserting that the Aryans "worshiped *God in nature*," he proceeds to tell us that Buddha was an atheist, and that Buddhism (an Aryan religion) "culminated in atheism and nihilism."

Buddhism, we are told, is blank atheism, and yet on the authority of Dr. Gogerly, a missionary in Ceylon, and pronounced to be the best Pali scholar living, we know that there are numbers of Buddhists "who acknowledge the existence of a Creator." To these men, who ought to be competent to understand their own religion, Buddhism is not atheism necessarily.

Again Müller admits that "we must distinguish between Buddhism as a religion and Buddhism as a philosophy. The former addresses itself to millions, the latter to a few isolated thinkers. It is from these isolated thinkers, and from their literary compositions, that we are apt to form our notions of what Buddhism was, while, as a matter of fact, not one in a thousand would be capable of following these metaphysical speculations. To the people at large Buddhism was a moral and religious, not a philosophical, reform." † Now this is important. To the masses Buddhism was a religion, not a philosophy. And on the authority of Muller himself we say, "there can be no religion, whether true or false, without the *sense of the godhead*." ‡ Now what is Buddhism as a religion? It is historically certain that it was a reformation of Brahmanism. "It was," says James Freeman Clarke, "like Protestantism, a revolt of humanity against caste, of individual freedom against the despotism of an order, of salvation by faith against salvation by sacraments. § What, then, was the character of the ancient Hindu religion, of which Buddhism was simply a "reformation?"

We answer that the most learned and trustworthy critics,

* "Life and Teachings of Confucius," pp. 100, 101.

† "Chips from a German Workshop," vol. i, p. 244.

‡ "Science of Language," 2d ed., p. 455. § "Ten Religions," p. 143.

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Asiatic as well as European, are agreed that "the ground of the Brahmanical faith is monotheistic;" it recognizes "an absolute and supreme Being as the source of all that exists." *Brahm* is the one eternal Mind, the self-existent, incomprehensible spirit. But this one eternal Mind can only be known by a special caste of priests, who stand between the people and God —a hereditary caste of learned, absorbed, divine men, who are the sole teachers, namely, the *Brahmin.*

Buddhism was a popular reaction from this exclusive system, led on by Gotama, or, as he is sometimes called, Sakya-muni, "the hermit of the race of Sakya." It demanded a God who should enter into fellowship with man in his ordinary condition. It was the cry of humanity for an accessible God without the intervention of a priestly caste.

A striking proof of the genetic connection of these two systems of religion is seen in the fact that *Buddha* is "pure intelligence," "clear light," "perfect wisdom," the same as *Brahm.* Buddha could be known, could be approached, not by priestly rites and priestly instruction, but by "reflection," by "pure thought." He is not to be seen by the natural eye, but by the inward eye purged from all sensual corruption. It is by "intuition," (for this is the word used by Gotama,) by direct spiritual insight, like that of the Mystic, that "the venerable," "perceive the void, the unconditioned, the absolute."* He who has attained to a state of inward purity, "whose passions are stilled," whose soul is a "perfect calm," so that it becomes a mirror in which the absolute can be reflected, is in "*The Path of Virtue*" called *Buddha* and *Brahmane* indiscriminately.

Buddhism, then, is mysticism in its extremest form, that form which regards the reason, the intelligence in man as of one substance with God, as in fact God. *Buddha* is "pure thought," pure intelligence, undisturbed by any emotion pleasurable or painful. This is the very essence of God. "Buddha is ever at rest. Can his worshiper be turbulent? Can he admit any rude or violent passions into his heart? He must cultivate gentleness, evenness, all serene and peaceful qualities, reverence and tenderness to all creatures, or he is not in his rightful state. He must abstain from much speech." In

* "Path of Virtue," sec. 93.

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silence, in absolute passivity, in withdrawal into the inmost self, he may best hope to know the unseen, the ineffable, the incomprehensible *One.* If this be atheism, then Tauler, and Eckart, and Nicholas of Basle, and Sebastian Frank, and Jacob Behmen were atheists, for in their writings you have a surfeit of "the absolute no-thing," "the divine dark," "the infinite void;" and yet they were unquestionably Christians. Does the Buddhist attempt to give form and utterance to this inarticulated thought which lies in his soul, this indeterminate sense of the divine which is within him—then we have the Buddhist philosophy. This is a system of pure idealism, much resembling the philosophy of Hegel. *Pure thought* is the only reality; all else is a mere illusion. Thought alone is the ultimate of all ultimates, in which the distinctions between subject and object, the self and the not-self, are swallowed up and lost. God is the undifferentiated, the unconditioned *idea;* nature is the conditioned and differentiated *thought.* The man who is lost in thought is lost in God. He who "delights in reflection, who looks with fear on thoughtlessness, will *not* go to destruction—he is near *Nirvâna;*" *—whence it is obvious that Nirvâna is the very opposite of annihilation of all thought, and all consciousness. Is it not beginning to be obvious that Müller's classification of religions, on the same basis as the classification of races, namely, linguistic affinities, is not only inadequate but unscientific? Forms of religious consciousness do not belong to races. Religion, like humanity, is universal. Religion has its roots in the nature of man—in those ideas, and sentiments, and feelings which result from the universal illumination of the soul of man by the eternal Word. It is true that the religious consciousness of the race, like the religious consciousness of the individual, has had a progressive development; and it is equally true that the form of that development has been in some measure determined by the geographical, climatal, and ethnological conditions in which the different families and nations have been thrown. But these conditions have all been under the direction and control of divine providence. "God has determined the times of each nation's existence, and fixed the geographical boundaries of its habitation." And why has he done this? The answer is, "In order that they might

* Buddha's "Path of Virtue," sec. 32.

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seek the Lord, and *feel* after him, and *find* him" who in all ages and all lands has been near to every human heart.

This is the only principle which sheds light upon history, and which, properly followed, may guide us through its otherwise labyrinthine maze. To deny this principle is to say that God does not rule in history; and to insinuate that God, the heavenly Father, has abandoned his children, and left them to fate, to accident, or, worse still, to the devil.

Have we not a valuable hint of a true method for a philosophy of history, and of religion especially, in the words we have already quoted from St Augustine? He suggests that the divine education of the human race has been conducted in the same order as that in which the religious consciousness is developed in the individual.

We have partially indicated the order in which religious consciousness is developed in the individual: 1. The recognition of God in *nature;* 2. The recognition of God in *providence;* 3. The recognition of God in *man*, in the *moral nature of man*, and in the *laws of human society;* 4. The recognition of God in *Christ, the Redeemer from sin;* 5. The conscious communion of the soul with God through the indwelling of the *Holy Spirit.*

The first stage of development has its roots in the feeling of awe and reverence which arises spontaneously in presence of that power and glory of which the created universe is the symbol and shadow. The second stage has its roots in the sense of dependence upon that overshadowing power and presence in whose hands are our lives and destinies. The third stage has its root in the consciousness of obligation to conform to the will of this supreme power, and an instinctive premonition of a future reward or punishment. The fourth has its root in the consciousness of sin, and the need of a divine deliverance. The last has its root in the awakened consciousness of some relationship to God—some affinities with him—and that "feeling after God" which, if cherished, will surely end in "finding him." This development is by no means a mere evolution of innate nature-powers. All evolution in nature is a consequence of the immanence of God in nature, and all the modifications of exterior environment, or, if you please, "natural selection," are under his control. And so the development of the religious conscious-

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ness in man is the result of the immanence of God in man, and all exterior conditions which affect that development, such as providential events, oral teachings, testamentary revelations, are controlled and ordained by God. And now can we classify the forms of religious consciousness which have appeared in history according to the same order? namely, the recognition of God in *nature*, in *providence*, in *man—moral nature of man* —in *Christ*, and in the *dispensation of the Spirit*, so that the order shall be strictly chronological, and even genetical.

On this department of our study it is obvious that we can do no more than offer a few general suggestions which may be elaborated, perhaps modified, by further reading and reflection.

We assume, first of all, that western Asia was the cradle of the human race. Here we have the root, the stock, as it were, from which the several ethnic branches of the human family sprung. The Semitic, the Indo-European, and the Turanian, are yet scarcely developed. This is a safe conclusion from philological research. A primitive revelation also throws light upon the cradle of human civilization. And all antique tradition refers to an age in which humanity, still enfolded, as it were, in the matrice of the divine life, as the infant, in the maternal embrace, received not merely a capacity, but also an impulsive tendency, to recognize God in the varied manifestation he has made of himself—a yet undeveloped consciousness of *God*. If we follow the received chronology, we must place this period as anterior to B. C. 2400. From this point the religious development of the race begins. In a tract of country lying between the Tigris and the Euphrates, known to the Jews as Aram-Naharaim, or "Syria of the two rivers," and to the Greeks and the Romans as Mesopotamia, we have the three sons of Noah with their descendants, the progenitors of the Semitic, the Indo-European or Japhetic, and the Hamitic races. It is, we say, from this point in human history that the religious development of humanity, that is, its gradual return to God, sets out.

1. The first stage of this development is characterized by the recognition and worship of *God in nature*, in which we have a gradual approach toward the conception of the divine Unity. It embraces the four most ancient religions of the world—the Chaldean, the Egyptian, the Median or Iranian, and the Hindu. In their outward aspects all these religions are confessedly a

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polytheism of the most elaborate character, and yet we confidently expect there will be found in them a principle of ideal unity.

The Chaldeans were a pastoral people. As they tended their flocks on the plains of Mesopotamia their attention would be naturally directed to the starry heavens, which, even to the most untutored mind, declare the glory of that inscrutable Power which fashions, moves, and sustains all worlds. It is said they worshiped "the hosts of heaven." But surely at this day, when so much light is being thrown on the symbolic character of ancient mythology, no one supposes that this bald statement comprehends the whole truth. Even in this complicated system of astral worship we believe there was some ideal unity; and this belief is receiving confirmation by the researches of cuneiform scholars. For, in the first place, there is found a recognizable relationship among the principal gods, and among these there is *one* that is supreme. At the head of the Chaldean Pantheon stands *Ra*, which is the emphatic name for God. Its Semitic equivalent is *Il*, which is but a variant of *El*, (אל,) the root of the well-known biblical *Elohim*. "He is," says Rawlinson, "the fount and origin of deity too remote from man to be much worshiped, or to excite any warm interest." *

The Egyptians were an agricultural people living in the fruitful valley of the Nile. They were most naturally impressed by the fecundity of nature, the riches and variety of animal and vegetable life. In these they saw the beneficent, productive power of the divine principle—a principle of universal *life*. And so it is often said the Egyptians worshiped animals —the ox and the cat for example, and even plants. South, with his accustomed levity, represents the Egyptian as "shedding penitential tears over a peeled onion." A passage from Cicero might have checked his levity: "These they considered as instruments of divine providence toward the support of human life, and without that view they consecrated none." † Herodotus also explains the reason why animals were held sacred. Animals did not originally abound in Egypt, and had to be imported and domesticated. In order to the preservation of those which were used in agriculture, as the ox, or those

* "Ancient Monarchies," vol. i, p. 114. † *De Nat. Deo.*, c. xxxvi.

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which destroyed vermin, as the cat, they were declared holy and inviolable, and he who designedly killed one of these sacred animals was punished with death.*

The Egyptians believed in one supreme God. They held that this *unity*, as an all-pervading *life*, pervaded in a greater or less degree all the creations of the deity. All the subordinate, inferior, generated divinities were but the agents and ministers of the one God over all.†

There can be no question as to the fundamentally monotheistic character of the ancient Median or Iranian religion. Its real character is portrayed in those sections of the Zendavesta which have been pronounced to be the most ancient; written, probably, B. C. 2000. It is a revolt against nature-worship, and it asserts, as against polytheism, the existence of a single *being* as the source of all good, and the proper object of the highest worship. At the head of all intelligences is the great Intelligence, *Ahura-mazda*, the true Creator, Preserver, and Governor of the universe. Does it seek for a symbol of this Intelligence, it is all-pervading *light.*

Finally, it hardly need be said that the Hindus have one emphatically Supreme Being, *Brahme*, (neuter,) the *Great One.* When he creates he becomes *Brahma*, (masculine;) when he manifests himself by the operation of his divine Spirit he is *Vishnu*, the Pervader; when he destroys he is *Siva*, "the Great God," as Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer, which last name, says Sir Wm. Jones, "means the regenerator of that which only changes form." Does this system seek for a typical conception, it is found in *mind* or *spirit.* Brahm is the Supreme *mind.*

2. The second stage in the religious development of humanity is characterized by the recognition and worship of *God in Providence.* Under this we include the *Patriarchal* religion, as the divine side of the history of humanity; and on the human side the ancient Chinese, the Assyrian, the Pelasgic, and the Persian religions, five in all.

The Patriarchal religion we regard as the type of all the rest. In its doctrinal aspects it is well represented in the Book of Job, which is, in reality, a discourse on divine providence. In its historical and practical aspects it is exhibited in the biog-

* "Euterpe," c. lxv. † See Rawlinson's "Herodotus," App. to bk. ii, c. iii.

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raphies of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph, which are best characterized as an exhibition of the direct providential government and guidance of men. God is seen coming into immediate intercourse with the patriarchs as the priests and rulers of the Hebrew race.

The other four religions which synchronize with this partake of the same characteristics. The ancient Chinese (which must be distinguished from the religion of Confucius) is to be studied in the most ancient and canonical books known, as "The Five Kings" and "The Four Shoo," and which date back, at least, to the call of Abraham.

The name by which God is designated in "The Five Kings" is that of *Ruler*—the Supreme *Ruler*. "By him kings were supposed to reign, and princes were required to decree justice. All were under law to him, and bound to obey his will. Even on the inferior people he has conferred a moral sense, compliance with which would show their nature invariably right. All powers that be are from him. He raises one to the throne, and puts down another. Obedience is sure to receive his blessing, disobedience to be visited with his curse. The business of kings is to rule in righteousness and benevolence, so that the people may be happy and good. . . . When they are doing wrong God admonishes them by judgments, such as storms, famine, and other calamities. If they persist in evil, sentence goes forth against them. The dominion is taken from them, and given to others more worthy than they." *

At the head of the Assyrian Pantheon stood "the great god" *Asshur*. His usual titles are "the great Lord," "the King of all the gods," "he who rules supreme over the gods." "He places the monarchs upon their thrones, firmly establishes them in government, lengthens the years of their reign, preserves their power, protects their forts and armies, makes their name celebrated, and the like." "This exalted deity continued from first to last the main object of worship." †

I need scarcely to say of the Pelasgic *Zeus* that he was the Supreme God, the true God, and indeed the only God.‡ He was the Father of gods and men, the monarch and ruler of the

* Loomis, "Confucius and Chinese Classics," p. 33.

† Rawlinson's "Ancient Monarchies," vol. ii, pp. 2, 3.

‡ Müller, "Science of Language," p. 457, second series.

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world, and especially the god of providence, "who hates cruel deeds, but honors justice and the righteous works of men,"* and in whom the sons of men in their deepest distress and danger may trust and be conforted :—

> "Courage, courage my child!
> There is still in heaven the great Zeus;
> He watches over all things, and he rules.
> Commit thy exceeding grief to him,
> And be not angry against thine enemies,
> Nor forget them.†

The main feature of the Persian religion during this period was the acknowledgment and worship of a single supreme God—"the Lord God of heaven," the disposer of thrones, the God of providence, the hearer of prayer. All the Persian monarchs rule "by the grace of Ormazd." His law is "the rule of life." His protection is the one priceless blessing for which prayer is perpetually offered. I do not dwell on this point, for all Bible readers are familiar with the decree of Cyrus, king of Persia: "The Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth." This is the oft-recurring formula of "the inscriptions."

3. The third step in the religious development of the human race is characterized by the acknowledgment and worship of *God in man*, that is, *God manifested in conscience and in moral law.* Under this is embraced *Mosaism*, as the divine side of the history of humanity, and on the more human side Buddhism, the system of Confucius, and the Grecian and Roman religions.

The Judaic monotheism is essentially moral. Of course, as a national religion, it has several progressive phases, from the worship of God as the Divine King, (theocracy,) to the worship of God in more personal relations as a friend, (the Davidic kingdom,) and onward to the Messianic hopes of the Prophetic age, (the spiritual kingdom of God.) But under all these phases the predominant element is the moral relation of the individual soul to God. Its revealed code answers to what Plutarch calls "the common sentiments" of mankind. We may take the Decalogue and trace its transcription upon the soul of man. Its ritual was designed to develop in the minds of the

* Od., xiv, 83. † "Electra," v. 188.

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people the idea of holiness. Its most emphatic designation, as a dispensation, is "*the law.*"

The central idea of Buddhism is, that the law of duty is revealed in the individual nature of man. "He whose knowledge is deep, who possesses wisdom, who knows the right way from the wrong" . . . "He from whom anger and hatred, pride and envy, have dropped like a mustard-seed from the point of an awl, him I call indeed a Brahmana," says Gotama in "*The Path of Virtue.*" Nothing need be said of the system of Confucius. Its five "constant virtues" are benevolence, righteousness, politeness, wisdom, sincerity. It inculcates reverence for parents, for the aged, and for the rulers. And it says, "Do not to others what you would not have others do to you."

The Grecian religion, as exhibited in the dramas of Æschylus and Sophocles, enthrones the *conscience.* The Greek tragedians were the great religious instructors of the Athenian people, and, strange as it might sound to modern ears, the Greek stage was the Greek pulpit, (*pulpitum*, a stage.) No writers of pagan antiquity make the voice of conscience speak with such power and authority. None have ever spoken with a nobler eloquence of moral obligation—of "the immortal and inflexible law in which dwells a God."

> "O be the lot forever mine,
> Unsullied to maintain,
> In act and word, with awe divine,
> What potent laws ordain."*

Of the Roman religion we may briefly remark that "the supreme god of Rome was *law*—law which expanded into a generous jurisprudence, by which the great Roman Empire, with all its variety of races, creeds, and manners, was for ages harmoniously and equitably governed; a jurisprudence which has been incorporated into the particular legal systems of every modern nation of Christendom.

Thus, through the ages, we find a gradual purifying and spiritualizing of the idea of God; an awakening and enthronement of conscience, and the elevation and purification of the moral idea; an arousing in man of the consciousness of guilt, and the need of a mediator; and, finally, the deepening of the conviction of helplessness and hopelessness, without divine aid.

* Sophocles.

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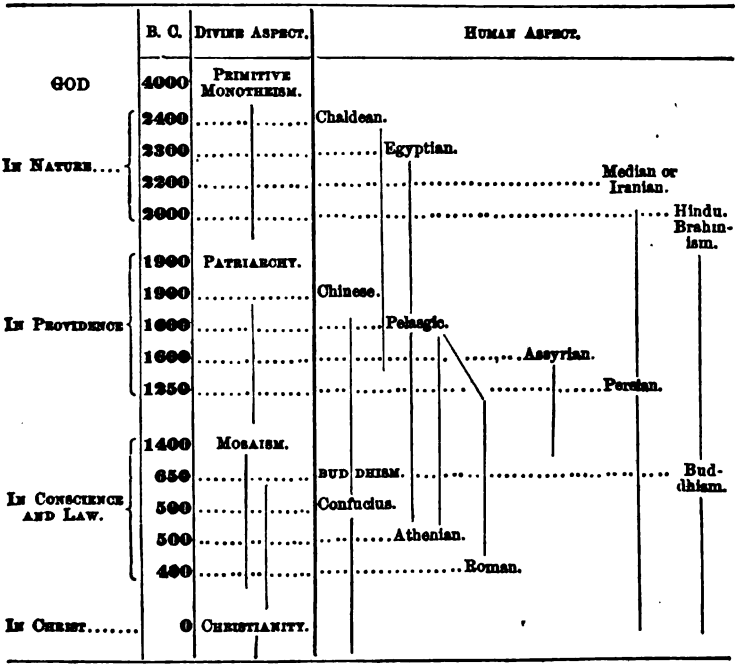
So that the words of Plato have a mournful sadness: "To restore the lost image of the good, to regain this primitive form, is not the work of man, but of God. Virtue is the gift of God. Man needs an education which is divine. If he is ever saved from the common wreck, it must be by the special favor of Heaven!" The office of the law is not fulfilled. It has been a "pedagogue" to bring the nations to the recognition of God in Christ as a Redeemer from sin, and the need of a sanctifying Spirit.

The following Scheme will exhibit at a glance the historical and genetic connection of the religions of the world. The chronological notes can, of course, be no more than bare approximations. We have omitted the Mohammedan because subsequent to Christianity, and simply a plagiarism on Judaism.

RELIGIONS OF THE WORLD.



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Art. III.—LUCRETIUS.

The new phases of materialistic philosophy, and the persistent prominence given to it by its modern advocates, naturally turn our attention to the old philosophers and their theories with increased interest. With a somewhat comet-like regularity, or irregularity, these materialistic doctrines blaze out afresh along the sky of human history, and alarm for awhile the timid and the faithless, and then fade away until new conditions cause them to reappear. It may not be easy to calculate their cycles, but they seem to have a real periodicity, and illustrate the truism that there is nothing new under the sun. They are no new fires kindled among the everlasting stars of truth, but only the old embers fanned to fitful brightness by some unusually vigorous breath. From Democritus, the so-called father of the atomic philosophy, to its latest expositor, who does not hesitate to "prolong the vision backward across the boundary of experimental evidence," the lights of that philosophy have gone down in that unknown abyss which stretches beyond the horizon of demonstrable fact. They have paused awhile on the verge of experimental evidence, but have plunged at last into the shoreless gulf of speculative theory. Restless spirits, to whom mystery is intolerable, they have striven in every age to wrest from the Almighty the secret of creation. They have stretched out a long, eager arm into the darkness if haply they might touch the finger of God. Baffled in their blind groping, they turn fiercely upon that universal instinct that recognizes a divine hand in the origin of the world, and endeavor to banish the Deity from the universe.

It is a significant fact that the limit of the materialistic philosophy has been one and the same in all ages. Its apostles have marched up one after another to the same barrier, and have failed to force it. Apparent progress has been made, but too often only apparent. Like gold fishes in the glass, men have swum round and round, always hemmed in by the cold, adamantine walls through which they could see aggravatingly delightful worlds impossible to visit. Phenomena have, indeed, been carefully observed. Physical science has unfolded

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and explained more clearly the motions and properties of matter, and the formulas of force. The processes of nature have been more minutely investigated. Facts have multiplied, and many errors in regard to material operations have been exposed. Important generalizations have been determined in the realm of physical law, and in the relations of matter and force. The knife of anatomy and the experiments of physiology have revealed the functions of every organ in the whole field of animal life. Even psychical questions have been grappled with; some new light has been thrown upon this border realm of absolute mystery. But the old problems that have defied the thought of the ages still wait for a solution. When men inquire for the origin of matter and how it is constituted, or for the origin of force and how it operates, the sphinx is dumb. When they attempt to get behind the phenomena of heat, electricity, and magnetism, they are challenged by a sentinel they cannot bribe or force. When an inevitable law of association is announced, or an unfailing alternation of antecedent and consequent is established, some unsatisfied questioner asks who established the law and who rendered the alternation unfailing. It is easy to uncover the brain and the nervous system and place them in juxtaposition with sensation and thought, but who can trace the connection between them? The facts of consciousness are as vivid to us as ever, but what explanation of them does it give to say that they are the "result of the play of organism and environment through cosmic ranges of time?" And what are evolution, natural selection, protoplasm, and differentiation of species but new terms for old ideas; thickets into which modern philosophy plunges its head, and fancies it has escaped the eternal riddles that are ever on its track?

The philosophy of Lucretius, in its essential features, in its merits, which have stood the test of centuries, and in its failures, which are common to all who have followed him, is the prototype of all subsequent materialistic philosophy. It foreshadows opinions that still prevail, and forms a basis of physical science that its masters have but slightly modified. It fails, as all similar theories must fail, in accounting for the origin of that power that governs matter, and in reconciling fatalistic causation with conscious free-will.

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Five hundred years before Christ, Leucippus had promulgated the atomic theory. He and his disciple, Democritus, enthroned Chance as the combiner of material atoms, discarding the *νοῦς* of Anaxagoras, which that philosopher, before the time of Democritus, had placed at the head of all things. But it was Epicurus whom Lucretius adopted as his model and teacher. He estimates his master as a man who "surpassed the human race in his genius, and extinguished every intellectual light as the risen sun quenches the stars." His system had been before the world a hundred and fifty years. It was as the expositor of this system that Lucretius, about 50 B. C., published his poem *De Rerum Natura*. His design was not to defend the system nor extol his master, but, primarily, to free the minds of men from the fear of death and the fear of the gods, the greatest of human ills. This was to be done by unfolding the true aspect and laws of nature. If these could be correctly understood, death would cease to be an evil, and the gods would become only an ethical necessity without objective relation to the world either to punish or reward.

The grand difference between Lucretius and the philosophers of our day is in their methods. The former announces his theory and unfolds its applications. The latter reverse the process, and develop their theory from the inductions of investigation. The one is born of the brain, the other of the eye and hand. They are coextensive in their scope, coincident in their essentials, but different in their details and processes. As might be expected, the bolder method involves more mistakes in scientific fact, but its moral bearings are the same, and are uttered without concealment.

Some condensed outline of his philosophy may be desirable, before attempting to trace more elaborately a few of its doctrines and their relation to modern science. A fundamental proposition is the eternity of matter. It is impossible that something should come from nothing; equally impossible it should be reduced to nothing. The universe is a real existence, and absolutely dual in its nature. Body and space, or matter and vacuum, are the two essential elements admitting no third. Bodies are, therefore, made up of atoms and pores. Neither can exist where the other is. The atoms are composite, yet, paradoxical as it may seem, are solid, single, indi-

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visible, and indestructible. They have no color, nor any other property perceptible to the senses. They have every variety of shape, from the smooth ball and exact cube to the most jagged and various irregularity, and are so small that air, light, and heat are formed by their combinations. He gives us no comparative statement of their size, as one modern author does, who thinks that "if a drop of water were magnified to the size of our globe, the molecules composing it would be magnified to sizes varying from the size of shot to the size of billiard balls;" but as even the invisible "idols" of the invisible gods are formed from these atoms, they must be sufficiently small and fine to satisfy any reasonable theorist. The pores are absolute vacuum; yet no void exists in first beginnings, or atoms, although they are conceivably made up of parts. Each atom has intrinsic powers of motion, and all are continually in motion however they may seem to be at rest. Even in a lump of iron oscillation goes on with as great speed as in their freer motions through space; a theory perfectly anticipating that of Prof. Tyndall when he says of the particles of iron in mass, "there is space between them, they collide, they recoil, they oscillate." The atoms have three motions; they descend naturally in right lines and parallel, rebound from concussion, and are capable also of an exceedingly slight oblique direction. Their velocity is inconceivably great. Having been in motion from all eternity, they have combined to produce the infinite forms of matter that have partly perished and partly survive. This third kind of motion, an inconceivably small declination of the atoms, is essential to all combinations of matter. As Lucretius denies that the heavier could overtake the lighter, this minimum of oblique motion was his only resort. Denying a sentient first cause, he must devise some theory for the collision and consequent aggregation of matter. It has been alternately derided and defended. It is easy to laugh at it, but not so easy to invent a better.

Such is the physical theory of Lucretius. It is substantially the theory adopted by the atomic physicists of modern times. For long centuries Lucretius' atoms, void, and matter remained as he left them, the unchallenged elements of the cosmic universe. The world was busy with a visible chaos, and amid the whirl of the social elements that were developing, human his-

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tory had no time to speculate on the unseen and unknown. It was content with the Christian dogma of creation by fiat, and did not care to go behind the Mosaic genesis for its origin, nor the Petrine theory for its destiny. The ablest divines and the profoundest thinkers derided or persecuted those who questioned the literal Scripture record, and made martyrs of such men as Galileo and Bruno for daring to entertain a physical theory of their own. About the middle of the seventeenth century Gassendi, dissatisfied with the prevailing scholastic philosophy, revived the Lucretian doctrines, and attempted to harmonize his ethics, as well as his atoms, with the principles of Christianity and the discoveries of modern science. From his day to the present the reaction has gone on, and science has been vaguely groping and floundering amid cosmic mazes, atomic whirls, and infinitesimal maelstroms, searching in vain for some self-originated law of order and development that governs all phenomena. The discrepancies of the different physical theories not only show the futility of such labor, but the hopelessness of discovering the secret of creation. Atoms, molecules, mounds, bubbles, ring-vortices, and centers of force, are the various names given to the "first-beginnings" of gross matter. On the one hand, we have the voidless *plenum* of Descartes, filling all the universe at first, and then self-broken into balls, dust, and snake-shaped fragments that knot themselves into the different forms of matter; on the other, the universal fire-mist of Laplace, whirling its liquid billows into suns and planets, that harden and fall with mathematical precision into their eternal orbits. Leibnitz declared a vacuum to be inconsistent with the perfection of God. He believes in atoms, but not those of Lucretius. Hobbes derives the consistency of matter from motion; Descartes from rest. Lucretius taught that hardness and elasticity are the indefeasible properties of matter; modern teachers make them result from motion. To the atoms of "solid singleness," according to Lucretius, there have been added by the philosophers of modern times atoms resulting from the motion of a fluid, and those capable of exerting force at a distance. Newton thought that force had a real existence apart from matter; Hobbes adopted the old axiom, that matter cannot act where it is not. The theory of Lucretius made the atoms move in rectilinear and parallel lines;

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Lesage thought they had a chaotic motion in all directions. And, as the upshot of all the physical theories in regard to our own earth and the human race, two diametrically opposite conclusions are reached: one, that the whirl of atoms will one day reach their climax of evolution and development, and the worn-out earth and the effete human race will dissolve into their original atoms; the other, that there is an unlimited progress for earth and man for which a more and more glorious destiny is in store through unending ages.

But it is the psychical problems and the various phenomena of mind which are treated in the theory of Lucretius that excite in us the most curious interest. What origin and destiny for man does he derive out of atoms and space? and how are the movements of the mind, the play of the passions, and the determinations of the will, developed from his material "first-beginnings?" Has he solved the riddle of the ages, and uncovered the mechanism that generates its own force and imparts it to all the myriad developments that exhibit an unseen energy? And are development and conservation of force, the two great discoveries of modern science, really new discoveries, or merely a restatement of the theory of Lucretius on these two points?

The theory of Lucretius is essentially and necessarily a theory of development. It simply assumes atoms and void, and out of these constructs the universe solely by automatic development. He does not shrink from the assertion that every fact in the world can be thus accounted for. Inorganic matter in all its forms and properties, organic nature in all its stages and varieties, humanity with all the phenomena of body, mind, and soul, even necessity and free-will, are all self-wrought from atoms of "solid singleness," and he grapples boldly with the mighty task of explaining the problem and tracing the processes. In the scope and range of the development theory there certainly has been no advance in modern times. It covers the whole ground of development both actual and possible. The great difference between Lucretius and the school of Spencer and Darwin is, that the former boldly cuts loose at the outset from Deity, while the latter seem to shrink from subjecting either themselves or their theory to the odium of so bold an announcement. The former says there is no God, and there-

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fore the world is a development; the latter say the world is a development, and therefore there is no God. With the one it is a postulate, with the others it is inference. The modern scientist of this school shrinks, it may be, from the grossness of statement and the breadth of detail which the father physicist makes, but under a refined adaptation of the same principles to the so-called religious prejudices of the age, he softens their repulsive features, dresses them in the glittering garments which the looms of experiment and observation have so attractively woven, and quietly bids the world march on in such company to blank atheism. It indicates his fear of the religious element in man's nature when, after leading him up to the dark threshold, and seeing him start back from it, he declares with an air of injured innocence that he is not responsible for the logical consequences of his doctrines. But it does not make it any easier for common men to plunge into the abyss, even though so brave a man as Prof. Huxley, as in his recent Belfast address, professes his willingness to be "so landed." If he could satisfactorily bridge the gulf between the black shores of his theory and the shores of the divine, instead of asserting that there is none, he would suffer less disquiet from the charge of fatalism that lies against him. Lucretius acknowledges that there lurks in the heart of man "a secret goad," in view of death and a future world. But he meets it consistently. "Man makes his moan that he has been mortal, because he sees not that after real death there will be no other self to remain in life and lament to self that his own self has met death. But a greater dispersion of the mass of matter follows after death, and no one wakes up upon whom the chill cessation of life has once come."

"The fundamental truth of all philosophy," according to Herbert Spencer, is the "Persistence of Force." Other scientists have it the Correlation and Conservation of Force. It is claimed as the great discovery of this century, as the Indestructibility of Matter was of the last. But both these doctrines were foreshadowed, nay, even announced, by Lucretius. The modern theory is thus stated by Dr. Youmans:—

Power or energy can neither be created nor destroyed. Though ever changing form, its total quantity in the universe remains constant and unalterable. Every manifestation of force must have

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come from a pre-existing equivalent force, and must give rise to a subsequent and equal amount of some other force.

Compare this with the language of Lucretius:—

The abundance of matter was never more closely massed, nor separated by larger spaces; for it has neither additions nor loss. And so the bodies of first beginnings have the same motion now as in time gone by, and will always hereafter move in a similar manner. And the things which have been accustomed to be begotten will be begotten according to the same law, and will exist and grow and become strong according to the decrees of nature. Nor can any force change the sum of things; for there is no beyond into which any kind of matter can escape out of the universe, nor out of which some new force can arise and burst into the universe and change the whole nature of things and their motions.

Motion, then, and atoms are constants in his theory of the universe. The mean density of the universe is constant and the mean motion is constant. Each atom maintains an unaltered velocity. The modern doctrine is that the total energy is constant, but may be variously distributed, and that all energy is ultimately due to motion, which latter point is not conclusively proved. Now when we remember that, according to Lucretius, absolutely all phenomena are the product of atoms and motion; that heat, light, electricity are not independent elements but results; we see how nearly the ancient and modern theories correspond. Unelaborated by the brilliant experiments of modern times, it may be, and open to the charge of having been reached by thought alone; yet the ideas are the same, and the boasted discoveries of to-day are really two thousand years old.

It is in the application of correlation to the various phenomena of life that modern science makes its boldest ventures and its highest claims to original discovery. Here is the magic key that is to unlock all the mysteries of psychology and sociology; of vitality, mind, and will; of social life and universal history. The mechanism, for it is pure mechanism, of a laugh or a tear could be understood if our eye were keen enough. The diamond is no more surely crystallized light than the soul is finely organized matter. Emotions and passions could be changed into bone and muscle as easily as coal into gas, or steam into ice, if we only knew enough. Faith is only the etherealized form of a good dinner and an easy chair. An angry man is a

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Leyden jar of force overcharged, and oaths, grumbling, or slamming the door are simply ways of restoring the equilibrium. Phosphorus is condensed brain-power. The kidneys are the thermometer of mental activity, and the alkaline deposits there are the mercury that gauges its freezing or boiling point. Congresses and parliaments, religious organizations, and all social movements and phases, are only the conversion of force on a comprehensive scale, easily enough understood if we could only fathom a little better the laws of social dynamics. And those laws are only modifications or applications of the principle of correlation and conservation of force. The ebb and flow of the sea of human life is as regular and inevitable as the tides under the sway of the moon. Storm on the Atlantic and the storm of civil war in Spain are alike under material law. In the progress of knowledge "Old Probabilities" will not merely predict the weather changes, heat and cold, drouth and rain, tempest and whirlwind; but political revolutions, changes of fashion, financial panics, and all the fluctuations of social virtue and vice. All that ails a murderer is that his heart is charged a little too highly with force. A savage is only an undeveloped incarnation of force. The irresistible law of force has whirled the Hottentot into barbarism and the Anglo-Saxon into civilization. Christianity and fetichism are alike physical results depending upon different operations of the same law. A man sets his face heavenward for the same reason that the needle points to the north pole. He prays for the same reason that a flower opens toward the sun. A nation bursts into revolution just as a magazine of powder explodes at the touch of fire.

We might multiply such illustrations to any extent. That they are the logical consequences of the theory amplified by Lucretius, and adopted and explained by its modern expositors, and are no play of the imagination, may be seen from their own language. Says Dr. Carpenter:—

> How this metamorphosis takes place; how a force existing as motion, heat, or light, can become a mode of consciousness; how it is possible for aerial vibrations to generate the sensation we call sound, or for the forces liberated by chemical changes in the brain to give rise to emotion; these are mysteries which it is impossible to fathom. But they are not profounder mysteries than the transformation of the physical forces into each other.

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Says Dr. Youmans:—

Man and society, therefore, as viewed by the eye of science, present a series of vast and complex dynamical problems, which are to be studied in the future in the light of the great law by which we have reason to believe all forms and shades of force are governed. The dominion of this law, characterized by Faraday as the highest in physical science which our faculties permit us to perceive, is not limited to physical phenomena; it prevails equally in the world of mind, controlling all the faculties and processes of thought and feeling. Star and nerve tissue are parts of the same system; stellar and nervous forces are correlated.

Says Herbert Spencer:—

The sole truth which transcends experience by underlying it is this, the persistence of force. To this an ultimate analysis brings us down, and on this a rational synthesis must be built up.

Says Prof. Tyndall:—

And grotesque in relation to scientific culture as many of the religions of the world have been and are; dangerous, nay, destructive, to the dearest privileges of freemen as some of them have undoubtedly been, and would if they could be again, it will be wise to recognize them as the forms of a force, mischievous if permitted to intrude on the region of knowledge over which it holds no command, but capable of being guided by liberal thought to noble issues in the region of emotion, which is its proper sphere.

Now in view of these doctrines here quoted, it is certainly a very pertinent question of Mr. Tyndall, "Is there not a temptation to close to some extent with Lucretius when he affirms that nature is seen to do all things spontaneously of herself without the meddling of the gods?" And we are tempted also to inquire how far modern science differs either in its principles or motions from those of the ancient heathen poet who undertook to free men's minds from the fear of the gods and the fear of death, the two greatest ills, by materializing soul and body, men and gods alike?

A few specimens from Lucretius on several points will show how far his doctrines accord with those now defended, and what products he derives from atoms and force. Take first the origin of life:—

To come to another point, whatever things we perceive to have sense, you must yet admit to be all composed of senseless first beginnings. I do not assert that the sensible and sensations are forthwith begotten out of all elements without exception which

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produce things; but that it is of great moment, first, how minute the particles are which make up the sensible thing, and then what shape they possess, and what, in short, they are in their motions, arrangements, and positions, some of which conditions we find in woods and clods; and yet even these, when they have, so to speak, become rotten through the rains, bring forth worms, because bodies of matter driven from their ancient arrangement by a new condition are combined in the manner needed for the begetting of living creatures.

Evidently the philosophers of the British Association who "discern in matter the promise and potency of every form and quality of life," and who make "the phenomena of physical nature as well as those of the human mind have their unsearchable roots in a cosmical life," are uttering no new doctrines.

The theory of mind and soul given by Lucretius is curious and consistent. Mind and soul are one nature, but mind bears the same relation to soul that the head does to the body. The mind "has a fixed seat in the middle region of the breast; all the rest of the soul is disseminated through the whole body, and moves at the will and inclination of the mind." The velocity of this motion proves that it is made up of "seeds exceedingly round and minute." Atoms possess a power of moving in proportion to their smallness and smoothness. Honey is more sticky than water, and moves more slowly because its ultimate particles are larger. How fine these particles are is also shown from the fact that at death the body loses nothing in appearance or weight. But just as the flavor of wine or the aroma of a perfume disappears, so the mind and soul disappear from the body, and are alike the withdrawal of exceedingly smooth, fine, round atoms. Body and soul, however, are mutually dependent. "With first beginnings so interlaced from their earliest birth are they formed and gifted with a life of joint partnership, and it is plain that the faculty of the body and of the mind cannot feel separately, each alone without the other's power, but sense is kindled throughout our flesh, and blown into flame between the two by the joint motions on the part of both."

Those who have read the automatic theory of Prof. Huxley will see that it is only a modification of these ideas. He sums up his discussion by saying: "The only conclusion, then, at

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which there seems any good ground for arriving is that animals are machines, but that they are conscious machines; and what applies to brutes applies in its fullness and entirety to man."

See now Lucretius' theory of volition. It presupposes "idols" or images which are thrown off from all bodies, or are "spontaneously begotten." These exist in multitudes, and float every-where like shadows over the landscape.

Now how it comes to pass that we are able to step out when we please, and how it is given to us to move about our limbs, and what cause is wont to push forward the great load of this our body, I will tell. I say that idols of walking first present themselves to our mind and strike on the mind; then the will arises, for no one begins to do any thing until his mind first determines what it wills. From the very fact that it determines such a thing there is an image of that thing. When, therefore, the mind bestirs itself in such a way as to will to walk and step out, it strikes at the same moment the force of the soul which is spread over the whole body throughout the limbs and frame; and this is easily done, since the whole is held in close union with the mind. Next the soul in its turn strikes the body, and thus the whole mass by degrees is pushed on and set in motion. Then again the body becomes also rarefied, and the air, as you see its nature is, being always so nimble in moving, comes and passes in great quantity through the opened pores, and is thus distributed into the most minute parts of the body. In this way, then, by these two causes acting in two ways, the body, like a ship, is carried on by sails and wind.

Has Prof. Huxley made any change or improvement upon this when he says that animals "act mechanically, and that their indifferent states of consciousness, their sensations, their thoughts, their volitions, are the products and consequences of the mechanical arrangements; that molecular changes in the brain, which answer to what Haller called *vestigia rerum*, and which David Hartley termed *Vibratiuncles*, give rise to those emotions which in ourselves we call volition?"

It would be interesting had we space to compare the theories of Lucretius with those of modern scientists in relation to the various phenomena of sensation, and we should be struck with their great similarity. For instance, Prof. Tyndal's recent utterances in regard to the nature of sight are almost identical with those of Lucretius. It would be interesting also to trace the details of his development theory, a little more specific, to be sure, than the Darwinian, but all the more meritorious, if bold guesses at the truth are the test; how wombs grew, at-

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tached to the earth by roots, and when the infants were born, kind mother earth nursed them with suitable milk; how the race went on through naked beastliness, skin-clothing, and cave-houses up to intelligence and luxury; how language was a natural necessity, just as for a calf to butt before it has horns, or panthers to scratch before they have claws; how the idea of worship crept into men's minds; how the different arts and inventions became known; and many other things which are carefully and consistently elaborated from his two foundation principles. But enough has been said to show the relation of his theories to those of modern science, and the influence of his work on modern thought.

As to the atheistical tendencies of such a philosophy, it seems difficult to see how it can be otherwise. If there are gods they are no more than etherealized men, and utterly disconnected with the universe. If the doctrines held by both Lucretius and his followers of this age be correct, that spirit cannot exist apart from body, then an incarnation is impossible, and the New Testament Christ is a mightier myth than all the rest; unless, indeed, it can be somehow shown that matter in its grosser forms may become the habitation of matter more highly etherealized, whose ordinary properties become entirely neutralized by taking up such a residence in another body.

If the physical theories of ancient and modern philosophy come to the same thing—if they are one in essentials and differ only in modes and formulas—why is it not the more manly and honorable course for the philosophers of our own day to imitate the honesty of Lucretius also, and inscribe plainly on their books, "There is no God, and death is an eternal sleep." Lucretius does not hesitate to affirm his conclusions: "Death, therefore, to us is nothing; concerns us not a jot, since the nature of the mind is proved to be mortal." "The nature of the mind cannot come into being alone without the body, nor exist far away from sinews and blood." "The nature of things has by no means been made for us by divine power, so great are the defects with which it is encumbered." These doctrines are formally announced at the outset of his argument, and continually elaborated in all his books. He claims them as the legitimate deductions of the materialistic theory and sufficient reason why it should be adopted. If modern materialists would

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be equally bold, they would more nearly measure up to their great prototype. It is to be feared that under the profession of truth-seekers, they (some of them at least) are either consciously or unconsciously the enemies of the truth. It may be a noble and brave sentiment that the only question for any man to ask is, "Is this true, or is it false?" and that "Logical consequences can take care of themselves." But to assume that it *is* the truth that men are automatic machines is quite another thing. Prof. Huxley may be brave enough to risk the logical consequences of his *belief* in that assumption, wherever it may land him, but the Christian world for a while longer will prefer that theory which is stated by a wiser man: "The king's heart is in the hand of the Lord as the rivers of water; he turneth it whithersoever he will;" and if both be mysterious, they will still have a choice for the divine rather than the human.

The atomic philosophy seems to have been strangely fated to force its disciples into materialistic atheism. And yet their wide difference of purpose and conclusion seem to show that such a tendency is not wholly due to the philosophy, but largely to the disposition, of its advocates. Epicurus used it as a convenient theory to justify a life of indolence and voluptuousness. "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die," was the sensual maxim that should govern human life, for that is all the life man lives. Lucretius seizes the theory as the ultimate principle of physical order that governs all the events of human life, but especially banishes from it the grim specter of death, and the dread of the divine vengeance in a future world. Bacon and Newton could adopt it without finding it inconsistent with the Christian faith in which they died. Hobbes and Schelling, and following them, in their tendencies if not in their declarations, a whole host of modern materialists, are willingly landed either in materialistic or ideal atheism. For Lucretius we see some ground for exercising charity. He was an observer of Roman corruption in the last days of the republic. His feet touched the gory stream which Marius and Sylla had opened in the streets of the Eternal City. He had looked upon her spectacles, her social debauchery, and the mockery of her superstitious worship. It was but natural for him to be disgusted with the falsehood and cruelty that seemed to be the fruit of such a religion, and to seek a substitute which would

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secure order without caprice and a release from the grossness of idolatry. In the regularity and constancy of atomic movements he found his god, and destroyed the sting of death in a soulless hereafter. But what charity can be had for those who in the center of the nineteenth century, and with the history of Christianity behind them, either openly or covertly, use the theory of Lucretius to rob themselves and the world of Christ?

To those whose time or inclinations forbid the reading of Lucretius in the original, Munro's translation, from which the most of our quotations are made, will furnish an excellent substitute. Many ingenious applications of his philosophy are there elaborately wrought out, affording interesting parallels to the deductions of modern science. Aside from its moral design, the poem has great literary merit. It is one of the noblest specimens of the Latin tongue. It moves on with the stately grandeur becoming to so profound a theme, and yet charms us with the most winning grace. Its opening lines picture Mars in the lap of Venus. Both deities govern the inspiration of the poem, the one with his clashing arms and martial tread, the other with her gliding grace and gentle movement. The dry, hard march of argument is tempered by the music of rhythm, and its monotony is broken by the novelties of the imagination. Some of his tropes are of singular originality and expressiveness. He tells of the hues that are displayed by the "golden brood of peacocks steeped in laughing beauty;" of "snake-handed elephants," and of India "fenced about with an ivory rampart." The logic of his philosophy is vitalized by the enthusiasm of conviction and the energy of an absorbing purpose.

Tradition asserts that he was a suicide at the age of forty-four. No authentic records corroborate the statement, and it is hard to believe it. Yet such an end harmonizes with his philosophy; and if his own arguments had freed him from the fear of death and the gods, it might have been a relief to him to escape from the corruption and turmoil of his age to the unconscious whirl of his original atoms.

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ART. IV.—OUR INDIA MISSION.*

ITS HISTORY.

THE mission only reaches back to 1857. It was born amid the storms and trials of an Indian mutiny. But it was a child of Providence. Rev. Dr. Butler, the ecclesiastical explorer of the Methodist Episcopal Church, was sent out in 1856, arriving in the city of Lucknow, Oudh, November 29. Failing to secure a permanent residence, and discouraged from his undertaking by the government officials, he proceeded to Bareilly, in Rohilcund, in January, 1857, thus escaping the terrible scenes of the Residency. In May, 1857, he escaped with his family to Nynee Tal, and while the storm raged below, safe amid the eternal hills, he preached the Gospel of peace, and firmly established Methodism on the tops of the mountains.

On the 28th of August, 1858, he returned to Bareilly. The first native member of the Methodist Episcopal Church in India was Joel, who came to Dr. Butler from the Presbyterians in Allahabad. Joined in September, 1857, by Dr. Humphrey, by Rev. S. Knowles in 1858, and by Revs. Judd, Waugh, Parker, and Thoburn in 1859, the American Methodist Episcopal Mission was settled permanently in Oudh and Rohilcund, occupying as centers Lucknow, Bareilly, and Moradabad. The Boys and Girls' Orphanages were organized in Bareilly in 1860, numbering some one hundred and sixty souls. In 1861 the Mission Press was established in Bareilly for the purpose of doing job work. In 1866 it was removed to Lucknow. December 8, 1864, in the city of Lucknow, the mission was organized into a conference by Bishop Thomson. It then had ten churches, valued at 10,780 rupees; nineteen parsonages, valued at 74,880 rupees; seventeen missionaries, nine local preachers, one hundred and seventeen members, ninety-two probationers, nine schools, thirty-nine teachers, and three hundred and ninety-seven scholars. One hundred and fifteen had received baptism during the year. In 1864 Paori in Gurhwal was occupied, making the eleventh station. In 1866 there were fourteen stations and twenty-four mem-

* "Minutes of the India Conference, 1864–1875." "Allahabad Missionary Conference Report, 1872–3." "Calcutta Evangelical Review." "The Lucknow Witness." "The Land of the Veda."

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bers of conference, (four natives,) distributed through Oudh, Rohilcund, Kumaon, and Gurhwal. In 1869 the Christian Colony of Phanapore ("City of Refuge") was established. In 1870 it contained thirty-four families, or one hundred and twenty-six souls. A resolution was passed by the conference in 1870 inviting the Rev. William Taylor to the mission, and in 1871 he came. Through the liberality and exertions of Rev. D. W. Thomas, the Theological Seminary was opened April 15, 1872, in the city of Bareilly. Rev. William Taylor was so successful in his labors in Southern India that he and eight others entered the conference in 1874, and formed the Bombay and Bengal Mission.

The history of the India Mission is one of toil, hardship, and self-denial, but, at the same time, one of continued success and triumph. Its history has been onward and upward. A prominent Englishman in India said of the missionaries of the Methodist Episcopal Church in India: "The more their essential spirit is diffused through the whole of the missionary body in India, the sooner will the whole country become the possession of the Lord of us all."

ITS FIELD.

When the founder of the mission came to India, in 1856, he selected the province of Rohilcund as by far the most suitable center for his field of evangelistic operations. Rohilcund is one of the north-west provinces, containing five million five hundred thousand population, of whom about one million one hundred thousand, or one fifth, are Mohammedans, and the great body of the rest Hindus. This province has about twelve thousand and ninety-seven square miles, being a little larger than Rhode Island and Vermont. It has about five hundred souls to the square mile. Bareilly is the chief city, and contains one hundred and two thousand souls. Moradabad and Shahjehanpore are the next largest cities, the latter having seventy-two thousand, and the former sixty-two thousand. Chandausi, at the junction of Alyghur branch and the main line of the Oudh and Rohilcund Railroad, contains forty thousand, and is one of the most important business centers. Twelve cities have from between twelve and fifty thousand; twenty-seven from five to twelve thousand. Then Dr. Butler

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took half of Oudh, or as much of it as lay between Rohilcund and a line drawn north and south through the center of the city of Lucknow. That gave the mission a population of near four and a half millions more, making a grand total of more than eleven million souls taken under the care of the young but enterprising organization, for in all this vast field there was as yet no regularly organized evangelistic work. The field was open. The Macedonian cry was being answered by Methodists, and the followers of Wesley were unfurling the banner of Jesus and driving down their stakes in the very center of earth's mightiest empire. The Gospel leaven in the center of the mighty lump must leaven the whole. That line north and south, through the center of Lucknow, could be no barrier to the followers of Him who said, "Preach the Gospel to every creature;" or of him who uttered the sentiment, "The world is my parish." And so they took all of Oudh. In 1871 and 1872 Cawnpore and Allahabad were occupied. At the same time Methodism had spread from Nynee Tal, both ways, to Paori, and Palee, and Eastern Kumaon, and now threatens to swallow up Almorah. It has gone down to Bombay, has carried the outworks and some of the inworks of Calcutta, and taken everlasting possession of Madras. In these three last cities there are to-day more than one thousand Methodists. It has swept over into Scinde, and Poona, and Secunderabad, and Bangalore. On the 6th of last January it formally took possession of the grand old city of Agra. Dr. Thoburn, next to Taylor the Evangelist of India, has gone to Dirgeeling, the Nynee Tal of Bengal. So that to-day the India Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church occupies a vast parallelogram across the center of India, whose corners are designated by the cities of Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and Nynee Tal; and whose sides are seven hundred miles in length, and within which are more than one hundred and fifty millions of immortal souls.

God has thus given us the key to the conversion of the world. Brahmanism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism, Parseeism, the superstitions of thirty centuries, must fall when India falls. The belief in the Vedas and the Koran can be obliterated between the presence of saved India and Christian Europe on the one hand, and China must unbind the feet of her daughters and

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unshackle the hearts of her four hundred millions, as India joins America in the conquest.

ITS WORK.

In Rohilcund there are seven mission stations. In Bareilly there is a fine brick church. It cost 16,000 rupees. There is a membership of two hundred. Here is the Theological Seminary. It has thirty-two students, three professors, and an endowment of 128,000 rupees. The Girls' Orphanage, numbering one hundred and sixty, divided into seven classes, and a fine hospital and dispensary, in which were three thousand one hundred and twenty-nine dispensary patients, and from which five thousand and twenty-one prescriptions were given last year, are situate here. Moradabad means not only a city of sixty-two thousand people, but a district of one million five hundred and seventy-four thousand four hundred and seventy-one acres, and four hundred thousand souls, in which we have seven preachers and one hundred and fifty members, five stations, the mission high school, and twenty-five others, containing one thousand scholars, a boarding-school, and a large dispensary. The new school building for the high school cost near 25,000 rupees, and has an American clock and bell.

Shajehanpore has a native Church of ninety members. The Boys' Orphanage contains one hundred and twenty boys and six boarders. And there is a Christian colony at Phanapore, and a large day school in the city.

On the Budaon work are four hundred Christians. The work is carried on from eight different centers, each of which is under an exhorter, and in lieu of an exhorter, a teacher. The circuit is larger than an Annual Conference. Amroha Circuit contains six hundred square miles, and has one hundred and twenty villages in which reside native Christians. This is under a native member of conference.

Bijnour is a flourishing field fifty miles from Moradabad. Sambhal is the Bethlehem of India. Here the last incarnation is to take place. But here Christ has already come, and Brother Taylor's interpreter is doing a good work among the people. In Oudh, there is Lucknow, with its English and native Church; its press, which sent out three million pages last year; its "Witness," with six hundred and fifty subscrib-

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ers; its boarding-school, and its one thousand Sunday-school scholars. Cawnpore, in which is a flourishing English boarding-school, opened in 1864, and an English and native Church, with five Sunday-schools. Allahabad, with its real live, self-supporting work. Roy Bareilly, Seetapore, Gondah, fields among the masses; and last, but not least, Agra, where already half a hundred Methodists "praise God, from whom all blessings flow," under the very shadow of the *Taj Mahal.* In the Kumaon and Gurhwal District six stations are taken up. This district is about the size of Vermont, with a population of six hundred and thirty-four thousand five hundred and thirty-two. In Nynee Tal during the "season," from April to November, there is a good English congregation which gave last year 326 rupees missionary money. There is also an encouraging native work. In Paori there is a good school. The natives in the mountains are much more independent than elsewhere, hence harder to reach and more firm when saved. So much for North India.

What can we say of Bombay and Bengal? Does it need any thing more than that Methodism is firmly established in Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Poona, Secunderabad, Bangalore, and that in less than three years the membership has run up from zero to one thousand and thirty-one; that in Calcutta a church is going up at an estimated cost of sixty thousand rupees, and that no public building in the city is large enough to hold the crowds that flock to the services? An old missionary, upon visiting Bombay, wrote: "Methodism here is alive, earnest, simple, self-supporting, and aggressive. There are many earnest workers. God is with them."

In Madras, Methodism numbers three hundred and fifty. Methodism in India is unity. The work is one. The mission is united. Those who think otherwise live twelve thousand miles away. Paul plants, Apollos waters, but God gives the increase.

ITS MEN.

There are fifty-one of them members of conference, fifteen of whom were raised up in India, and five of them natives. Our Conference has only seventeen less than the first Method-

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ist Conference in 1744, after about the same number of years' labor. Of the thirty-seven who came from America, one came from San Francisco, one from Boston, two from Canada, and six from Ohio. There are several *bonâ fide* Yankees, but in the eyes of Englishmen we all share alike that compliment. A writer in the Calcutta "Evangelical Review" said of the American Methodists in India:—

> There is no doubt that our Methodist brethren are really in earnest about their work, and whatever *peculiarities of dialect* or of method may arrest attention, and possibly jar on the *feelings* of some, they thoroughly understand what they are doing and quite intend to do it. Nor is there any body of men more devoted than they are, though it must be added that their prayers would be equally fervent and effectual without the peculiar spasmodic, hysterical noises that sometimes accompany them, which is also true of some others of their alleged characteristics, such as a certain deficiency in intellectual breadth and culture, a religious dialect and phraseology more turgid than precise, a too subjective self-conscious and emotional style of both speech and manner, a somewhat oracular tone, reminding one strangely of papal infallibility, and a weakness for honorary titles.

But in spite of the above, these men are bound to take India for Christ. The men are in earnest, and from Nynee Tal to Madras India is finding it out. One is willing to be hanged in Hurtullah, another counts it joy to receive the stripes of a mob in Bombay, and another would die for Christ in Kerah Bhujera. Sir William Muir, who held for six years the highest appointment anticipated by civilians in India, said at a public meeting that "no other men are doing or can do the work that the American missionaries are doing in India." Where can you find such zealous, humble, self-sacrificing, earnest, holy men as Thoburn, Taylor, Parker, or Brown? And shoulder to shoulder stand such men, noble men, as Zahur-ul-Huqq, Hiram A. Cutting, Joel, and Ambica Charn Paul.

ITS DIFFICULTIES.

Although India is the grandest mission field on the face of the round globe, yet it has its difficulties corresponding in magnitude with its advantages. Let us name some of them:—

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1. There is a difficult language to learn. Much more so than any of the languages of Europe. Its idioms are totally different from ours. It is a mixed language, and the usages of the different languages which enter into it have to be learned. It requires years of steady application, hard study, and continual practice, to become fluent.

2. There is a wide breach between the missionaries and the natives, a lack of sympathy. The natives look upon us as belonging to the ruling nation. They fear, but do not love. One of the great questions is, How can a sympathy be created between the missionaries and the people?

3. There is the massive force of Hinduism to contend with. The Hindus go in a body. They are bound together as a mighty unit by customs, laws, religion, and national feelings thirty centuries old, and they are as impregnable as a stone wall and as compact as a regiment of soldiers.

4. There is a bad climate to contend with. From the 15th of April to the 20th of June it is very hot, the thermometer often over one hundred degrees in the shade, so that from eight in the morning to five in the afternoon it is dangerous to be out. From July to September it is very wet, sometimes the rain coming down in torrents for days. Then there is malaria and disease every-where, and the heat is but little abated and the oxygen has gone from the air, and life and energy are deficient in the body.

5. There is caste to contend with. Caste is a monster. Caste is an ancient foe. Caste is like a mighty "living wall of human wood" between the missionaries and souls. Caste is cold, firm, tenacious, immovable. For a Hindu to break his caste is to break his heart, his fortune, and his neck.

6. There is Mohammedanism to contend with. Mohammedans are bigots. They are the Pharisees of India. They are ignorant, zealous, proud, and insulting.

7. There are ungodly foreigners to contend with. Hindus and Mohammedans are bad enough, but often we are opposed by the ungodly lives of those of our own race and language. The natives look at the ungodly, unsaved soldiers or civilians and say, "There is a sample of what you want to make out of us."

8. There are the Eurasians. Often they never saw their

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fathers. They come of bad blood. The iniquity follows to the third and fourth generation. Generally they are a lifeless, deceitful, ignorant class, with all the shrewdness of their fathers, and all the corruption of their mothers.

9. There is the Established Church. It is established in formality and deadness, and is fast going to Rome.

10. There is Romanism itself. There are one hundred thousand Romanists in India. Many of them are worse than heathens. They have a very bad form, and none of the power, of godliness.

11. There is a deadening, corrupting, paralyzing, heathenish atmosphere every-where. These are but a few of the difficulties.

ITS STATISTICS.

I. Church Property, Etc.

Year.	Church Property.					Collections.			
	Churches	Value.	Parsonages.	Value.	Total Value.	Missionary.	Other.	Sale of Books.	Total.
1864.....	10	10,780	19	74,880	85,660	3,580	200	..	3,780
1874.....	18	75,410	21	99,994	175,404	1,685	6,633	1,168	9,486
Increase....	8	64,630	2	25,114	89,744	d.1,895	6,433	1,168	5,706

N. B.—Amounts of money is given in rupees. To find dollars, divide by 2.

II. Schools.

Year.	Day-schools.								Sunday-schools.		
	Number.	Teachers.	Number on Roll.	Christians.	Hindus.	Mohammedans.	Cost.	Each Pupil.	Number.	Officers & T'hers.	Number on Roll.
1868....	50	125	3,906	425	2,144	807	43,789	11¼	81	92	860
1874....	217	400	8,015	757	3,894	1,981	63,996	7¼	126	293	5,433

III. Membership, etc.

Year.	Members.	Probationers.	Local Preach's.	Total.	Increase.	Baptisms.
1864.....	117	92	9	218	....	115
1874*	1,853	1,401	40	3,294	3,076	520

* Of these there were, in Northern India, 1,145 members, 778 probationers, 40 local preachers, and 520 baptisms; in Bombay and Bengal, 708 members and 623 probationers.

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Art. V.—THE ANGLO-SAXON RACE:

ITS HISTORY, CHARACTER, AND DESTINY.

In every period of history some single nation acts the leading part. The others, like the minor characters in a tragedy, circle around it, content to contribute to its success and share in its glory. Political power and the arts of civilization are for the time being intrusted to this one; and while playing its destined *rôle* in the great epic poem of human life, its sister races struggle in vain to surpass it, or yield to the decrees of Providence and acknowledge its superiority.

Persia, Egypt, Greece, and Rome, were each for centuries star actors of the highest excellence. They combined intellectual skill and physical force. The magnificent ruins in Asia; the pyramids, temples, and monuments of Egypt; the literature, laws, and works of art of Greece and Rome; attest this. But Cyrus, Darius, and Xerxes, Rameses and the Ptolemies; the cultured worshipers at the shrine of Apollo and Minerva; Solon, Pericles, Socrates, and Plato; the twelve Cesars, rulers of the world; and the political and social systems which each represented, have passed off the stage.

Another and a different race is now before us, one that is and ever has been distinguished for its energy, activity, love of individual liberty, and of national independence. From its composite ancestry and character, it is now called the Anglo-Saxon. Our own country is, perhaps, its most promising and vigorous representative. In sketching the history of a people whose infancy runs back two or three thousand years, authentic records are wanting; but the affinity of languages often enables the student to discover and bring to light the important, yet otherwise hidden, facts of a nation's early life. The great antiquity of the Saxons compels us to resort to this source of information.

The various languages of Europe naturally range themselves into three distinct families or classes, the Celtic, the Gothic, and the Sclavonic; each having characteristics peculiar to itself, yet showing a latent bond of union which indicates that they and the races speaking them had somewhere in the distant past a common origin. The cultivated nations of modern Europe

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and of America are all of Aryan stock, or, as some writers call them, Japhetians, from Japhet, son of Noah; but 4,000 years have made wide distinctions in language, character, and name between the different branches of this great mother race. Sanskrit is, perhaps, the nearest to the Aryan of any language now known; and philological investigation traces back to that source roots of all modern cultivated tongues, and indicates that their origin is not only Asiatic, but Aryan. This view is confirmed by the few passages of ancient history extant upon this point. All the witnesses we can summon from languages, from history, and from monumental stones, tell us that Europe was peopled by three great streams of population from Asia, which have come to be designated as the Celtic, the Gothic, and Sclavonic streams or races.

The first of these three races was the Celtic, or Keltic. The origin of this name is doubtful. Some look upon the stem "Cel," or "Kel," as a simple primitive word formed by a guttural and a lingual; some derive it from the Gaelic "ceilt," an inhabitant of the forest; others from the Welsh "celt," a covert, or "celtiad," one who dwells in a covert, or from "celu," to hide; while others say that it is from the Latin "celare," to conceal, and was given to them by the Romans because they concealed their habitations in the depths of the forests and in caves. Another writer illustrates the name by three Greek words meaning to conceal something from some one, and infers from this the antiquity of the happy, and often entertaining, faculty of narrating fictions, that some perverse minds have thought characterized the true Celt. Another authority says, that this habit results simply from a desire to please; and hence, unlike a certain ancient Greek, the Celt is said to be given to saying things agreeable rather than things disagreeable though true. This race was afterward closely pressed upon by their more powerful, warlike, and ambitious Gothic successors, and they gradually retired and dwindled away upon the western shores of Europe and the British Islands, till few are left except the inhabitants of the coast of France, the extreme northern Scotch or Highlanders, the Welsh, and the Irish. Their emigration from Asia is earlier than the historic period. It occurred before the invention of letters, when nations had no means, save vague tradition, of

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treasuring up their story and handing it down to posterity. The arts and sciences among them were as yet hardly born; hence their exit from Asia or entrance into Europe was marked by no monuments that might, like those of Egypt, through their astronomical inscriptions, tell to the men of science, three thousand years afterward, the date of their erection.

Races of men have great functions to perform in the drama of human life upon this globe; and when performed, they and their works, in the course of Providence, imperceptibly melt away. Their stronger and better elements are absorbed by their more vigorous and manly, I might say godly, successors; while the weaker ones, being of no further use to humanity, sink away, and disappear in the sea of oblivion. The Celts, as a distinctive branch of the human family, long since reached their climax, and are now too small in number to become again noted. As an element, a factor, in the composition of races, they are of great value; but as a separate and independent result they have ceased to exist.

The Gothic or Scythian immigrations came next. These were a bold, roving, nomadic people, who spread themselves over the mountains, and into the vast forests, plains, and marshes of Europe, till they occupied nearly the whole continent. This second stream is peculiarly interesting to us, because from its branches have sprung the Anglo-Saxons, the Lowland Scotch, the Danes, Norwegians, Germans, Lombards, Normans, and Franks; not only our immediate ancestors, but also those of the most celebrated nations of modern Europe. They made their appearance in Europe, according to Homer, Herodotus, Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemaius of Alexandria, about seven or eight hundred years before the Christian era.

The third and last great influx was the Sclavonic. This has occupied Russia, Poland, Eastern Prussia, Moravia, and Bohemia; a race once possessed of great power and glory, for their very name is derived from the word "Sclava," which in the original tongue meant "fame," "glory," or "renown." If the Pan-Slavic dreams of the Muscovite statesmen, to unite this whole race under one head and to develop and perfect it by a rigorous system of universal education, is ever realized, the Sclavs will have at some future period a great *rôle* to play.

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But the next act in the world's drama is cast for another people, and it does not require a prophet's eye to discern that, for centuries to come, the Gothic nations are to lead the world in social, political, material, and intellectual progress. Of these the Anglo-Saxons, from the circumstances of their history and their enterprising character, are admirably qualified for the noblest destiny. Their history naturally divides itself into four periods.

The *first* extends from their origin in Asia, about the year 1000 B. C., or the date of the Temple of Solomon, to the establishment of their power in England, A. D. 500.

The *second*, from that time to the Norman conquest, A. D. 1066.

The *third*, from this epoch to the English revolution and the settlement of America, A. D. 1650.

The *fourth*, from those two events to the present time.

About 1,000 years before Christ a martial people of Aryan stock ruled the part of Asia about the Caspian Sea, and were generally designated in history as Scythians. They carried on wars against the Assyrians and the Medes. Some national difficulty, threatening if not producing civil war, arose among them about 800 B.C., and the younger branch, called the Sakai, moved west into Asia Minor, and into the part of Europe east and north of the Black Sea. They attacked the Persians, who then ruled Asia Minor, defeated Cyrus the emperor, captured the most fertile province of Armenia, named it after themselves, Sakasina, or the land of the Sakai, and made themselves entirely at home there. They became so celebrated that the Persians finally gave their name to all the Scythians, of whom, as we have stated, they were only a branch.

Strabo and Pliny, at the beginning of the Christian era, speak of them as Sakai-Suna, or sons of Sakai, and the most distinguished of the people of Scythia; and of this province as having from them taken the name of Sakasina. This important fact gives a locality to our early ancestors, and accounts for the Persian words, several hundred in number, that occur in the Anglo-Saxon language. One writer says that Sakai-Suna became for ease of utterance contracted into Saksuna, and then into Saxon; but this etymology of Saxon may be akin to the derivation given in the "Diversions of Purley" of "King Pepin," from the Greek pronoun "*δσπερ.*"

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On entering Europe they, in the seventh century before Christ, attacked the Celts or Cimmerians the then occupants of the country about the river Don, drove one part of them back into Asia, and the others west into the center of Europe, and took possession of their lands. The particular rank that they held among the Scythian tribes in their conquering progress across Europe is now unknown; but we may justly infer that it was not unworthy their previous and their after history. We find them at the beginning of the Christian era inhabiting a small territory at the mouth of the river Elbe, composed chiefly of three provinces and three small islands; and from dire necessity just beginning to learn the art of navigation, and to take to the sea for a livelihood. Within these narrow limits was contained a people whose descendants are now leading the world in commercial enterprise and political and religious liberty.

Such is the course of Providence, that empires the most extended and formidable vanish like the morning mist; while tribes scarcely visible, like the springs of a mighty river, glide on to greatness. The largest of these islands was only twenty miles in length; and the most important one, and which contained the greater part of their wealth and a fine harbor, was still smaller. They called it Helgoland, or the sacred island; for, having but one approach by sea, it afforded a safe retreat from their enemies, and was the favorite home of their gods. These, like Mars and Mercury, were the personification of man's baser passions, and presided over war and plundering. No music was more grateful to them than the groans of slaughtered enemies; no offerings more acceptable than the trophies of the battle-field. In accordance with the spirit of that age, the glory of arms alone was sought by those who aspired to the favor of the gods or the honor of men. They, therefore, carried on a continual warfare with the neighboring tribes, but gained little, either in territory or wealth, till the Roman emperors conceived the idea of subjugating all the northern nations of Europe. This was a happy event for the Saxons, and, with a worldly wisdom peculiar to their race, they turned it to their advantage, and began at once to rise in the scale of power and influence.

The Germanic tribes, whose territory lay between them and

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Rome, being attacked by the more powerful and sanguinary legions of Italy, ceased to oppose them. Their isolated situation secured them from danger, and they were quiet spectators of the fearful struggle about them; or else, at a favorable opportunity, fell upon a weakened neighbor, struck a decisive blow, and annexed his lands and people to their own. This policy, however repugnant to the feelings of a Christian age, pervaded Europe at that time, and was especially practiced by the imperial tyrants of the city of Romulus, whose cruelty, inhumanity, and selfishness give a color of truth to their tradition that their founder had a she-wolf nurse. A surname from a country subdued was a charm that made its generals deaf to the calls of humanity; and with an ignorant and degenerate populace, it was the surest passport to unlimited power.

By the middle of the third century the successes of the Romans were so rapid and great that they threatened the total subversion of the liberties of Germany. To prevent this these wild inhabitants of the woods formed, in the year 240, on the banks of the Rhine, that celebrated confederation, offensive and defensive, in which the peculiar denominations of each tribe were merged in the general name of Franks; which word, as well as the people it designates, has undergone changes until we now call it French. This confederation was a second fortunate event for the Saxons.

The power of Rome now began to crumble. At home, civil wars were consuming the strength of the empire; abroad, its German enemies not only had many losses of property, life, and liberty to avenge, but they had learned the dangerous secret so well illustrated in the late German war, that union is strength; while the Romans, like the French in the same war, seemed bent upon demonstrating the opposite theorem, that discord is weakness. Ambitious of power and wealth, Rome had annexed, by mere brute force, without assimilating its elements, so large a part of Europe, Asia, and Africa, that she was ready almost of her own weight to tumble to pieces.

History teaches that no nation, spread over a wide territory and composed of heterogeneous and discordant elements, can long preserve its integrity. Homogeneity and harmony are essential to permanent national existence.

The advantages of the Frankish league generated others of

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like character, until the Roman Empire was overwhelmed by this accumulating torrent of enemies, and her western provinces were captured and parceled out among her rude spoilers, whose improved posterity now governs two continents. The Franks, from their locality, were placed in this long contest like a shield between the Saxons and Romans, and were compelled to employ all their resources against the imperial legions. This left the Saxons at liberty to take whatever course promised to contribute most to their own aggrandizement.

A providential event, not originating from themselves, but from a Roman emperor who intended no such results, occurred at the close of the third century, which by directing the attention of the Saxons to maritime exploits on a larger scale, with grander prospects, and to more distant countries than before, exerted an important influence upon their own destiny and that of Europe, and finally of America.

The emperor Probus, harassed by the annual incursions of the barbarous hordes around the Euxine, now the Black Sea, transplanted a large body of various tribes, including Saxons, from the vicinity of the Elbe to that region to serve as a protection against future inroads. But the attachment of mankind to the scenes of their childhood, and their ardent longing when in foreign lands for the country their relatives inhabit, where their most pleasing associations have been formed, where their individual characters have been acquired, and customs like their own exist, are feelings so natural to every bosom, and so common to every age, that it is not surprising that these exiles longed to return to their native wilds. Impelled by this desire, they seized the earliest opportunity of abandoning their foreign settlements and possessing themselves of the ships lying in the adjacent harbors; they formed the daring plan of sailing back to the Rhine, though they were more than two thousand miles distant by sea, with no chart, compass, or pilots, and ignorant of the many islands and shoals and currents of the Black and Mediterranean Seas. Compelled to land wherever they could for supplies, safety, and information, they ravaged the coasts of Asia and Greece. Arriving at Sicily, they attacked and plundered its capital with great slaughter. Beaten about by the winds, often ignorant where they were, seeking subsistence, pillaging to obtain it, and excited to new plunder by the success-

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ful depredations they had already committed, they carried their hostility to several districts of Africa. They were driven off that continent by a force sent for the purpose from Carthage. Turning toward Europe, they passed the pillars of Hercules, sailed out into the Atlantic Ocean, rounded the Iberian peninsula, crossed the stormy Bay of Biscay, passed through the British Channel, and finally terminated their remarkable voyage by reaching their fatherland at the mouth of the Elbe.

This wonderful expedition discovered to these adventurers and to their neighbors, to all, in short, who heard and had the courage to imitate, that from the Roman colonies a rich harvest of spoil might be gathered if sought for by sea. It removed the vail of terror that hung over distant oceans and foreign expeditions; for these exiles had desolated every province almost with impunity. They had plunder to exhibit sufficient to fire the avarice of every spectator. They had acquired skill which those who joined them might soon inherit. On land the Roman tactics and discipline were generally invincible, but at sea they were comparatively unskilled and weak. The Saxons perceived this, and immediately turned their whole attention to naval warfare. Like their American descendants, they were cunning and apt at whatever they undertook. Their navy became so effective in a few years that every country of Europe bordering on the sea had contributed to their wealth, and they annoyed the Roman commerce to such a degree that large fleets were fitted out against them, and an officer appointed by the Romans as early as the beginning of the fifth century styled "The Superintendent of the Saxon Shore." These exploits had filled their island with wealth.

At this early period, fourteen hundred years ago, we see beginning to manifest itself that commercial spirit which has always been a great element in Saxon prosperity both national and individual. Their situation on the coast of Europe, near to fertile Roman provinces, yet remote enough to elude vengeful pursuit, and the possession of an island with a harbor so ample and yet so guarded as Helgoland, were in that age strong inducements to piracy. Their occasional service with the Romans or Franks —for they cared but little for whom they fought provided they acquired glory and booty—was admirably calculated to prepare them for such a life. It may be a little mortifying to our

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national pride to trace our paternity to a nation of freebooters, but it is always safe to admit and stand by the truth; and besides, we can comfort our wounded self-esteem with the recollection that the Roman Republic, once so respected that to be even a "Roman citizen" was a notable honor, sprung from a den of thieves, whose character was so bad that their only way to get wives was to steal them.

The poverty and hardihood of the neighboring tribes poorly repaid the Saxons for expeditions by land, while their sea-girt home and skill on the water was ever inviting them to ravage the ocean. Their approach and retreat were so sudden and unexpected that they met with little opposition, and in their light and swift-sailing barks they easily escaped the clumsy Roman vessels, or else bought immunity from the unprincipled commanders of Rome by permitting them to share a part of their plunder. The Roman government at last discovered the maladministration of their admirals, and ordered the chief officer to be punished. But, trusting to his popularity and strength, he with his legions and ships joined the Saxons, and taught them all that the most celebrated nation then knew of the naval and military art. He was proclaimed Emperor of Rome, and paid the Saxons for their assistance by giving them permission to plunder with impunity every province that did not acknowledge his power. Sixty years afterward they aided another military aspirant for the "Roman Crown" to gain his object by a similar alliance.

Circumstances like these educated the Saxons for the empire of the ocean, and molded them, as by the plastic hand of Providence, to become a race that should excel not only in war, but in commerce, arts, knowledge, and fame, every other people. During the fourth century most of the nations north of the Rhine assumed their name and fought under their flag. They seduced or conquered many allies of the Franks, and at the fall of Rome were masters of the seas, and quite able to compete with any nation of Europe on the land. This ends the first period of their history. In a space of about fourteen hundred years, ending with the fifth century, we have seen them spring up from the valley of the Caspian Sea, conquer and give their name to a part of Asia Minor, move into Europe, pass fifteen hundred miles across it, become a great power on both

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land and sea, and give their name to the country on the Elbe, a part of which is still called the kingdom of Saxony.

We now come to the second period, namely, the establishment of their power in England, and its continuance down to the Norman conquest. Their ambition was now about to appear in a new field. They had often visited Britain in predatory excursions, and were known as a fearless race of warriors, ready to lend their swords to any enterprise that promised a rich reward. Therefore, when the Britons, abandoned by the Roman legions, found themselves a prey to the fierce and tenacious Scots and Picts, they invited two Saxon princes, the reputed descendants of the god Woden, to come to their assistance. The invitation was readily accepted. Their fleets brought an army across the North Sea, and they soon conquered the enemies of their new allies. But then, instead of going back to the Elbe, they thought the country a sort of new land of Canaan, flowing with milk and honey, and, as usual, made themselves at home in it, sent word to Saxony of the riches and fertility of Britain, and forming an alliance with the warlike Scots and Picts, whom they came to resist, they proceeded to reduce to subjection the Britons, whom they had engaged to protect. Reinforced by two neighboring tribes, called the Angles and Jutes, people of similar manners, customs, and origin to their own, they subdued Britain after a struggle of one hundred and fifty years, divided it into eight kingdoms, and took the name of Anglo-Saxons. Two of these kingdoms, Berenicia and Deira, were afterward united in one, making seven, or the Saxon Heptarchy.

England seems to have been populated at first by the Celts, then visited apparently by the Phœnicians and Carthagenians, and afterward occupied for nearly four centuries by the Romans. It had derived from these successive inhabitants all the benefits that each could impart. But now it was possessed by a new kind of people, who had been gradually formed, amid the wars and vicissitudes of the Germanic continent, to manners, laws, and customs peculiarly their own, and adapted, as the great result has shown, to produce national and social institutions superior to those of either Asia, Africa, Greece, or Rome. Our Saxon ancestors brought with them for those times an elevated domestic and moral character, and the rudi-

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ments of new political, juridical, and intellectual blessings. They laid the foundations of that national constitution, of that internal polity, of those peculiar customs, and of that vigor and directness of thought, to which the English-speaking races are indebted for the high social and political rank which they now hold.

But as the Saxon power increased in Britain it declined on the continent. Charlemagne, at the close of the eighth century, became emperor of the Franks. He was to their armies what Alexander the Great was to the Macedonians, and Cæsar to the Romans, and Bonaparte to the French. He organized and led their forces against the Saxons; and after one of the most obstinate and bloody wars that history records, they were conquered in seven pitched battles, and lost their predominance on the continent, and have ever since acted a secondary, but not obscure, part among the Gothic States of Europe.

Saxony is still a kingdom, though stripped of its ancient honors, and presents a people highly intellectual and cultivated. Its nobles have been emperors of Germany, and from them have sprung some of the most illustrious princes of middle Europe, princes who, by their activity, leagues, conquests, and love of independence, have done much for German civilization. Saxony has the honor of having given birth to Luther, the great reformer of Christianity; and its chieftains of having supported and enabled him to carry through his emancipation of mind from the shackles of papacy. The rise of the Saxon nation on the continent has therefore been singularly propitious for human improvement.

The Saxons were, indeed, in their early days, without the knowledge and culture of letters possessed by the effeminate and enslaved inhabitants of Greece and Italy; but there is an education of mind, distinct from the literary, which is gradually imparted by the contingencies of active life. In this, which is always the education of the largest portion of mankind, our Saxon ancestors were never deficient. They had been nurtured in the rugged school of adversity, and amid the wilds of Asia and Europe, or compassed by the stormy ocean, they had learned to meet unmoved the most appalling dangers, and had carved out for themselves a lofty name. On the transfer of their power to the Island of Britain they would,

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in the midst of ease and luxury, have lost fortitude of character had not the ambitious rulers of the Heptarchy, each striving to extend the limits of his own kingdom at the expense of his neighbor's, kept it constantly exercised. Thus, their separation into several independent States, though not conducive to refinement of manners and mental improvement, preserved and developed to a surprising degree the practical and active talents of the Saxons. But as the number of kings were diminished by the fortunes of war or the accidents of life, the people underwent a corresponding change. Peace and plenty brought degeneracy and inefficiency.

A nation that both believes and practices Christianity as taught by our Saviour can endure prosperity; but without some such active, controlling, and elevating sentiment in the mass of the people, nothing but the rude trials, schooling, and spurs of adversity can help men and nations steadily on in the course of improvement. The majority of the Saxons were at this period worshipers of Woden and Thor; and the few that bore the name of Christians were scarcely worthy to be called disciples of Gregory, to whose benevolence they owed their conversion. He was passing through the slave-market of Rome one day, when the white skins, flowing locks, and beautiful countenances of some British youths standing there for sale drew his attention. Being informed that the dwellers in Britain were all of that fair complexion, and pagans, too, his heart was moved, and he exclaimed with a sigh, "What a pity that such a beauteous frontispiece should cover a mind so void of internal graces!" When he heard them called Angles, "It suits them," he said; "they have angel faces, and ought to be coheirs of angels in heaven." The name of their province, Deira, was so like the Latin words *De ira* ("from wrath") that it seemed to his simple mind to imply that they ought to be snatched from the wrath of God. The harmony of their king's name, Ella, with the idea then floating in his mind, completed the impression of the whole scene, and there burst forth from his pious lips the exclamation, "Halleluiah! the praise of the creative Deity must be sung in these regions." When Gregory became pope, one of his first acts was to send a body of missionaries to the Saxon princes. But the religion they taught, besides being corrupted almost to idolatry by the forms and

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image worship of the Church of Rome, was received by many of the heathen sages on the express condition that it should afford them greater worldly riches and honor than the worship of their gods of stone; hence its effect for a long time was little, if any, better than the paganism it supplanted. But God had a work for them to do, and he found them out in their degeneracy, and administered to them a tonic the benefit of which is felt even to this day.

The vikings, or sea-kings, sometimes in English history called the Danes, of the same race as the Saxons, and preserving the manly virtues of the days of Hengist and Horsa, swarmed the ocean from the countries about the Baltic, and invaded Britain. These restless monarchs were a scourge to Europe for a century, and were universally detested for their cruelties. But their innate energy of character contributed an important element to Saxon greatness.

Nations, like individuals, unless they are compelled to struggle in the battle of life, or are ruled by a high sense of duty, will fall into a moral and physical decline. The history of most tropical countries so clearly demonstrates this, that we justly assume it is a blessing rather than a curse, that man, by the sweat of his brow, is compelled to earn his daily bread; for where the fruits of the earth sufficient for his sustenance grow spontaneously, his mental and moral condition approaches that of brutes. The Saxons were on the verge of a moral and national decline, when the invasion of the sea-kings, like a scourge sent from God to chasten them for being untrue to themselves, awakened their energies, and impressed upon them the undying love of liberty and the freedom of the seas, characteristic of that lawless race.

Perhaps we can form a clearer idea of the influence of the sea-kings upon the Saxons by a glance at some of their customs. In the families of their princes, one of the male children only remained at home and inherited the government; the rest were exiled to the ocean, to wield their scepters amid the turbulent waters, or lose them. All men of royal descent who assumed piracy as a profession enjoyed the title of king, though without any kingdom or visible nation, with no wealth but their ships, no force but their crews, and no hope but in their swords. Never to sleep under a smoky roof, nor to

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indulge in the cheerful cup around the social hearth, were the boasts of these watery sovereigns. While the eldest son ascended the paternal throne, the others, furnished with vessels fully equipped as their only patrimony, hastened, like petty Neptunes, to establish their kingdoms on the water. When death overtook them, the royal tomb of the viking was his ship. His lifeless form was laid out in state upon the quarter-deck, and his vessel with his body and arms was drawn ashore and buried. Some of these tombs on the coast of Norway have lately, after a thousand years of burial, been discovered.

So honorable and lucrative was their profession at one period, that private individuals who possessed the means were eager to enter it. Parents were so anxious to have their children engage in this dangerous and malevolent occupation, that, at their death, they would order all their wealth to be destroyed, except enough to enable their offspring once to hoist their sails on the deep in a well-equipped vessel Inherited property was despised. That affluence alone was esteemed which danger had endeared. No one was held truly noble, no one respected, who did not ravage the ocean in summer, and in winter return to his home with ships laden with booty.

Trained in such a school, the sea-kings exhibited the ruder, sterner virtues in the highest perfection. To a stubborn courage and unyielding will, they added a nobleness of bearing and suavity of manners that gained them friends among their enemies, and preserved their authority in England, though few in numbers, for a century and a half. The most powerful sovereign of this line, Canute the Great, was even a patron of learning and religion; and, unlike most men, the more he enjoyed the favors of fortune, the greater was his morality and meekness of heart. He thought it not beneath the dignity of the ruler of six kingdoms to descend from his throne and teach his subjects lessons of humility. Under the labors and influence of such sovereigns as Canute, and of Alfred the Great, the most distinguished king of the Saxon line, and one of the most remarkable men the world has produced, ignorance and idolatry began to vanish from the island, and give place to intelligence and Christianity. Churches had been built, colleges founded, and teachers appointed for both. The nation began to feel the movings of a spirit that required a wider field for

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action than the circle of this island, and the example and leadership of a king and nobility more imbued with the spirit of the rising Christian civilization than the Saxons.

Britain was called by the Latin poets "a country wholly cut off from the rest of the world." But it was ordained by the great Ruler, without whose knowledge neither a sparrow falls to the ground, nor a change comes over a nation, that both for its own benefit and that of mankind it should for the future become intimately connected with the affairs of the world. Edward the Confessor having no issue, and influenced both by friendship for William, Duke of Normandy, and by admiration of his noble qualities, desired the British crown to fall to him. That powerful duke, while on a visit to Edward, had seen the wealth and fertility of the Saxon kingdom, and was nothing loth. When Edward died, William invaded England with a fleet of three thousand vessels, carrying sixty thousand men well equipped, and officered by the most illustrious nobles of Normandy, Flanders, Brittany, and France. At the battle of Hastings he conquered and killed Harold, the Saxon king, and mounted the throne of England.

This was another fortunate event for the development of the Anglo-Saxons, otherwise the physical in their civilization would have overborne the intellectual and esthetic; and they would have been of a nature though strong, yet too coarse and uncultivated, for the highest eminence in an enlightened period. As in architecture, the Doric column, though remarkable for simplicity and strength, is by no means so much admired in a polished age as the more beautiful Corinthian, with its fluted shaft and capital, adorned with acanthus leaves. The polite luxury of the Norman, though of the same Gothic race, presented a striking contrast to the less refined tastes of the Saxon. He loved to display his magnificence, not in huge piles of food and hogsheads of strong drink, but in large and stately palaces, rich armor, gallant horses, well-ordered tournaments; banquets, delicate and toothsome, rather than abundant; and wines excellent rather for their exquisite flavor than for their intoxicating power. That chivalrous spirit which exercised so powerful an influence on the politics, morals, and manners of all the European nations, was found in the highest exaltation among the Norman nobles. Those nobles

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were distinguished for their graceful bearing and insinuating address, for their skill in negotiation, and for a natural eloquence. It was the boast of one of their historians that the Norman gentlemen were orators from the cradle. Saxon civilization without the Norman element might be compared to a huge Gothic structure of unhewn granite: with it, those majestic but naked halls, though still Gothic, are filled with all the refinement of art, and the comfort of social life. By means of the continental possessions which William brought to the British Crown, and through the system of diplomacy which afterward, in the fifteenth century, sprang up, a door was opened for Anglo-Saxon enterprise to wield great influence in the national affairs of Europe. Their power came to be felt at every court on the continent. Their armies gathered laurels in every country, and their fleets on every sea; while they themselves, protected by their wooden walls, as their navy is called, have almost forgotten that Albion's soil has been thrice possessed by victorious invaders: Romans, Saxons, Normans.

At this point let us take a hasty survey of the civil polity of the Saxons at the time of the Norman conquest. Society was divided into four distinct grades:—

First. The king, who till a late period was elective, though birth and the wishes of the deceased sovereign were generally followed.

Second. The nobles, or thanes. These were of two classes: the king's thanes, who held land of him and attended him at court, and the ordinary thanes, or manorial lords. Any man could be admitted to this second class of thanes who had made three long sea voyages in his own ship, or who owned five hundred acres of land and had a chapel, a kitchen, a hall, and a bell; though these factitious thanes were by no means so much respected as those of generous blood. The term thane after the conquest was discarded for that of baron.

Third. The freemen. These were of two classes, the socmen, or those who had a permanent lease of the land on which they lived, and the ceorles, or tenants-at-will.

Fourth. The slaves, which were by far the most numerous grade, and were also of two kinds: the household slaves and the farm slaves.

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The Saxons were always ruled by a king, though he had but little power beyond the will of the thanes. There was this radical difference between the governments of Greece and Rome and those of the Gothic tribes. In the former the State was every thing, the individual nothing: the State was thought to have a perfect right to the property, liberty, and even life, of its citizens. In the latter the individual was every thing and the State comparatively nothing: all rights were thought to exist, to inhere by nature in the individual; and the State could demand nothing from him for public use without giving him an equivalent. Here we find the fundamental principle of civil liberty; that principle which has been so carefully guarded in the English and in all the Anglo-American constitutions, and which was so happily and tersely expressed by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence. Our rude Saxon ancestors, though under a kingly government, had more real liberty, and a more just appreciation of the true dignity of man, than had the polished citizens of the republics of the Mediterranean. The legislative authority was vested in the witenagemote, or assembly of wise men, which was composed of three classes: the prelates, the aldermen, and the wites, or men of wisdom. The aldermen held office during life, and were chosen not on account of rotundity of person, or natural tendency to steal, but, as the etymology of their name indicates, for their age and experience in affairs. To obtain a seat in the witenagemote, unless by reason of nobility, a man was required to possess forty hides of land, or about five thousand acres. The members were by law secure in their persons, in going to and returning from Parliament, "except they were notorious thieves and robbers." At their elections suffrage was obligatory and compulsory, and failure to attend and vote was punished as a neglect of public duty.

For the administration of justice, and the preservation of good order, the community was divided into counties, hundreds, and tithings. The latter consisted of ten householders, and the presiding officer was called a tithing-man. Each member of the tithing was, in a certain degree, responsible for the behavior of the other nine members. Crimes committed within the precincts of a tithing were charged against it, unless the members of the tithing discovered the offender, or could

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get twelve men, three from their own number, and three from each of three adjacent tithings, to declare upon their oaths that they believed the tithing innocent. This seems to be the origin in English history of trial by a jury of twelve men, one's peers or equals. From the tithing there was an appeal to the hundred, from that to the county, and, in important cases, from that to the king. In these courts the weight of evidence was determined not so much by the character of the testimony as by the number of witnesses, and when this would not decide the cause they had recourse to the ordeal. The ordeal was of two kinds: boiling water for the common people, and red-hot iron for the nobility. If the accused took up a stone sunk to a certain depth in the boiling water, or carried the red-hot iron a certain distance without burning his hand, he was pronounced innocent; if otherwise, guilty. Sometimes cold water was used, and then if the accused sunk, he was innocent; if he swam, guilty. Another peculiar feature of their criminal jurisprudence was that all punishments were by fines, one third of which went to the judge, and the rest to the king.

It was thought highly conducive to the ends of justice to give a part of the fine to the judge, that he might be the more vigilant in ferreting out crime. Every thing, from the king's head to the tooth of a slave, had its price. By the Anglian law the value of the king's head was £1,300, that of a prince £650; a bishop's or an alderman's £350, a sheriff's £175, a clergyman's £87, and a ceorle's £21. A wound of an inch long under the hair one shilling, on the face two shillings; and whenever the criminal refused or was unable to pay his fine, he was given over to the injured party or his relatives, to be punished as they thought best. Church and State were united, both while the nation was pagan and when it became Christian. And the same body, the witenagemote, raised revenue for both, and down to the year 960 settled all disputes among the clergy. Theft and robbery were so common, until restrained by the laws of Alfred the Great, that all transfers of property above the value of twenty pence were invalid unless executed in open market and before witnesses.

Convinced that intelligence in the rulers was essential to liberty and happiness, every one who possessed two hundred acres of land or more was required to send his children to

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school; and inability to read and write incapacitated a man for important office. Their language was noted for its simplicity, strength, and expressiveness. The primitive words were chiefly monosyllabic, and the others were formed by uniting two or more of these, giving to each syllable a meaning. This feature shows itself especially in their proper names, of which, till the eighth century, each individual had but one, and that often indicative of his character or disposition. Some of them translated would read lion-man, tiger-man, lamb-man, noble-man, war-man, blacksmith, woodman, acre-man, etc., etc. Surnames were very rare till after the Norman conquest, but William introduced them to build up and perpetuate an aristocracy. He also changed the law of inheritance so as to make the real estate descend to the oldest son, while, by the Saxon law, the land was divided equally among all the male heirs of the deceased.

The present English language, composed as it is of words from at least twenty-six different languages, is yet five eighths Anglo-Saxon, and in these five eighths are found nearly all the terms of common life. We scold, swear, pray, and utter our proverbs in Saxon. Proverbs are to a tongue what the knots are to a pine-tree, they contain its marrow and essence; and when all else is rotted away, and gone back, as it were, to dust, the very fatness and essential oil of the language live in its proverbs. The great expressiveness and force of their language was caused by its abounding in specific terms, most of which we still retain, while our generic terms are from the Latin and Greek. To inflict a castigation is Latin; while to beat, baste, bite, bruise, box, brain, cuff, fist, cane, cleave, clip, cut, carve, cudgel; to prick, pound, nail, nip, goad, hide, maul, lick, strap, drub, knock; to foot, kick, gripe, grind, poke, nudge, elbow, ding, dint, rap, strike, whip; to wound, thrust, stick, thwack, thrash, smite, smash, squeeze, swinge, swingle, and switch, about fifty in all, each giving the kind of blow laid on, are Anglo-Saxon. It is the Saxon element which gives such beauty and power to the style of the English Bible, and of Shakspeare, Milton, Byron, and in our own country, Webster. That vigor and utility of thought which characterizes the Saxon race requires this style for its expression. It is terse, concise, clear, and strong. Every American scholar

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should cultivate it. In this age of steam, electricity, and science, we have not time for the ponderous sentences and choice Latinity of the style of Dr. Johnson.

The prevailing vice of the Saxons, one which ran through every rank of society from the king to the meanest slave, and one which their descendants in too great a degree inherit, was beastly drunkenness. The ale-house was among them almost a sacred place, and quarrels arising there were more severely punished than elsewhere. The lust for strong drink might justly be called the national curse of the Saxons. The dram-shop or corner groggery is, I believe, still an institution in every Anglo-Saxon country. When they conquered the Medes, in the sixth century B. C., Astyages, the king, gave them a great feast, made the leaders all drunk, slew them, and then fell upon their army and drove it out of his kingdom. Drunkenness was the greatest obstacle to their development, physical, intellectual, and moral, and may even be enumerated as one of the chief causes of their defeat by William of Normandy, for they spent the night before the battle of Hastings in riot and excess, while the more prudent Normans devoted it to sleep and prayer.

From this sketch of the political and social condition of the Anglo-Saxons at the time of the Norman Conquest, let us pass to the changes introduced by the Normans. Surnames and the law of primogeniture have already been spoken of. But the most important innovation was the feudal system. This system had already spread over the continent, but its influence was hardly felt across the British Channel till William the Conqueror divided the island among the officers of his army, and made them feudal lords. Under this system all land was supposed to belong to the king as superior lord. The barons held of him, the knights of the barons, the esquires of the knights, and the farmers of them. These last paid their rent in the products of the soil; the others, in personal services, as military attendants. The greatest deference was paid to superiors; and woman, who before, by Saxon husbands and parents, had been bought and sold, was now treated with the highest respect, nay, I might say, almost worshiped; for the Christian knight bowed the knee to his "faire ladye," and would suffer as much to vindicate her alleged ineffable beauty

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against all doubting knights, as he would to redeem the "Holy Sepulchre" from the hands of the infidel.

Ruled by these sentiments, the social condition of Britain rapidly improved. Law, before a rude tradition, now became a science, to excel in which required much learning; hence, for several centuries, the clergy were the lawyers. Another change was the introduction of the Norman language, and the attempt to make it supplant the Saxon. It soon prevailed at court, and among the higher classes, and would have uprooted the Saxon had not the native strength and expressiveness of the latter been too powerful for the polished periods of the former. After a long struggle the two coalesced, forming our present incomparable English; a language equal to the German for poetry and metaphysics, not excelled by the French for precision, and superior to both in copiousness and variety.

After the Norman Conquest, the next great event in Anglo-Saxon history is the English revolution. The wars with France, and the bloody civil contest between the houses of York and Lancaster, had broken the strength of the nobility; and, at the close of the sixteenth century, they were no longer able, as in the days of King John, to compel the crown to respect the rights of the people. The lords, unlike the sturdy Barons of Runnymede, who in 1215 extorted from the king the Magna Charta, saw in silence and submission royalty declare itself absolute. At this period there was a general tendency of power throughout Europe to centralization. The republics of Italy, Florence, and Genoa had fallen; the democratic spirit was crushed. The sentiment of personal independence, and personal liberty, which characterized the Gothic tribes, especially the Saxons, and which has contributed so much to the efficiency of moderate civilization, was not then strong enough to oppose the strides of despotism.

From the effect of the Crusades and the consequent reorganization of society, the old feudal and municipal liberties were lost, and new governments had arisen, more regular, centralized, and despotic. But no period exhibited a greater physical and mental activity than the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Cape of Good Hope was doubled, America discovered, gunpowder and printing invented. Painting in oil had filled Europe with masterpieces of art, and engraving had multiplied

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and diffused them. The literary and scientific world was illumined by such lights as Cervantes, Shakspeare, and Milton, Kepler, Descartes, and Bacon. The Reformation had achieved the freedom of human reason, so that at the same time that political and civil liberty was crushed in Europe, the right of free inquiry and general emancipation of mind prevailed also and brought on a healthful reaction.

The Anglo-Saxon race naturally and logically, from the elements that composed it, was the first to assert the rights of man. A struggle began in England between the people and mind on the one hand, and the king, nobility, and wealth on the other. The result of the contest, as might be expected with a people possessing the courage, energy, and perseverance of our Saxon ancestors, was in favor of liberty.

But the Anglo-Saxon race would by no means have been able to act its rightful part in the grand drama of the world if confined to the narrow limits of England, or restrained by kingly rule and the law of primogeniture, which concentrated wealth in the hands of the few. A wider field, a freer government, a more equal distribution of property, were essential to the development of their energies and the growth and ripening of the fruits of that sentiment of personal independence, of individual liberty, which to them was coeval with their existence as a nation, or even as a tribe. The settlement of America, and her separation from the mother country at our Revolution, gave them these. The one opened a new world for their enterprise, and made every man the architect of his own fortune; the other relieved them from an hereditary aristocracy, a State Church, and the burdens which monarchy and manners and customs, the relics of a decayed system of civilization, the feudal, entailed upon them. Their history for the past century is our history and that of our mother country. It is familiar to us all. The Declaration of Independence, the War of the Revolution, Washington and the cluster of great names that make the most brilliant constellation in our political firmament; the Articles of Confederation, the Federal Constitution, that most perfect political document that ever emanated from the mind of man, and under which we have prospered beyond reasonable desire; the War of 1812, the Mexican War, and the wonderful expansion of the British empire through her colo-

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nies and conquests till it compasses the globe, are all known to the boy of the free common school. I need not recount them. And last, but not least, the great war for the rights of man which our generation, by the blessing of God, has had the singular good fortune to wage, has removed from our country, from all countries where our speech is the mother tongue, the last great relic of barbarism, and the last great bar to Anglo-Saxon progress, human slavery, and permits the American Anglo-Saxon race to follow without hinderance its instincts of freedom and human rights, and to achieve its high destiny.

> "The Eastern nations sink, their glory ends,
> And empire rises where the sun descends."

There is an old Anglo-Saxon proverb, "Blood will tell." It tells constantly in their history, and will continue to tell till the race has done its work. The strength of this strain of blood is manifest in the fact that it crosses with all cognate races, and takes up and absorbs their good qualities without losing its own identity, or failing to manifest and obey its own characteristics. It survived the contact with the Medes and Persians without becoming enervated. It sustained itself in a thousand years' journey with other Goths across the continent of Europe to the mouth of the Elbe uncrushed. It mingled with the Romans and Franks, and the older Celts of Britain, without loss. It swallowed up and incorporated into itself the vikings and Danes, but threw off their freebootery. It came out all the purer and better from passing under the Normans. In America it unites with the Celt, the German, the Swede, and the Norwegian, and still remains the same, only improved. These other races, and the languages they speak, in a few generations disappear in the Anglo-Saxon American, who is now, and bids fair to be for centuries to come, the best composite, harmonious development and the highest perfection of humanity. It carries its language, its laws, its institutions with it around the world, and by dint of their good qualities makes them prevail. Australia is becoming a new Anglo-Saxon continent; New Zealand, a new Britain. Africa is being encircled as with a string of pearls by Anglo-Saxon colonies. A few thousand countrymen of the Christian and Saxon soldier, Havelock, rule one hundred and fifty millions of East Indians, and to them China and Japan have opened their doors. Two

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hundred and fifty years ago they numbered but three millions, a hundred and fifty years ago seventeen millions, fifty years ago thirty-four millions, to-day ninety millions: in America forty millions, in England thirty millions, and in the rest of the world twenty millions.

This race does not possess the polish and vivacity of the French, but, with a rougher exterior, it has more real nobleness of heart, weight, and fixedness of purpose. Inferior in ability to analyze, to split hairs between west and north-west sides, to determine with mathematical precision the difference between nothing and its next-door neighbor, it far excels in power of generalization, in ability to seize upon the strong points, the great landmarks of truth, and to look at things with a *practical* eye. Without the sprightliness of the Italian, or the cold taciturnity of the German, the Anglo-Saxon occupies the golden mean, his risible not sufficiently excitable to endanger his buttons, nor yet so inflexible as to delay his laugh, like the Hollander, till the day after the joke. Energetic, shrewd, calculating, he will hew out a home and make a fortune where another race would dwindle away or get a bare livelihood. In ingenuity and powers of invention he would seem by some crossing of the blood to have inherited the skill of Archimedes, who burned the enemy's ships about Syracuse with his sun-glasses, and that of Dædalus, the personification of Grecian art and mechanics, who escaped from the Cretan tyrant on wings of his own construction. He does not, like his Teutonic cousin, spend years meditating upon some abstruse principle of metaphysics—he is too much of a utilitarian for such fruitless investigations—but he gives his thoughts to the more immediate well-being of society. He sees a world full of things to do and but a short time to do them. From the school-room he plunges directly into business or politics. Of too active a temperament to be burdened with flesh, he is nervously thinking how he may make his own fortune excel that of his neighbor, or his nation surpass all others in wealth and power; or, perhaps, like his ancestors of the sixth century, he may be devising a scheme to relieve an adjacent country of a rich slice of territory and annex it to his own, without absolutely violating the law of nations. An ardent lover of the rights of man, he is a turbulent subject, but a good citizen. In war he has not

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the wild enthusiasm which inspired the soldiers of Napoleon, but he goes into the contest with a fixed will to win. He may not storm a redoubt, but he can fight a three days' battle.

Physically, the Anglo-Saxons are hardy, muscular, active, and energetic; mentally, clear, cool, shrewd, enterprising, and ambitious. From the necessities of their very nature they are friends of political and religious liberty, and enemies of tyrants, whether spiritual or temporal. Their mission demands for its fulfillment free government, free and universal education, a free Church, and one that recognizes man as a being gifted with reason and a free will. If the race be true to itself, if it fulfills the high destiny which the Divine hand seems to have marked out for it, then, when its cycle shall have been completed and its record made up, future races will look back upon its period as the brightest in human history.

ART. VI.—ORGANIC METHODISM.

METHODISM, now well advanced in the first half of its second century, has fairly achieved for itself a recognition among the not inconsiderable elements of the civilization of the times. Its presence and power must be taken into the account as a factor in all our social and religious problems. Whether it shall be accounted a wholesome development of spiritual growth and activity, or a fungus upon the body of Protestantism, its existence cannot be ignored, nor can its influence be disregarded. A noticeable share of the most active religionists of English-speaking Christendom confess their connection with it, and beyond its own organism its influence is detected, giving its character and expression to the evangelical Christianity of the age. A fact of so much importance deserves the study of the thoughtful on account both of itself and of its indubitable influence upon the immediate future. We propose, therefore, to devote a brief space to the examination of the spirit and the organic form of this notable social and religious force.

Of its substance and being various accounts, with descriptive definitions, have been given. The characterization of a "Methodist" by the founder of the system agrees with the definition of Methodism by Chalmers, as "Christianity in earnest," and

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with the statement of another eminent non-Methodist authority, that it is "the noblest development of modern Christianity;" and its best Methodistic delineator, in the same spirit, styles it as "the religious movement of the eighteenth century." But though it stands out distinctly in its proper individuality, there is nothing really new or strictly peculiar about it. Spiritual religion is certainly not a gift or experience of modern times, and even the peculiar religious phenomena that distinguish this body is as old as Christianity; its fullness of spiritual power, rendering it specifically intense, demonstrative, and fruitful of good works, alone distinguishes it.

That of which we have now to write came into being on that memorable evening when, in a company of fellow-seekers in the little room in Aldersgate-street, London, John Wesley, as he himself declares, felt his heart "strangely warmed," and at once found his spirit lifted into a frame of unwonted peace, from which time he was enabled, as never before, to walk by faith, and to have power over the forces of temptation. Others, no doubt, in all the ages of the Church, had in numberless cases experienced the same grace; but only in this instance did it grow into the forms and organism of which we now write, and which we call by the complex name of *Organic Methodism*. When, immediately after that event, the two Wesleys and a few others were drawn together by the affinities of a kindred faith and experience, the organism was begun, though as yet only in its crudest and simplest form, without design on their part, and certainly without the most remote suspicion "whereunto this thing would grow." The spirit of vital godliness, of which they had been made partakers, awakened them to new zeal, and called forth their efforts to bring others into the same experience; and as converts increased they were naturally drawn toward each other, so forming an association of spiritually-minded persons. Thus, without design or conscious method, and without any extraordinary providence, but simply by the natural outworkings of the newly-awakened spiritual life, Methodism, which is but a name for that life, became organic.

"The genesis of Methodism," says Stevens, "was evangelical life, and in theology its chief concern was with those doctrines which are essential to personal religion." Wesley, in

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one of his Conferences, in answering the question, "What was the *rise* of Methodism?" traces its growth from the discovery made by himself and his brother in reading the Bible, that it required of all "inward and outward holiness," and that this gracious state of the soul was attained only by evangelical *faith*, and that, in the order of sequence, justification preceded sanctification or regeneration. "But still *holiness* [a vital, transforming, and consciously realized religious experience] was our point—inward and outward holiness." And having themselves received such grace, they at once declared it to all who would hear them; and to those who came to them for spiritual instruction and consolation they became of necessity spiritual guides; and thus was developed the primary conditions of a Church according to the terms set forth in the "Article,"—"A congregation [or association] of faithful [or regenerated] men, in which the pure word of God is preached." In this form the work began, and from that point it went forward. "Then God thrust us out to raise up a *holy* people."

Had the Churches of Great Britain at that time been in a condition to attract to themselves these newly-quickened souls, and to feed and cherish their new life by the word and ordinances of the house of the Lord, there never could have been such a phenomenon as Organic Methodism, for these would have been at once absorbed by them, and assimilated into their unity. This seems also to have been the result anticipated by the chief agents of the work; but God saw otherwise. A new agency was required to direct to their highest efficiency those newly-awakened spiritual forces, and a new and simpler organization, which should at once safely direct and yet hinder as little as possible their free working. Their low spiritual condition disqualified the Churches of the land, whether the Established or the Dissenters, for carrying forward the work of spiritual quickening which the divine mercy was preparing for the people of the kingdom, and which was destined at length to reach out to the whole world. A new organism was needed, and in due time, and by a steady course of development, not without pains and labor, it was produced—imperfect at first, but tending to maturity; and long before its chief promoters were willing to accept it as such, it stood forth in completed Churchhood. Its minority was protracted during the long

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life-time of its founder, and even later its habits of subjection seemed to make it afraid to assert its own proper character.

Wesley's title to be called "the greatest of ecclesiastical legislators," (Buckle,) with "a genius for government not inferior to Richelieu," (Macaulay,) rests much more in his practical wisdom, shown in yielding to the immediate requirements of his work, than in any remarkable foresight as to its tendencies and certain results. There was, in fact, a perpetual conflict between his theories and his practices, in which the latter usually prevailed. "He devised no system," we are told, but he permitted one of large proportions and marked characteristics to grow out of the work of which he was, under God, the chief agent. Quite probably "he knew not to what his measures would come," and it is equally evident that he cared less for the distant outcome than for the present success in "raising up a holy people;" and yet he was unquestionably "anxious about the future," as he saw his work expanding into ecclesiastical proportions under his hand. Because he so wished, he said "The Methodists were not raised up to form a sect," and yet he saw them become precisely that thing through his own management. "He lived and died loyal [after a fashion] to the Church of England," and yet he organized, under its very shadow, the most formidable division in its own body that has ever occurred. In his heart, and by virtue of the spiritual forces that impelled him, and despite his unreasoning and unconquerable devotion to the Established Church of England, Wesley, having first received in himself, and afterward set in action, the vital forces that naturally tend to crystallize into genuine Churchhood, afterward provided for the organization of the persons so renewed by the divine Spirit into a simple, but real and thorough, Church organism. And yet, having originated a wide-spread and numerous "congregation of faithful men," he sought through all his life-time to keep it in leading-strings and to dwarf its development; and such was his dread of completing his own work, so manifestly given to him by God, that dying more than fifty years after its inception, he left it in almost chaotic disorder.

Wesley's "Societies" — associated bodies of regenerated persons, brought together for purposes of spiritual edification — were, beyond all question, real Churches, after the New Testa-

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ment model, and fully answering to the definition of "the Church" found in the Articles of Religion. Of these, certain ministers of the Church of England—and at first only such—became teachers and pastors, and thus the two great factors of a true Church were present: first, a congregation of believers; and, second, the divinely ordained teachers and ordinances of the house of God. As soon as these things were arranged, the Churchhood of Methodism was a realized fact. After this, when, in response to the requirements of the case, teachers and pastors, though not "*ecclesiastically qualified*," were employed—being recognized and steadily occupied in their spiritual vocation—they too became genuine ministers of Christ's Gospel, and "messengers to the Churches," effectually appointed, "for the edification of the body of Christ."

When St. Paul wrote to the Corinthians, "Christ sent me, *not to baptize*, but to preach the Gospel," he by necessary implication subordinated, as a ministerial function, the administration of the sacraments to the authoritative preaching of the word; and since in such a case the greater implies the less, whoever is called, whether by Christ or the Church, to the ministration of the word, is also, *à fortiori*, authorized to perform any of the minor offices of the pastorate. When, therefore, Mr. Wesley had accepted and appointed certain men to preach the Gospel in his Societies and elsewhere, he recognized them as Christian ministers, and as such they possessed all the functions of that office. It may have been expedient, for prudential reasons, that they should, for a time, abstain from the exercise of some of the minor functions of their ministry; but in doing so they did not disclaim the right to these: and in the earnest demand of the people for the sacraments at the hands of their religious teachers, and the confessed sympathy of the preachers with them in making this demand, we have the only conditions required for the instituting of perfected pastoral relations. It is evident, also, that in this view those preachers met with almost entire unanimity; nor does it appear that Mr. Wesley himself ever denied that they had this right, though he desired that its exercises should be held in abeyance.*

The organic individuality and genuine ecclesiastical char-

* In John Pawson's Memoir of Dr. Whitehead (an unpublished manuscript) are found some remarkable passages on this subject. It should be noted that Paw-

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acter of Mr. Wesley's "United Societies" was fairly developed during the first decade after his great spiritual transformation—a fact which forty years of restraints and dwarfing could not reverse. Their Churchhood was defective in nothing, except in their practical disuse of a part of their ministerial functions by the preachers, and their denial to their people of what was due to them at the hands of their accepted religious guides and instructors. In 1750 the ecclesiastical character of the associated body of "the people called Methodists" differed in no essential feature from the same body as it was at the decease of its great founder, and those who after that event drew themselves still more closely together were the now recognized predecessors of the British Wesleyan Church of the present time—a body whose truly Churchly character needs no defense. It was not by any formal act of ordination that the ministers of that Church, during almost a hundred years, were recognized, and yet they were accepted by each other, and by those to whom they ministered, as called of God, and qualified by the Holy Spirit for their great work. Respecting Mr. Wesley's restraints, laid upon his preachers as long as he lived, and also the marked deference of his followers, even to the present time, for the Established Church of England, nothing need be said. We certainly have no sympathy either with his scruples or their overweening regard for a rival, not to say superciliously hostile, body, in no particular their ecclesiastical superior, and almost incomparably less effective as an evangelizing agency; and yet it is quite possible that the divine Wisdom and power have brought good out of these displays of human imperfections in good but not infallible men.

American Methodism from the very first assumed for itself

son favored the more conservative policy of Mr. Wesley and the Methodists toward the Established Church, and yet he says: "It is true that a party existed, both among the preachers and people, who were inclined to believe that those men whom God had called to preach might lawfully administer the sacraments, as they were not able to perceive that it required a greater degree of wisdom or piety to qualify a person to baptize a child than to preach the word of God;" and a little further on, in referring to the question of an entire separation of the Methodists from the Church, and noting both the strong feeling against it in the minds of some, and also the unreadiness of the former for such a separate existence, but putting the entire case on other than ecclesiastical grounds, he remarks, "*Common prudence* prevented them from wishing for that which they knew could not be accomplished."—TYERMAN'S "*Wesley*," vol. iii, pp. 298, 299.

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an ecclesiastical character, and even more rapidly than the parent body became distinctively individualized. A few individuals in New York, in whose hearts the spirit of genuine Methodism had been awakened in Ireland, but which, as to most of them, had almost died out in the land of their exile, became united together for mutual Christian edification. A real New Testament Church was soon formed in the house of one of their number, who also became their minister, and by indubitable results he was soon attested as one divinely called, installed, and sealed, the "angel" or "bishop" of the infant "congregation of faithful men and women." A better authorrized Christian teacher than was Philip Embury has seldom blessed the souls of a company of humble believers; a better authenticated Methodist preacher has never preached a free and full salvation to his fellow-men in this or in any other country. And although, because of his lack of due appreciation of his own calling, or out of deference to the prejudices of others, he forbore to exercise some parts of the functions of his ministry, that fact in no degree invalidated his ministerial authority. Nor was it because of any lack of ecclesiastical completeness that the infant Church in New York sought the recognition and favor of the parent body in Europe, and especially of its venerated leader. They asked for, because they needed, an increase of their ministerial force, and because they longed for a closer union with those of like precious experiences; *and in response to their invitation* ministers were sent out from England to labor for the upbuilding of the work in America. Here they found a Church already organized, and provided with the principal ordinances of religion, and their coming brought to it no new element. If at one time more than all others Methodism has presented the sight of a strictly "Original Church of Christ," that scene was presented in the modest dwelling of Philip Embury, afterward re-enacted in the "Rigging Loft," and at length more permanently seen in the chapel on Golden Hill, with only its carpenter bishop. The coming of Mr. Wesley's evangelists, no doubt, greatly refreshed the spirits and strengthened the hands of these believers. This they needed, and nothing more.

The original Methodism of Maryland and Virginia was, if not more completely a Church system, raised up and estab-

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lished in entire separation from English Methodism, or any other ecclesiastical body; was of wider extent, and more nearly conformed to the organic Methodistic model. Robert Strawbridge, who, though he had at one time been a local preacher in Ireland, had by his removal to America without testimonials or credentials entirely separated himself from Mr. Wesley's Societies, between the years 1760 and 1770 began to preach the Gospel in the State of Maryland. The story of his proceedings, and of the fruits that grew out of his labors, is one of the most heroic chapters of early Methodist history. Beginning in Harford County, where he formed his first class and built a meeting-house, he extended his travels in every direction—to Baltimore, to the Eastern Shore of Maryland, to Virginia, and to Pennsylvania. He organized his "Societies" after the Wesleyan model, and to them he regularly ministered, with the aid of such "helpers" as were raised up to him from among his own converts, preaching to them the word and administering the sacraments. Among his converts in Harford were the parents of Rev. John Wesley Bond and his brother, Dr. Thomas E. Bond, upon whom he performed the rite of baptism in his infancy; and in Lancaster was the family of Martin Boehm, the father of the original German Methodism, who also gave a son to our ministry, the now venerable centenarian, Rev. Henry Boehm. When Mr. Wesley's missionaries came into these parts they found Methodism already planted, and grown to a good degree of organic completeness, which they took into their own hands and subjected to their own discipline, especially in the matter of the sacraments, of which they wholly deprived the people, although it was in nearly every case literally impossible for them to receive the ordinances from any others.

There is a strange vagueness about the early accounts of Strawbridge's labors and successes, which, considered in connection with their manifest extent and the solidity of the results when found and taken possession of by the English preachers, suggest the thought that there was a reason for this obliviousness of history. "Preachers," writes Stevens, "were rapidly raised by him. . . . Sator Stephenson, Nathan Perego, Richard Webster, and others. . . . We have in the early biographies of Methodism frequent intimations of

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Strawbridge's labors and success. . . . We discover him now penetrating into Pennsylvania, and then arousing the population of the Eastern Shore of Maryland; now bearing the standard into Baltimore, and then planting it successfully in Georgetown, on the Potomac, and in Fairfax County, Va.; and by the time that the regular itinerancy came effectually into operation in Maryland, a band of preachers, headed by such men as Watters, Gatch, Bowham, Haggerty, Durbin, Garrettson, seem to have been prepared . . . for the more methodical prosecution of the great cause." The name of Strawbridge is found in the "Minutes" for two different years, 1773 and 1775, after which it disappears "unaccountably." The reason for all this is intimated in the further remark: "It is probable that his Irish spirit could not brook the stern authority of Asbury [Rankin?] and his associates, *especially the requirement . . . that the administration of the sacraments . . should be suspended.*" The preachers sent out by Mr. Wesley claimed the entire control of the "Societies" in America, and the agents whom God had used in originating the work seem to have been thrust aside with but little consideration. Embury yielded quietly but sorrowfully; but Strawbridge resisted stoutly, and persisted in giving the sacraments to his people. The Conference of 1773, therefore, put his name in the "Minutes" with instructions that he must labor under the direction of Mr. Rankin, who was Mr. Wesley's "assistant" for America; but as he was still refractory, his name was dropped at the next Conference. Two years later the attempt was renewed, but with even less success than before; and from that time the name of Robert Strawbridge disappears from the records of American Methodism. Why this was so is intimated by Stevens, when he says, "Asbury's prejudice against Strawbridge for Hibernian independence [or was it his conscientious regard for Christian liberty?] in the sacramental controversy continued to the last. "He is no more," wrote the great but rigorous bishop; "upon the whole I am inclined to think the Lord took him away in judgment, because he was in the way to do hurt to His cause." This was the record made after the death of the first great apostle of Methodism in Maryland, of whom, however, another of his opponents wrote that "he died in great peace."

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These things show how intense was the struggle in the very infancy of our Church between the evangelical liberals and the high-church ritualists, a struggle in which, as in most cases in Church history, the latter prevailed. Asbury's honesty in this case, as well as his unselfish devotion all through his life, cannot be questioned; and equal praise must also be accorded to Strawbridge. They differed from each other as some of the apostles differed among themselves, and it is by no means certain that in their controversy the right prevailed. Asbury was both a great and a good man; but he was human, and together with his confessed excellences he possessed certain other qualities not quite so admirable. He was a thorough Englishman in his native character, and his original traits had been developed and intensified under the more than military rule exercised by Mr. Wesley over his helpers. He was also, unlike most of Mr. Wesley's preachers, a sacramentarian, and conscientiously believed that it was a sacrilege for any one "not duly ordained" to dispense those "most blessed mysteries." In a note at the bottom of the page from which the above extracts are taken we read: "Asbury's great military soul could pardon almost any offense but insubordination to authority. Not only Strawbridge's persistence in the administration of the sacraments, but his continued charge of *Sam's Creek* and *Brush Forest* congregations, displeased him." These two societies were those first formed by Strawbridge, and they also adhered to him after his "separation."

The history of the early years of Methodism in Maryland and the regions round about, goes to prove the completeness of its churchhood in those times, and it also shows that American Methodism was indigenous to the country, and not of transatlantic origin. There was an American Methodist Church, with its converted men and women, its ministers of the word and sacraments, and with its affiliated Churches and united pastorate, making a real and genuine itinerancy, before Mr. Wesley's missionaries set their feet upon these shores. And who will say that these evangelists were not duly called and qualified ministers of the Gospel, or that the sacraments dispensed from their hands were not "valid?" And what elements beyond incidental provisions and adaptations have since been added?

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Under the direction of the English preachers, and more particularly of Rankin, Wesley's "assistant" for America, the isolated societies at New York and Philadelphia were brought into a unity with those gathered by Strawbridge, and the work was distributed into "circuits," with their "preachers" duly appointed, who were changed from place to place at not remote intervals of time. Thus the body attained to that completed solidarity which is a chief and essential element of organic Methodism, answering to which is the unity of the pastorate of the whole body, which also was now recognized and steadily maintained. Here, then, were present, and arranged in due order, all of those common elements that are found alike in all the various Methodist organizations, whether in Europe or America. A quickened power of spiritual life is the common characteristic of every genuine Methodist of all times or places, or of whatever particular ecclesiastical association; but that any association of such believers shall be organically of the Methodistic family, they must preserve this consolidation of Churches and pastors in a common unity. Around this central principle organic Methodism has become crystallized into the form and symmetry in which it stands forth an embodiment of spiritual life and churchly power. In its essential being, Methodism is simply spiritual life developed in individual experience; in its organic form, it is a consolidated union made up of souls thus regenerated and associated for mutual Christian culture, and for the maintenance of the ordinances of worship, with a common Church membership and a common pastorate; all which conditions are fulfilled alike in episcopal and non-episcopal Methodism in America and Europe.

At its inception American Methodism, whether in New York or Maryland, was automatic. Embury and his associates formed, and for a number of years maintained, a complete congregational Church, entirely distinct from any other body in Christendom. After the coming of the English preachers, that Church at length became associated with others, which together formed a genuine Methodist organism. Strawbridge's "United Societies" and Association of Ministers constituted at once a presbytery and a consolidated body of Churches, thus completing all the conditions of a Methodist

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itinerancy. And all this was formed and in complete working order before the arrival of the English preachers. These, at their coming, entered into the arrangements they found made ready to their hands, and wisely forbore to make radical changes in any of them; and accordingly the Methodism found in this country by Dr. Coke and associates was the same that had been found by those first-coming preachers from England.

From a very early stage in its history Wesleyan Methodism, both in Europe and America, gave signs of discordant elements in its organism. The student of the history of English Methodism is familiar with the struggles that began at a comparatively early period and continued to agitate the body till some time after the death of its great founder, respecting the declining or assuming by the "United Societies" of a complete Churchhood; that is, whether or not the preachers should administer the sacraments to their people. In America, at first there was no conflict over this subject; for while at New York, under the very shadow of the State Church, the sacraments were not given by Embury; in Maryland, Strawbridge and his associates used their authority in this thing from the very first, in which, however, they were resisted by the English preachers at their coming. It nowhere appears, however, that Mr. Wesley at any time denied the *lawfulness* of his preachers' administration of the sacraments, but in all cases of opposition to it he was careful only to say that it was not *expedient*, while his brother earnestly, almost frantically, declared it to be *unlawful*. But the causes which forbade the assumption of a perfected churchly form by the early Methodists in England did not exist in America, and not one of Mr. Wesley's array of "Reasons for not Separating from the Church" was applicable to the state of things in this country. Had he been here, therefore, he must either have found out other "reasons," or consented to Strawbridge's course of proceeding. But most of the English preachers, and notably Rankin and Asbury, were less liberal in their views than was their great leader; and, like the younger Wesley, they insisted that it was not lawful for any one not "regularly ordained" to administer the sacraments, however largely his divine calling to the office and work of the ministry may have been attested by the accompanying power of the Spirit.

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We have seen how serious was the schism between Strawbridge and Asbury (the first in Methodism) over this subject; but the separation of the former from the Methodist body, and his subsequent death, did not end the strife. The people still demanded the "ordinances," and could not be made to understand how it could be that ministers of Christ, of whose divine commission they were themselves the seals, should not be allowed to give the sacraments to their own converts; and most of the ministers themselves fully sympathized with their members, but for peace' sake they submitted. But at the Conference of 1777, so strong was the pressure, that Rankin himself propounded the question for discussion, "Shall we Administer the Ordinances?" and "after much conversation on the subject it was unanimously agreed to lay it over for the determination of the next Conference."—*Lee.* Some intimation respecting the cause of their hesitation is given in the further remark, "In fact we considered ourselves at this time members of the Church of England," by whose laws, and not because they were unordained, they were forbidden; and even that consideration sufficed only to persuade them to delay for a single year. It was not, however, till two years later that the affirmative action was really taken.

The year 1779 is a notable one in the early history of American Methodism, and its interest may excuse a little fuller notice of its events than is strictly necessary for the elucidation of the point we have immediately in hand. The war of the Revolution was then at its height, and all the English preachers had fled the country except Asbury, who was secreted at the house of a friend in Kent County, in the State of Delaware. The Conference of 1778 had been but thinly attended, and therefore nothing was done about the matter of the ordinances; the next year's (1779) Conference had been fixed to meet in Fluvanna County, in Virginia. Rankin, who, as Mr. Wesley's "assistant," was the recognized head of the body, had escaped to England, and no one more than any other had authority. But at his retreat in Delaware Asbury called together as many preachers as were within reach, and held a "Conference" with them. This body of sixteen preachers, called together informally, assumed for itself supreme authority, and began by recognizing Asbury as "General Assistant

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for America," and among other things they resolved, "By all means to guard against a separation from the Church, [of England,] direct or indirect;" which meant, in practice, that they would abstain from administering the sacraments, which, indeed, as Churchmen, they were bound to do. Of their rights as Christian ministers they said nothing, and silence in such a case is scarcely less than positive assent.

In due time the regular Conference assembled, according to appointment, at the Broken Back Chapel, Fluvanna County, Virginia, at which were present a considerably larger number than at the meeting with Asbury in Delaware. This body voted, with great unanimity, in favor of the administration of the "ordinances," (that was the term commonly used,) and to give to their proceedings the desired appearance of "regularity," they resolved that there should be a formal ordination by the imposition of hands. They therefore chose four of their number, headed by Philip Gatch, one of the ablest and best of the original class of American preachers, to act as a "presbytery" in behalf of the whole body. These first laid hands, each three upon the fourth, till all had been "ordained," and then they proceeded to "ordain" the other members of the Conference, or "as many as desired to receive it," which seems to have included very nearly the whole. It is thus historically shown that in 1779 the only legal Methodist Conference held in America claimed and exercised complete ecclesiastical authority.

American Methodism had already, with the consent of all the parties concerned, become a consolidated unity; and during nearly ten years of active evangelistic and pastoral labors by the preachers, who were gladly accepted as their ministers by the Churches and people, the united body had attained to an historical *status*, which vindicated its right to be. Its Annual Conferences were regular and canonical synods, endowed with all the rights and powers of scriptural "presbyteries"—associated bodies of divinely chosen ministers of Christ's Gospel who had also been providentially put into the ministry. This last fact completed their character as a Church, not only with their natural rights of Churchhood, but also with this their hitherto unused function now brought into actual use. But this was not to be the ending of their troubles, for it soon appeared

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that Mr. Asbury was irreconcilably opposed to the action of the Conference, and that he was prepared to rend the body asunder rather than consent that the preachers should administer the sacraments. An able, devout, and self-sacrificing man beyond almost any other, he was also a man of strong convictions, which he might readily mistake for matters of conscience, and of an iron will. He was, no doubt, to the day of his death, a sacramentarian, believing in something like an *ex opere operato* effectiveness in the sacraments "duly administered," and he seems also to have recognized something of a sacramental character in the act of ordination to the ministry. Unlike John Wesley, therefore, but in agreement with Charles, he viewed the question of the "ordinances" as not simply one of *expediency*, to be determined by the godly judgment of the ministers, but much more one of scriptural *lawfulness*. He was, therefore, bound in his conscience to resist to the utmost the action of the Conference, and evidently he was determined as a last resort, if necessary, to make "a schism in the body." Among the leading spirits of the Fluvanna Conference were some who were scarcely his inferiors in any of his best characteristics; but they prized the peace and integrity of their infant Church too highly to permit them to be sacrificed, though compelled temporarily to hold in abeyance their Christian liberty.

At the next session of the Conference, out of deference to Mr. Asbury and those who stood with him, and to avert the threatened disruption of the body, it was agreed that the administration of the sacraments by the preachers should be suspended for one year. After that it does not appear that the subject was further discussed till at the settlement of the Church on Mr. Wesley's plan. The depth and violence of the controversy over the subject, which raged for several years in the infant Church, is but very faintly indicated in our Church histories, and evidently only the piety and unselfishness of the leaders of the majority in the Conference saved the body from a ruinous disruption. As it was, some of the best of them were so much dissatisfied that they retired quietly from the Conference—among whom was Philip Gatch, who never became a *traveling* minister of the Methodist *Episcopal* Church.

Returning from this episode in early Methodist history, we

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may now observe what points seem to be ascertained. We have seen that from the beginning a divine call has been recognized as a necessary prerequisite to the assumption of the office and work of the ministry. The converse of this proposition, that a divine call duly ascertained, separating its subject from other believers, is of itself the best and only necessary warrant for such an assumption, was also generally accepted. And since "to preach the Gospel" is the highest function of the ministerial office—and further, since the possession of the chief function implies a right to the less—whoever may be found to be "called to preach" is also authorized to administer the sacraments. And, further, it seems that any number of Gospel ministers may associate themselves together for the better prosecution of their work, thus forming a scriptural *presbytery*, with power to order their united labors in the associated Churches over which the Holy Ghost may have made them overseers—*episcopoi*, bishops. All these things were present in American Methodism in 1779, and so it remained in *law*, if not in *fact*, till the "Christmas Conference." Nor did that Conference change any of these things, but rather confirmed them, and still further extended the organism by making two of its accepted ministers general superintendents in the Church.

Our present purpose does not call us to examine any of the various ecclesiastical questions that cluster about that unique affair, the third ordination of Dr. Coke by Mr. Wesley for the superintendence of the Methodist Church in America. The only points that concern our present purpose are the facts, 1. That Mr. Wesley had been appealed to by various persons prominent among the American Methodists, and importuned, if possible, to assist them in their perplexities; 2. That so called upon, he ordained Dr. Coke as a "superintendent" of the Societies in America, and also directed him to ordain Mr. Asbury in like manner, that the two might jointly superintend the American Methodist Church; 3. That the American ministers, in General Conference assembled, formally accepted Dr. Coke according to Mr. Wesley's designation, and also elected Mr. Asbury to be a joint superintendent with Dr. Coke; and at the same time they adopted a form of discipline, reducing their method of action and administration to a much better

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defined system than had before been prescribed. The acceptance by them of Mr. Wesley's plan of Church government, and the election of superintendents, but very slightly changed the practical workings of their Church government. They had before had a superintendent among them, appointed by Wesley—Rankin—and afterward Asbury, who was first named by the meeting in Delaware, and afterward informally accepted by the others. No change was made in substance of their system, nor was their pre-existing organism disturbed; nor, indeed, was there fundamentally any new method of government adopted; but that which had before existed was thoroughly arranged as to its details. The Methodist Episcopal Church was not born at the Christmas Conference; it had then existed substantially for nearly twenty years, and the formal adoption of the episcopal form of administration, however valuable in practice, while it gave an additional prefix to its title, added nothing to its substance. Nor does the fact that some of those who had before claimed and exercised the full powers of the ministry now accepted imposition of hands argue any concession on their part that their former claims were invalid, for if their ministerial character was complete without that ceremony, its exercise upon them could do them no harm, even if it could do them no good.

The relation of the ceremony of the "imposition of hands" to the office of the ministry requires a passing notice. It is known that its use in receiving persons to that office has the sanction of patristic authority, though it is not certain that it was so used in any case by the apostles or their immediate successors. There are, indeed, in Scripture several instances given of its use for other purposes than appointment to the ministry. It was not much accounted of by the early reformers, and there is no proof that even Calvin was ever thus ceremonially "ordained." They who set in order the Wesleyan body in England, which its illustrious founder, dying, had left without any ecclesiastical arrangement, set no value upon it; and for more than forty years they made no use of it, though their "preachers" claimed and exercised all the functions of the Christian ministry. We have seen how this matter stood practically among the oldest class of Methodist preachers in America; but they have left us no discussions of the subject as

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involving the necessity or otherwise of that ceremony in constituting a minister of the word of God. The only Methodistic examination of the subject that we have seen is by Dr. Charles Elliott, found in the first and second numbers of the "Methodist Quarterly Review" for 1839. In his introductory paragraph he thus summarizes his positions, which he proceeds to elaborate with characteristic fullness:—

"Many persons are accustomed to consider imposition of hands to be of the same import with ordination, though in truth they are of very different acceptations. Ordination is the constituting or appointing of ministers to their office; imposition of hands is only one of the ceremonies used on an ordination occasion, and stands in the same rank with reaching the Bible to the candidate, or any such rite; while it is inferior to the proper examination of the candidate's attainments, as well as to prayer, unless as imposition of hands may be itself a form of prayer. We have no fault to find with the use of this in the ritual of ordination, *though we have an irreconcilable warfare against it as an essential part of ministerial ordination*, and much more so when it is made the principal part of ordination, or when it is converted into ordination itself."

In his further discussions Dr. E. shows that imposition of hands was not used in the apostolic Church in the appointment of apostles, or evangelists, nor in ordaining bishops, elders, or pastors, but that it was employed in the appointment of deacons, or servants of the Church, who were not ministers of the word. "Imposition of hands," he remarks, "in selecting to the ministry of the Gospel, *is not* taught by precept or example in the Scriptures. It is merely of *ecclesiastical use*, and may be used or not as the Church of God directs." In another place, after passing over the historical arguments in the case, he concludes "*that in appointing the chief or principal ministers in the Christian Church imposition of hands is not necessary or enjoined by Scripture precept or example.*" And again, "*It might* without invalidity or irregularity be disused by the Church. Yet it may be used to advantage when stripped of the garb *of* INCANTATION *with which it has been for the most part invested.*"

In respect to the prerogative to call men to the ministerial office, and the power to qualify them for their work, Dr.

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Elliott further concludes:—"It is God who must call men by his Spirit, and then qualify them for their great work. . . . The Spirit calls, gives authority, qualifies the persons called, and blesses their labors. The Church can only *discern* and *recognize* the person thus called and qualified. . . . Thus far they can go, and no farther." This statement, though so broad and sweeping, is the utterance of one of the chiefs of our Israel, and, having found a place in an official organ of the Church without any sign of dissent, then or afterward, it would seem to have expressed the prevailing convictions of the Church at that time. Here we may also introduce a brief extract from a contemporary Methodist authority, touching this subject: "John Wesley's preachers, being called of God, were as much ministers of Christ, and as much entitled to administer the sacraments of the Church without the imposition of hands, as with it. . . . To contend that the thing itself is necessary would be to condemn the grand old Methodist preachers who flourished from the year 1795, when their administration was authorized by the Methodist Conference, to the year 1836, when for the first time ordination by imposition of hands was solemnly enacted."—TYERMAN'S "*Wesley*," vol. iii, pp. 448.

Methodist writers who have sought to defend by a logical process, and consistently with ecclesiastical precedents, the ecclesiastical descent of our Church orders, have attempted a difficult task. Just what was Mr. Wesley's theory when he ordained Dr. Coke a bishop, (if ever he so intended,) it is impossible to determine with certainty. He rejected the apostolical succession almost spitefully and with a sneer, as something that he *knew* to be a fable: and he contended that he was himself as good an *episcopos* as any man in England. Did he mean that any presbyter of the Church of England was as good a bishop, scripturally, as any bishop or archbishop in the realm? Then was not Dr. Coke such an *episcopos* before he received his third ordination at the hands of Wesley and his associates? And if Dr. Coke was already a "bishop," by virtue of his ordination to the "priesthood" or eldership, why subject him to another ordination? Possibly Mr. Wesley considered his case an entirely exceptional one, (and with him exceptional meant *providential*,) so that he was somehow, over and beyond ordinary presbyters of the English Church, raised to a superior

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order, as to the Methodist Societies, which, against his own intentions, had now grown to be an inchoate Church. The argument drawn from Lord King's book respecting the practice of the Church at Alexandria fails to meet this case, for that was evidently an independent local Church, which on the decease of its bishop or pastor elected a successor, whom their own office-bearers—such as are now counted laymen—set apart for his office by appropriate forms.

A still better theory would be to say that the episcopacy is, essentially and always, the creature of the presbytery, and that, therefore, it was lawful for Wesley and his clerical associates to originate an episcopacy for American Methodism, (and, as they afterward attempted to do, for British Methodism,) and to ordain Dr. Coke to it. They called him a "superintendent;" but he and his associates and successors called themselves *bishops;* and the whole Church has followed their example. And to all this we make no objection, though we may attach very little value to it. It may have been useful in overcoming a superstitious deference to a mere form, (and so served a good purpose in uniting the distracted Methodist body in America,) but not to give a valid ministry to American Methodism. Here, again, we may, without any abatement of respect for Mr. Wesley, adopt the words of Mr. Tyerman: "All things considered, this was not surprising, *but it was absurd.* Great allowance must be made for Wesley; but to reconcile Wesley's practice and profession . . . is simply impossible."

We next turn to the theory and practice of the Methodist Episcopal Church respecting this matter. Until 1840 there does not appear to have been any provision by which a minister coming to us from another denomination could be received in his ministerial character. Probably before that time there had been very few applications. But in that year it was enacted that "Ministers that may come to us from the *Wesleyan Connection* in Europe or Canada . . . may be received, . . . according to such [their] credentials." At that time only a few recently admitted Wesleyan ministers had received imposition of hands; and yet any one coming from that body, duly authenticated, was to be accepted as a fully accredited minister of the Gospel. At the same date (1840) a provision was inserted in our Discipline respecting "those ministers who

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may offer to unite with us from other Christian Churches," by which they might be received according to our usages, "without the reimposition of hands." This was evidently designed to admit all such ministers to the same ministerial standing with us that they had held among those from whom they came, without any inquisition as to the form, the regularity, or the validity of their former ordinations; though some may have been ordained with the laying on of the hands of a presbytery or association of ministers, others by non-ministerial office-bearers, and still others by the simple recognition of the Church without any special ceremony. Some of the minor Methodist bodies in both Europe and America make no use of imposition of hands in receiving and sending out ministers; and if from any of these bodies such ministers "offer to unite with us," they are received, unquestioned as to the ceremonies by which they were at first recognized as ministers of the Gospel. Almost certainly there are now, in the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church, some upon whose heads no hands have been laid in sign of ministerial ordination; but the Church's law accounts them good and valid ministers.

We have used the term METHODISM as the comprehensive designation of all those truly awakened and spiritually renewed persons that became at first the subjects of the great "religious movement of the eighteenth century," and also those who in later times have received the same precious faith. Organically, Methodism includes all of the various ecclesiastical organizations into which those converts have been gathered, and who have maintained the great fundamental element of solidarity, a consolidated churchship with a common pastorate—that is, an itinerant ministry. Wherever these two conditions are found—a converted membership and a consolidated ministry—there the essential conditions of Methodism are fulfilled; all bodies that have them are genuine and legitimate branches of the great Methodist family. By distinctness of ecclesiastical individuality, originating from a variety of causes, the number of Methodist organizations have been multiplied, though all of them have, with remarkable tenacity, held fast to the two great essentials; and by the latter all kinds of Methodist bodies are at once identified with the common brotherhood, and contradistinguished from all others. And if, as may

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be realized somewhere in the future, all the branches of universal Methodism shall come to formally confess each other in their common relations, these must be the criteria by which they will be recognized.

From an early point in the history of each the two chief bodies of Methodism became specifically unlike in their several forms of ecclesiastical arrangements. British Methodists, having been governed for half a century by the sole authority of one truly great and wonderful man, after his death persistently refused to have any one man raised above the common level of his brethren, in official position or administrative authority; and wherever they have gone forth carrying the Gospel to foreign lands,—in Canada, in Australia, in South Africa, and elsewhere—this peculiarity of their ecclesiasticism has been jealously maintained. And so of all the numerous offshoots from the parent body at home or abroad, all of them pertinaciously assert and maintain ministerial parity, and, as far as possible, insist upon rotation in office, with only brief terms of their service.

In America a somewhat different system was early adopted, which has been steadily maintained, with but slight changes to the present time. Under the advice of Mr. Wesley the American Methodist Church accepted for itself a general superintendency—which has come to be known as an episcopacy—and so the chief body of American Methodists is known as the Methodist *Episcopal* Church. It is a question of the least possible importance, what is the source of the Methodist Episcopacy? for, unquestionably the men of the "Christmas Conference" were free to order their own affairs, so that the cause of God should suffer no harm; and they put it in their "Articles of Religion" that "every particular Church may *ordain*, change, or *abolish* rites and ceremonies, so that all things may be done to edification." In the exercise of this right, the fathers of American Methodism "ordained" for themselves an episcopal form of government, and so well has their work operated for "edification," that their sons in the Gospel thankfully confess their good work. And as sons worthy of such a parentage, the Methodists of to-day believe that no part of their birthright has been sold away from them; and as their fathers in the exercise of their Christian liberty "ordained" the Methodist episcopacy, so in the exercise

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of some God-given and inalienable rights they still decline to abolish it, but rather elect to preserve it without fundamental "change." And when other and independent bodies have been organized as offshoots from the parent stock, they too have, (most of them, but not all,) provided an episcopacy for themselves. Organic Methodism is founded on, and pervaded by, the idea of ministerial party, because it accepts the great doctrine of a divine call to the ministry. But it also claims that in the exercise of the authority given by the Head of the Church, his ministers may choose such specific forms of organization as shall seem best adapted to promote the great end for which the Church of God subsists, to wit, to spread scriptural holiness. In doing this the two oldest Methodisms adopted systems varying somewhat in minor and incidental matters; but both retained all that is essential. Both have gone on, side by side, maintaining "the unity of the Spirit in the bonds of peace," and God has bestowed upon them equal honors in the wonderful success with which he has crowned their labors, and also those of the many kindred and derived bodies of Methodists in both countries, and in foreign lands. And now at the beginning of the last quarter of the nineteenth century Methodism stands forth, girded with divine power and prepared to effect vastly more for the salvation of the world than in all her past.

Art. VII.—GENERAL CONFERENCE OF 1844.

DEFENSE OF ITS ACTION IN THE CASE OF BISHOP ANDREW.*

As the proceedings of the General Conference in the case of Bishop Andrew were not judicial, its decision has gone forth to the public unaccompanied by the reasons and facts upon which this action was founded. This deficiency is but partially supplied by the published reports of the debate on the subject. The

* In view of the possible discussions that may arise in the next General Conference, we republish the "Reply of the General Conference of 1844 to the Protest by the Southern Delegations against the Action in the Andrew Case." The Protest was by Dr. Bascom, and this reply by Dr. Durbin, as chairman of a committee including, besides himself, George Peck and Charles Elliott. It is a fair refutation of Dr. Myers's book, noticed upon another page.

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speakers who advocated the resolution were restrained by a praiseworthy delicacy from all avoidable allusions which might give pain to the respected individual concerned, or awaken unpleasant emotions in any quarter. It is but natural that under these circumstances some misunderstanding should prevail as to the merits of the case. The following statement, it is believed, contains nothing, at least so far as facts are concerned, which will not be cheerfully confirmed by all parties, and will throw light upon the true position of the authors of the Protest.

From the first institution of the episcopacy of the Methodist Episcopal Church no slaveholder has been elected to that dignity, though in several instances candidates otherwise eminently fitted for the station have failed of success solely on account of this impediment. Since the period referred to, nine bishops have been elected who were natives of the United States. Of these, only three have been northern men, while six were natives of slaveholding States. Not one, however, was a slaveholder—a remarkable fact, which shows very clearly that, while much more than their just claim has been conceded to the slaveholding portions of the Church, a decided and uniform repugnance has, from the first, been felt and manifested to the occupancy of that high office by a slaveholder.

It is known and acknowledged by all southern brethren that Bishop Andrew was nominated by the delegates from the South Carolina and Georgia Conferences as a southern candidate for whom northern men might vote without doing violence to their principles, as he was no slaveholder. Bishop Andrew himself perfectly understood the ground of his election. Since the year 1832 the antislavery sentiment in the Church, as well as in the whole civilized world, has constantly and rapidly gained ground, and within the last year or two it has been roused to a special and most earnest opposition to the introduction of a slaveholder into the episcopal office—an event which many were led to fear by certain intimations, published in the "Southern Christian Advocate," the "Richmond Christian Advocate," and perhaps some other Methodist periodicals. This opposition produced the profoundest anxiety through most of the non-slaveholding conferences. The subject was discussed every-where, and the dreaded event universally deprecated as the most fearful calamity that ever threatened the Church.

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Many conferences instructed their delegates to use all possible means to avert such an evil. Other conferences, and many thousand laymen, sent up petitions and memorials to the same effect to the present General Conference. Such was the state of sentiment and of apprehension in the northern portion of the Church, when the delegates to the General Conference learned, on reaching this city, that Bishop Andrew had become a slaveholder. The profound grief, the utter dismay, which was produced by this astounding intelligence can be fully appreciated only by those who have participated in the distressing scenes which have since been enacted in the General Conference.

When the first emotions of surprise and sorrow had so far subsided as to allow of sober thought and inquiry, it was ascertained that Bishop Andrew had been a slaveholder for several years. Soon after his election to the episcopacy a lady of Augusta bequeathed him a female slave, on condition that she should be sent to Liberia at nineteen years of age if her consent to emigrate could be obtained—otherwise she was to be made as free as the laws of Georgia would permit. She refused to emigrate, has since married, and is now enjoying all the privileges provided for in the will of her former mistress; she is, and must be, a slave—she and her children—and liable to all that may befall slaves. Another slave Bishop Andrew has inherited from the mother of his former wife, and by his recent marriage he has become the owner of (it was said on the floor of the General Conference) fourteen or fifteen more. These belonged to Mrs. Andrew in her own right before her marriage. That act, according to the laws of Georgia, made them the property of Bishop Andrew, to keep or dispose of as he pleased. He conveyed them to a trustee, for the joint use of himself and wife, of whom the survivor is to be the sole owner. This conveyance was made for the security of Mrs. Andrew, and with no view either to satisfy or to mislead the opinions of the northern Church. So much, at least, Bishop Andrew was understood to say to the conference. His known integrity forbids the suspicion that he would attempt to disguise the real character of the transaction; and the fact that the earnings of the slaves, as well as the reversionary title to them, are his, demonstrates that this arrangement was not made with any view to satisfy the well-known sentiments of

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the Church against a slaveholding bishop. It is manifest from this statement, which is believed to be strictly correct, that Bishop Andrew's connection with slavery is, not as the Protest intimates, merely an "assumption," but that he is the owner of slaves in the full and proper sense of that term. His title was acquired by bequest, by inheritance, and by marriage, which are by far the most common grounds of ownership in slaves. All the usual and necessary conditions of slavery have their fulfillment in the relation of these persons to Bishop Andrew. Their labor and their earnings are subject to his control, and inure to his benefit and that of his family. They are now liable, or they may be hereafter, to be sold; they and their offspring are doomed, as the case now stands, to a bondage that is perpetual, and they are liable and likely to descend to his heirs. Beyond all reasonable doubt, the condition of Bishop Andrew's slaves will be attended, while he lives, with all the alleviations—and these are many and great—which a very benevolent and Christian master can provide. Still it must be slavery. In the view of the law of the land, and of the law of the Discipline, in all its more weighty and permanent consequences to the bondman, it is and must be slavery. It was said repeatedly on the floor of the conference, that the deed of trust had put it quite beyond Bishop Andrew's power to free his slaves, even if there were no other obstacle. So then, should the stringent laws of Georgia against emancipation be relaxed or repealed by her next legislature, the rule of the Discipline, which would then become imperative on Bishop Andrew, could not, and would not, be satisfied, and the Church must still have a slaveholding bishop, in spite not only of its known will, but of its standing laws.

It was the almost unanimous opinion of the delegates from the non-slaveholding conferences that Bishop Andrew could not continue to exercise his episcopal functions under existing circumstances without producing results extensively disastrous to the Church in the North, and from this opinion the brethren of the South did not dissent. For a while the hope was entertained that the difficulty would be quietly removed by his resigning his office, which it was known he had previously desired to do. But this hope was dissipated by the intelligence that the delegates from the conferences in the slaveholding States

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had been convened, and that they had advised him unanimously not to resign. Various efforts were then made in private to devise some method to relieve the case, but they all proved abortive, and nothing remained but that it must come before the General Conference. The bishops themselves, in their united Address to the conference, had urged it to ascertain whether there had been any departure from the essential principles "of the general itinerant superintendency," and had declared of that superintendency that "the plan of its operation is *general, embracing the whole work in connectional order, and not diocesan, or sectional.* Consequently any division of the work into districts, or otherwise, so as to create a particular charge, with any other view, or in any order, than as a prudential measure to secure to all the conferences the annual visits of the superintendents, would be an innovation on the system"—that "*our superintendency must be itinerant, and not local:*"—that "it was wisely provided in the system of Methodism, from its very foundation, that it should be the duty of the superintendents '*to travel through the connection at large.*'" The question then presented itself, how the case of Bishop Andrew could be so disposed of as to preserve this itinerant general superintendency? If the General Conference had even been disposed to evade it, the consideration of it was forced upon them by the episcopal Address itself.

A diversity of sentiment existed as to the proper method of treating the case.

Some, at least, believed—perhaps few doubted—that sufficient ground existed for impeachment on a charge of "improper conduct," under the express provisions of the Discipline. The opinion was certainly entertained in several quarters that it was "improper" for the shepherd and bishop of eleven hundred thousand souls either deliberately or heedlessly to place himself in direct and irreconcilable conflict with the known and cherished moral sentiments of a large majority of his vast flock. Such, however, was the prevalence of moderate counsels, that no proposal was made either to impeach or punish, and such the controlling influence of forbearance and kindness, that it is believed not one word was uttered during the entire debate of nearly a fortnight derogatory to the character, or justly offensive to the feelings, of Bishop Andrew. The transaction

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which had brought such distress upon the Church, and threatened such extensive ruin, was dealt with merely as a fact—as a practical difficulty—for the removal or palliation of which it was the duty of the General Conference to provide. It was in this spirit, and for such ends, that the following preamble and resolution were passed:—

Whereas, the Discipline of our Church forbids the doing any thing calculated to destroy our itinerant general superintendency; and whereas, Bishop Andrew has become connected with slavery by marriage and otherwise, and this act having drawn after it circumstances which in the estimation of the General Conference will greatly embarrass the exercise of his office as an itinerant general superintendent, if not in some places entirely prevent it; therefore,

Resolved, That it is the sense of this General Conference that he desist from the exercise of this office so long as this impediment remains.

J. B. FINLEY,
J. M. TRIMBLE.

The action of the General Conference was neither judicial nor punitive. It neither achieves nor intends a deposition, nor so much as a legal suspension. Bishop Andrew is still a bishop; and should he, against the expressed sense of the General Conference, proceed in the discharge of his functions, his official acts would be valid.

Such are the facts in the case of Bishop Andrew. We now proceed to notice the law. Nearly all the objections raised in the Protest against the action of the General Conference may be reduced to two, namely: that that body has violated the *constitutional* and the *statutory* law of the Church. That it has violated the constitutional law the Protest attempts to prove by representing its late action as a breach of what it calls "the compromise law of the Church on the subject of slavery;" meaning, as is supposed, the section on slavery, particularly that paragraph which relates to traveling preachers. The entire language on this subject is evidently formed so as to make the impression on any reader not intimately acquainted with the history and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, that there has been some period (whether 1804 or 1816 does not clearly appear from the Protest) when the question of slavery was settled in the Methodist Episcopal Church as it was in the general government at the adoption of the fed-

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eral constitution: that "the confederating annual conferences," "after a vexed and protracted negotiation," met in convention, and the section on slavery "was finally agreed to by the parties, after a long and fearful struggle," as "a compact," "a treaty," which cannot be altered by the General Conference until certain constitutional restrictions are removed. So that now any interference on the part of that body with the question of slavery in the southern conferences is as unconstitutional as it is admitted would be the interference of the general government with the question in the southern States.

After the boldness with which this doctrine is advanced, and the confidence with which it is relied upon as "the first and principal ground occupied by the minority in this Protest," it will be difficult for the uninitiated to believe that it is as unfounded in fact as it is ingenuous in its "legal casuistry." It is indeed true, that the question of slavery has been long and anxiously agitated in the Church, and the various General Conferences had endeavored to adjust the matter so as to promote the greatest good of all parties; but this very fact goes to disprove the position assumed in the Protest: for, as the attention of the Church had been thus strongly called to the subject, if it had been the intention to guard the question of slavery by constitutional provisions, it would have been done when the Church actually did meet to frame a constitution. But nothing of the kind appears. For when, in 1808, it was resolved that the General Conference, instead of consisting, as before, of all the traveling elders, should be a delegated body, and when it was determined that that body (unlike the general government, which has no powers but such as are expressly conferred) should have all powers but such as are expressly taken away, when this vast authority was about to be given to the General Conference, among "the limitations and restrictions" imposed, *there is not one word on the subject of slavery; nor was any attempt made to introduce any such restriction.* The only provision anywhere established by that General Conference of constitutional force, was the general rule forbidding the buying and selling of human beings with an intention to enslave them. So that, in direct opposition to the assertion of the Protest, we maintain that the section on slavery is "a mere legislative enactment, a simple decree of a General Conference," as much

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under its control as any other portion of the Discipline not covered by the Restrictive Rules. If additional proof of the truth of this position were needed, it might be adduced in the fact that that section which the Protest represents to have been settled in 1804 was not only altered at the General Conference or convention of 1808, but also at the delegated General Conferences of 1812, 1816, 1820, and 1824. And although the Protest speaks of it as "*usually known*" by the name of "the compromise act," the greater part of this General Conference have never heard either that appellation or that character ascribed to it until the present occasion.

But although this General Conference cannot admit that any portion of the section on slavery is constitutional in its character, and therefore could not under any circumstances allow the imputation of the Protest that they have violated the constitution of the Church, yet they do admit that it is *law*—law, too, which the General Conference (though possessing full powers in the premises) has never altered except at the above periods, and then, in each instance, for the further indulgence of the South. The question then comes up, whether this General Conference, as the Protest maintains, has in effect suddenly reversed the legislation of the Church, not indeed by altering the law, but by practically disregarding it. The portion of the law particularly in question is the following paragraph:—

"When any traveling preacher becomes an owner of a slave or slaves by any means, he shall forfeit his ministerial character in our Church unless he execute, if it be practicable, a legal emancipation of such slaves, conformably to the laws of the State in which he lives."

This, it is alleged, fully covers the case of Bishop Andrew, and therefore he ought to have been left in the quiet and unquestioned enjoyment of his rights. Were it even true that proceedings, either judicial or "extra-judicial," have been had in his case, we should not hesitate to join issue here, and maintain that this law does not protect him. The Protest asks, "Is there any thing in the law or its reasons creating an exception in the instance of bishops?" We answer, There is in both. So far as judicial proceedings are concerned, the Discipline divides the Church into four classes—private members, local preachers, traveling preachers, and bishops—and establishes

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distinct tribunals, and different degrees of responsibility for each. The section on slavery applies only to officers of the Church, and therefore private members are not named at all, but special provision is made in the case of local and traveling preachers. How happens it that bishops are not named at all? Are they necessarily included in the title "traveling preachers?" In common parlance they may sometimes be thus designated, but in the Discipline it is not so understood, even in regard to matters much less important than this, in evidence of which we need only advert to the fact that the General Conference of 1836 did not consider that the allowance of bishops was provided for under the general title of "traveling preachers," and they therefore inserted them accordingly. To explain why no mention is made of "bishops," it is not necessary, as the Protest supposes, "to slander the virtuous dead of the North," as if they excluded them intentionally "by a resort to deceptive and dishonorable means." It is a much more natural and reasonable explanation, that at that day, when the Church could hardly tolerate slavery in any class of the ministry, "the virtuous dead," both of the North and of the South, did not dream that it would ever find its way into the episcopacy.

But though the *language* of the law does not include bishops, yet if the "reason" and spirit of it did, we might be disposed to allow them the benefit of it. But this is not the case. The whole tenor of the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church is adverse to slavery. Even the Protest has admitted (irreconcilable as the admission is with another portion of the same instrument) that, at the time of the alleged "compact," "the whole Church, by common consent, united in proper effort for the *mitigation and final removal* of the evil of slavery." But let the Discipline speak for itself. The mildest form in which the question at the head of the section on slavery has ever been expressed is the present, namely: "What shall be done for the *extirpation* of the evil of slavery?" And the very conference of 1804, which enacted the so-called "compromise law," as well as that of 1800, when the paragraph relating to traveling preachers was really adopted, were each convened under a request from the preceding General Conference, that the whole Church would aid that body in obtaining "full light

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in order to take further steps toward *eradicating this enormous evil* from that part of the Church of God to which they are united." It is obvious, therefore, that connection with slavery is tolerated no further than seems necessary. In the case of ordinary traveling preachers there appeared to be a necessity for some indulgence. They might become owners of slaves in the providence of God, the laws of the States might not allow emancipation; and they had no power to choose their own place of residence. But no such "reason" could apply to a bishop, for he has always been allowed to live where he pleases. Again: traveling preachers encumbered with slaves labor among people similarly situated, and who would not, therefore, be likely to object to them on that account. But a bishop, by the *constitution* of the Church, is required to labor in every part of the connection; and in by far the larger portion of it the services of a slaveholding bishop would not be acceptable. So here again the "reason" of the case does not apply to a bishop. There is not, therefore, as the Protest so roundly asserts, any "express" or "specific law" in the case; and therefore, as the Protest itself admits, "in the absence of law it might be competent for the General Conference to act on other grounds." With the failure to prove any "specific law" authorizing a bishop to hold slave property, the third and fourth arguments of the Protest, which are founded on this assumption, fail also.

But, perhaps, it is not so much the law of the Discipline which the Protest claims to cover Bishop Andrew as the law of the land. For it declares, "The rights of the legal owners of slaves in all the slaveholding States are guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States, and by the local constitutions of the States respectively, as the supreme law of the land, to which every minister and member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, within the limits of the United States government, professes subjection, and pledges himself to submit, as an article of the Christian faith, in the common creed of the Church." If by this is meant that the law of the land *allows* citizens to hold slaves, it is admitted. But so also it allows them to keep theaters and grog-shops, so that this is no ground of argument. But if it mean that the law of the land *requires* citizens to keep slaves, (the only interpretation which can make the argument

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available,) it is denied. And until it can be shown that the Methodist Episcopal Church, by its action, legislative, judicial, or executive, requires any citizen to do what the law of the land requires him not to do, it is unjust to attempt to get up popular clamor against it, as if it came in conflict with the civil authority.

This course of reasoning has been pursued thus far, not so much because it was deemed necessary for the vindication of the conference, as to avoid sanctioning, by silence, the erroneous exposition which the Protest presents of the constitution and laws of the Church. For it has been already seen that Bishop Andrew has been subjected to no trial, and no penalty has been inflicted. At present, it is plain that the conference has done nothing to depose, or even suspend, Bishop Andrew. His name will appear in official publications with those of the other bishops, and with them he will derive his support from the funds of the Church. In order to make out that the General Conference had no right to take such action as they have in Bishop Andrew's case, the authors of the Protest have been driven to the necessity of claiming for the Methodist episcopacy powers and prerogatives never advanced before, except by those who wished to make it odious, and which have always been repudiated by its chosen champions. The Protest maintains that "the episcopacy is a co-ordinate branch of the government;" for which no argument is adduced save this—that it is, in general, the province of bishops to ordain bishops. A sufficient answer to which may be found in the principle of Methodist polity, stated in the Address of the Bishops to the present General Conference, that orders (the principle applies to bishops, though not expressly named, as well as to elders and deacons) are "conferred" by the election, and only "confirmed" by the ordination; and that when the election has been made, the bishop "has no discretional authority, but is under *obligation* to ordain the person elected, whatever may be his own judgment of his qualifications." And if all the bishops should refuse to ordain the person elected by the General Conference, that body would unquestionably have the right to appoint any three elders to ordain him, as is provided "in case there be no bishop remaining in our Church." The Protest declares that "the bishops are beyond doubt an inte-

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gral, constituent part of the General Conference, made such by law and the constitution. If the words "General Conference" be not a mere clerical error, the assertion is sufficiently refuted by the answer in the Discipline to the question, "Who shall compose the General Conference?" and by the practice of the bishops themselves, who disclaim a right to give even a casting vote, or even to speak in General Conference, except by permission. The Protest maintains, that "in a sense, by no means unimportant, the General Conference is as much the *creature* of the episcopacy, as the bishops are the creatures of the General Conference." The proof adduced for which is, that "constitutionally the bishops alone have the right to fix the time of holding the annual conferences; and should they refuse, or neglect to do so, no Annual Conference could meet according to law; and, by consequence, no delegates could be chosen, and no General Conference could be chosen, or even exist." That is to say, because, for the convenience of the bishops in performing their tour, they are allowed to say *at what time in the year* an Annual Conference shall meet; therefore they have the power to prevent such body from meeting at all, though, from its very name, it must meet once a year! —that, by preventing the meeting of Annual Conferences, they might prevent the organization of any General Conference; and thus, escaping all accountability for their delinquencies, might continue to lord it over God's heritage, until themselves and the Church should die a natural death. We can easily perceive, were this reasoning legitimate, that the bishops might *destroy*, not only the General Conference, but the Church; but are at a loss to discover how it proves that they can *create* either. We must protest against having any argument of ours adduced as analogous to this.

The Protest maintains that "the General Conference has no right, power, or authority, ministerial, judicial, or administrative," in any way to subject a bishop "to any official disability whatever, without the formal presentation of a charge or charges alleging that the bishop to be dealt with has been guilty of the violation of some law, or at least some disciplinary obligation of the Church, and also upon conviction of such charge, after due form of trial." To those who are not familiar with the Methodist economy, this might seem plausible.

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But it is, in reality, an attempt to except, from the action of a general system, those who, least of all, ought to be excepted. The cardinal feature of our polity is the itinerancy.

To sustain this system, it is essential that the classes should receive the leaders that are appointed by the preacher, that the societies should receive the preachers that are stationed over them by the bishops, that the Annual Conferences should receive the bishops that are sent to them by the General Conference. Unless, therefore, the utmost care be taken by those who have authority in the premises that these parties shall severally be acceptable to those among whom they labor, there is great danger that those who are injured by such neglect may seek redress by revolutionary measures. For this reason, the officers of the Methodist Church are subjected regularly to an examination unknown, it is believed, among other denominations. Not only is provision made for formal trials, in cases of crimes and misdemeanors, but there is a special arrangement for the correction of other obstructions to official usefulness. At every Annual Conference the character of every traveling preacher is examined; at every General Conference that of every bishop. And the object is to ascertain not merely whether there is ground for the formal presentation of charges, with a view to a regular trial; but whether there is any "objection"—any thing that might interfere with the acceptance of the officer in question among his charge. And it is doctrine novel and dangerous in the Methodist Church, that such difficulties cannot be corrected unless the person objected to be formally arraigned under some specific law, to be found in the concise code of the Discipline—doctrine not the less dangerous, because it is applied where "objections," unimportant in others, might be productive of the most disastrous consequences. Will the Methodist Church sanction the doctrine that, while all its other officers, of whatever name or degree, are subjected to a sleepless supervision; are counseled, admonished, or changed, as "necessity may require, and as the Discipline directs," a bishop, who decides all questions of law in Annual Conferences; who, of his mere motion and will, controls the work and the destiny of four thousand ministers; who appoints and changes at pleasure the spiritual guides of four millions of souls; that the depositary of these vast powers,

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whose slightest indiscretions or omissions are likely to disturb the harmony, and even impair the efficiency, of our mighty system of operations, enjoys a virtual impunity for all delinquencies or misdoings not strictly criminal?

It is believed that an attempt to establish such an episcopal supremacy would fill not only a part, but the whole of the Church "with alarm and dismay." But this doctrine is not more at variance with the genius of Methodism than it is with the express language of the Discipline, and the exposition of it by all our standard writers. The constitution of the Church provides that the "General Conference shall have full powers to make rules and regulations for our Church" under six "limitations and restrictions," among which the only one relating to the episcopacy is this: "They shall not change or alter any part or rule of our government, so as to do away episcopacy, or destroy the plan of our itinerant general superintendency." As there is nothing in the Restrictive Rules to limit the full powers of the General Conference in the premises, so is there nothing in the special provision respecting the responsibility of a bishop. In reply to the question, "To whom is a bishop amenable for his conduct?" the Discipline declares, "To the General Conference, who have power to expel him for improper conduct if they see it necessary." And this, be it remembered, is all that is said respecting the jurisdiction over a bishop, with the exception of a rule for his trial, in the interval of a General Conference, if he be guilty of immorality. In full accordance with the plain meaning of these provisions is the language of all the standard writers on Methodist polity.

Bishop Emory—a man of whom it is no injustice to the living or the dead to say, that he was a chief ornament and light of our episcopacy; that he brought to the investigation of all ecclesiastical subjects a cool, sagacious, powerful, practical intellect—fully sustains the positions we have assumed in behalf of the powers of the General Conference over the bishops of our Church. He gives an unqualified assent to the following passages from the notes to the Discipline, prepared by Bishops Asbury and Coke at the request of the General Conference:—"They (our bishops) are entirely dependent on the General Conference:" "their power, their usefulness, themselves, are entirely at the mercy of the General Conference."

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Dr. Emory also quotes some passages from a pamphlet, by the Rev. John Dickens, which, he says, was published by the unanimous request of the Philadelphia Conference, and may be considered as expressing the views both of that conference and of Bishop Asbury, his intimate friend. Mr. Dickens affirms that the bishops derive their power from the election of the General Conference, and not from their ordination; and that the conference has, on that ground, power to remove Bishop Asbury, and appoint another, "if they see it necessary." He affirms that Bishop Asbury "derived his official power from the conference, and therefore his office is at their disposal"—Mr. Asbury was "responsible to the General Conference, who had power to remove him if they saw it necessary;" "he is liable every year to be removed."

The above quotations show very clearly the sentiments of Asbury, and Coke, and Dickens on this question—men chiefly instrumental in laying the foundations of our polity.

Equally clear and satisfactory is the testimony of another venerable bishop, who still lives, in the full exercise of his mental powers and benignant influence, to guide and bless the Church:—"The superintendents now have no power in the Church above that of elders, except what is connected with presiding in the conference, fixing the appointments of the preachers, and ordaining:"—"They are the servants of the elders, and go out and execute their commands:"—"The General Conference may expel a bishop not only for immoral, but for '*improper* conduct,' which means a small offense below a crime; for which not even a child or a slave can be expelled but after repeated admonitions:"—"The traveling preachers gave the bishop his power, they continue it in his hands, and they can reduce, limit, or transfer it to other hands, whenever they see cause." Such is the language of Bishop Hedding, who only concurs in the moderate, truly Methodistic views of Bishops Asbury, Coke, and Emory.

It is believed that this statement of the facts and the law in the case will afford a satisfactory answer to all the positions and reasonings of the Protest; and, after having thus presented it, the majority are perfectly willing to abide "the decision of our contemporaries and of posterity." They cannot, however, close these remarks without expressing their regret that the

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minority, not content with protesting against the action of the General Conference, as "lawless," as "without law, and contrary to law," as such "a violation of the compromise law," that "the public faith of this body can no longer be relied upon as the guarantee for the redemption of the pledge," "that there shall be no further curtailment of right as regards *the southern ministry;*" that, not content with thus harshly assailing the proceedings of the General Conference, they have even refused to the bishops, whom they have invested with such exalted prerogatives, the quiet possession of their thoughts and feelings; and have thrown out the significant intimation, "that any bishop of the Church, either violating or submitting to the violation of the compromise charter of union between the North and South, without proper and public remonstrance, cannot be acceptable in the South, and *need not appear there.*" We shall be slow to believe, that even their constituents will justify them in thus virtually deposing, not one bishop only, but several, by a process which is even worse than "extra-judicial."

When all the law, and the facts in the case, shall have been spread before an impartial community, the majority have no doubt that they *will* fix "*the responsibility of division,*" should such an unhappy event take place, "where in justice it *belongs.*" They will ask, Who first introduced slavery into the episcopacy? And the answer will be, *Not the General Conference.* Who opposed the attempt to withdraw it from the episcopacy? *Not the General Conference.* Who resisted the measure of peace that was proposed—the mildest that the case allowed? *Not the majority.* Who first sounded the knell of division, and declared that it would be impossible longer to remain under the jurisdiction of the Methodist Episcopal Church? *Not the majority.*

The proposition for a peaceful separation, (if any must take place,) with which the Protest closes, though strangely at variance with much that precedes, has already been met by the General Conference. And the readiness with which that body (by a vote which would doubtless have been unanimous but for the belief that some entertained of the unconstitutionality of the measure) granted all that the southern brethren themselves could ask, in such an event, must forever stand as a

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practical refutation of any assertion that the minority have been subjected to the tyranny of a majority.

Finally, we cannot but hope that the minority, after reviewing the entire action of the conference, will find that, both in their Declaration and their Protest, they have taken too strong a view of the case; and that by presenting it in its true light before their people, they may be able to check any feelings of discord that may have arisen, so that the Methodist Episcopal Church may still continue as one body, engaged in its proper work of "spreading scriptural holiness over these lands."

ART. VIII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

BAPTIST QUARTERLY, October, 1875. (Philadelphia.)—1. Romans VII, 7–25. 2. Arnold's Literature and Dogma. 3. The Missionary Future in the Light of Prophecy. 4. Renan's Antichrist. 5. John, the Apostle, and his Writings. 6. Exegetical Studies.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, AND THEOLOGICAL ECLECTIC. October, 1875. (Andover.)—1. Jesus and the Resurrection. 2. The Indorsement of the Septuagint. 3. Recent Critical Treatment of the Psalter. 4. The Early British and Irish Churches. 5. Consciousness. 6. Words in New Testament Greek Borrowed from the Latin. 7. Recent Assyrian Discoveries. 8. Decline of Rationalism in the German Universities. 9. Dr. Burton on Metaphysics.

CHRISTIAN QUARTERLY, October, 1875. (Cincinnati.)—1. The Struggle between Church and State in Germany. 2. The Ground of Obligation and Norm of Right. 3. Christ and Antichrist. 4. The Family as Typical of the State. 5. The Three Great Questions of the Age.

CONGREGATIONAL QUARTERLY, October, 1875. (Boston.)—1. David Choate. 2. Exegesis of Genesis xlix, 22–26. 3. Dogma and Liberalism. 4. The Sacraments: Who may administer them. 5. Absent Members, and what to do with them. 6. Ministry and Churches of New Hampshire. 7. Congregational Necrology.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER, October, 1875. (Boston.)—1. An Address on the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Meeting of the Provincial Legislature in Salem, Oct. 5, 1774. 2. An Oration on the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Battle of Lexington, April 19, 1775. 3. An Oration on the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Fight in Concord, April 19, 1775. 4. An Oration on the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775. 5. An Oration on the One Hundredth Anniversary of Washington's Taking Command of the Continental Army, July 3, 1775. 6. An Oration on the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Meeting of the First Continental Congress in Philadelphia, Sept. 5, 1774. 7. Proceedings at Centennial Commemorations, 1874-5.

PRESBYTERIAN QUARTERLY AND PRINCETON REVIEW, October, 1875. (New York.)—1. Presbyterian Elements of our Nationality. 2. Civil and Religious Liberty in Turkey. 3. The Right of a Prosecutor to Appeal. 4. The Law of Appeal in the Presbyterian Church. 5. "God in Human Thought." 6. The Hornets of Scripture. 7. Textual and Topical Preaching Compared. 8. Simon's Mistake—Luke vii, 36–50. 9. The Sabbath, and How to Observe It. 10. The Currency Question.

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QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH, October, 1875. (Gettysburgh.)—1. The Relation and Duties of Educators to Crime. 2. The Lord's Supper. 3. Consecration in the Ministry. 4. What is a Fundamental Doctrine? 5. Erasmus and Luther. 6 Hebrews xiii, 10. 7. Collegiate Education. 8. General Synod. 9. The Work of the Review.

SOUTHERN REVIEW, October, 1875. (Baltimore.)—1. The Ninth Chapter of Romans. 2. The Times of George III. 3. Bacon's Philosophy. 4. New France and her New England Historians. 5. Termites. 6. James Russell Lowell. 7. The Ground of Right.

English Reviews.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, October, 1875. (London.)—1. Servum Arbitrium. 2. The Epistle to the Hebrews. 3. On the Relation of God to the World. 4. The Course of the Church in Prussia during the Present Century. 5. Jephthah's Vow. 6. Dr. Merle D'Aubigné on the Reformation in Scotland.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1875. (London.)—1. "Religious Art." 2. The Atomic Theory of Lucretius. 3. The Poetry of Alfred Tennyson. 4. The Etruscans and their Language. 5. The Boarding-Out of Pauper Orphans. 6. Modern Necromancy. 7. Isaac Casaubon.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, October, 1875. (New York: Leonard Scott Publishing Company, 41 Barclay-street.)—1. The Financial Grievance of Ireland. 2. Recent Editions of Molière. 3. Forest Management. 4. The Beresby Memoirs. 5. Ewald's History of Israel. 6. Progress of the Kingdom of Italy. 7. Lawson's Travels in New Guinea. 8. A Prussian Campaign in Holland. 9. The Municipal Government of London.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1875. (London.)—1. The Magic and Sorcery of the Chaldeans. 2. Celtic Culture. 3. The Unseen Universe. 4. The Brighton Convention and its Opponents. 5. Wesleyan Methodist Chapel Accommodation. 6. William Bell Scott, Poet and Painter. 7. The Methodist Conference of 1875.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1875. (New York: Leonard Scott Publishing Company, 41 Barclay-street.)—1. Memoirs of Saint-Simon. 2. Trout and Trout-Fishing. 3. William Borlase, St. Aubyn, and Pope. 4. Drink: the Vice and the Disease. 5. Icelandic Illustrations of English. 6. The Maules of Panmure. 7. Russian Proverbs. 8. Census of England and Wales. 9. The Conservative Government.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, October, 1875. (New York: Leonard Scott Publishing Company, 41 Barclay-street.)—1. The Marriage of Near Kin. 2. Quakerism. 3. Lord Shelburne, the Minister. 4. The Religious Education of Children. 5. The Baroda Blunder. 6. Montaigne. 7. Physics and Physiology of Harmony. 8. Theism.

German Reviews.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Theological Essays and Reviews.) Edited by Dr. Riehm and Dr. Köstlin. 1876. First Number. *Essays:* 1. KÖSTLIN, The Proofs of the Existence of God. (Second Article, concluded.) 2. ROTERMUND, From Ephraim to Golgotha. *Thoughts and Remarks:* 1. SCHUM, The Quedlinburg Fragment of an Illustrated Itala. 2. RÖSCH, King Pul. *Reviews:* 1. VOIGT, Fundamental Dogmatik, reviewed by Von der Goltz. 2. GOLTZ, Die christlichen Grundwahrheiten, reviewed by Gottschick. *Miscellaneous:* A German Palestine Museum in Jerusalem.

The numerous monuments relating to the ancient history of Assyria, which have of late been discovered and deciphered,

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have a special interest for the Christian theologian on account of the light which they shed upon the chronology of the Old Testament. We have, in a former number of the "Methodist Quarterly Review," referred to the valuable information derived from the monuments concerning King Sargon, whose name is only once mentioned in the Scriptures, (Isa. xx, 1,) but who, in the light of the native inscriptions, is now universally recognized as one of the greatest of all Assyrian kings, and appears as such in all text-books of ancient history. On the other hand, King Pul, who occupies a most prominent position in the biblical records, and was formerly believed to have been one of its foremost kings, appears to lose his claim to be counted among the actual sovereigns of the Assyrian empire. The above article, by G. Rösch, acquaints us with the recent researches and discoveries of German theologians and Orientalists relating to this king. His name has thus far not been found in the Assyro-Babylonian stone monuments. Lepsius in his essay, *Ueber den chronologischen Werth der assyrischen Eponymen*, ("On the Chronological Value of the Assyrian eponyms," Berlin, 1869,) thinks that any further search for him in the inscriptions will be useless, as he is identical with Tiglath-pileser. This view is supported by the most learned of German Assyriologists, Professor Schrader, of Berlin, in his work, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, ("The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament.") The author of the above article, J. Rösch, who is also devoting special attention to the Assyrian monuments, opposes the views of these scholars. He admits, with Schrader and Lepsius, that, in view of the continuity of the Assyrian lists of eponyms, there is no room left for a king of the Assyrian empire by the name of Pul, but he adduces two historical arguments, and one philological, against the identity of Pul with Tiglath-pileser. The only way of harmonizing the biblical records with the inscriptions appears to him to be to assume that Pul was a subordinate king or viceroy, appointed in Babylonia by the sovereign of Assyria. This explanation has previously been given by other writers on the subject, and Rösch refutes the arguments by which Schrader had opposed it, and gives some reasons for its correctness.

In the first article Professor Köstlin concludes his essay on

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the arguments which Christian theologians have used for proving the existence of a supernatural, personal God. The article is specially devoted to a review of the cosmological and teleological arguments, and the argument derived from the consent of all nations. The objections of the opponents are fully developed, several weak points in the argumentation of the defenders are admitted; but, in conclusion, the writer takes the ground that the religious and Christian faith conveys a degree of certainty in regard to the reality of a living, personal God which no so-called proof of the existence of God can produce.

The article "From Ephraim to Golgotha," by the Rev. W. Rotermund, a German Protestant pastor at São Leopoldo, in Brazil, undertakes to give us a connected view of the last days in the life of Jesus, beginning with his departure from Ephraim, and closing with the crucifixion. As is usual in the essays of this class, the conflicting views of the recent writers on the life of Jesus are referred to and examined, and, in conclusion, the author gives us the result of his studies in the following table:—

Day of the Week.	Day of the Month.		Events of the Day.	Passages of the Scriptures.
Thursday..	March 30..	Nisan 7..	Departure from Ephraim; arrival in Jericho.	Luke xviii, 31–xix, 27; Matt. xx, 17–34; Mark x, 32–52.
Friday.....	" 31..	" 8..	Journey from Jericho to Bethany.	Luke xix. 28, 29; Matt. xxi, 1; Mark xi, 1; John xii, 1.
Saturday ..	April 1....	" 9..	Last supper and anointment.	John xii, 2–8; Matt. xxvi, 6–13; Mark xiv, 3–9.
Sunday....	" 2....	" 10..	Entry into Jerusalem.	John xii, 12–19; Mark xi, 1–11; Luke xix, 29–44; Matt. xxi, 1–11.
Monday ...	" 3....	" 11..	Cursing of the fig-tree; cleansing of the temple.	Mark xi, 12–19; Matt. xxi, 12–19; Luke xix, 45–48.
Tuesday...	" 4....	" 12..	Withering of the fig-tree; sermons.	Mark xi, 20–xiv, 2; Matthew xxi, 20–xxvi, 5; Luke xx, 1–xxii, 6.
Wednesday	" 5....	" 13..	Sojourn in Bethany.	
Thursday..	" 6....	" 14..	Preparation for, and partaking of, the passover.	Matt. xxvi, 17–30; Mark xiv, 12–26; Luke xxii, 7–39; John xiii–xvii.
Friday.....	" 7....	" 15..	Imprisonment and crucifixion.	John xviii, xix; Luke xxii, 40–xxiii; Matthew xxvi, 31–xxvii; Mark xiv, 27–xv.

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French Reviews.

REVUE CHRÉTIENNE. (Christian Review.) July, 1875.—1. LICHTENBERGER, Alexander Vinet. 2. E. W., A Religious Novel, (Le Mot de l'Enigme, by Madame Augustus Craven.) 3. BONIFAS, Roman History in the Tragedies of Corneille, (Conclusion.) 4. G. MONOD, Fine Arts in France in 1875.

August.—1. LICHTENBERGER, Alexander Vinet, (Second Article.) 2. PENEL, Gladstone and Ultramontanism. 3. LICHTENBERGER, German Affairs.—The Future of the Theological Faculties.

September.—1. E. DE PRESSENSE, The General Aspects of Religion after the Fall of Man. 2. E. DE GUERLE, Byron and his Last Critics. 3. NAVILLE, On the Existence of a Religious Christian Art in the First Centuries.

October.—1. E. DE PRESSENSE, Apologetic Studies, (Second Series,) The Supernatural in God. 2. CADENE, The Correspondence of Lamartine. 3. FR. DE PRESSENSE, England and English Society under George IV. and William IV. 4. LICHTENBERGER, German Affairs.

Professor Lichtenberger, formerly of Strasburg and now of Paris, in his article on the Theological Faculties of Germany, discusses the dangers which at present threaten these institutions. After having raised German theology to the highest eminence which theological science has ever attained, their suppression is now demanded by several prominent scholars. Lichtenberger specially refers to the recent work of Professor Sybel, the celebrated historian of Bonn, and one of the chiefs of the national liberal party, on "The German Universities, their Achievements and Wants," (*Die deutschen Universitäten, ihre Leistungen und Bedürfnisse.* Berlin, 1874,) and to that of Dr. Geffcken, one of the few German advocates of an entire separation between Church and State, on "State and Church in their Mutual Relations." (Strasburg, 1875.) Sybel takes the ground that theology does not constitute a science in the strict sense of the word, but that it is the art of governing the soul, and that it belongs altogether to the seminaries. Geffcken, on the other hand, wants to confine the instruction of theology to the seminaries, on the ground that it solely concerns the Churches to organize and to direct the theological instruction given to her future ministers. Professor Lichtenberger does not share the opinion of the two German scholars. Though a very decided partisan of the separation between Church and State, he insists that "religious science is one of the subjects the instruction in which contributes to the intellectual culture of a country, and that, consequently, the State government has the duty to take the initiative in regard to it. This does not necessarily imply that the State is competent to

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teach theology, for it is just as incompetent to teach medicine or philosophy. But the State alone possesses the necessary means to secure for the schools of the highest grade an existence worthy, independent, and conformable to the national genius. Theology, though different from other sciences, has a truly scientific character, and therefore should be taught at the universities. Any desire to isolate from the intellectual current of a country the cultivation of religious science, both misunderstands its nature and weakens its bearing."

ART. IX.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

THE CREEDS OF THE WORLD.

OWING to the progress of the science of statistics, the population of the globe can now be estimated with a degree of probability to which, as we can see in the light of modern science, estimates made in former times have no claim whatever. All of the countries of Europe with the exception of Turkey, most of the countries of America, and the European colonies, with a number of independent States in other large divisions of the globe, from time to time take an official census, which establishes the actual population with a certainty which, it seems, leaves hardly any room for considerable improvement. During the time from one census to the next, official calculations are annually made on the basis of the official lists of births and deaths, of immigration and emigration, which are proved by the results of the subsequent census to have now reached a high degree of accuracy. In the countries in which no official census has as yet been taken, the researches in regard to the number of inhabitants made by learned travelers give us at least figures vastly superior in point of trustworthiness to those found in geographical works of an earlier date. The famous geographical establishment of Perthes, in Gotha, Germany, has for several years been publishing a periodical specially devoted to the most recent information relating to the area of all the divisions and States of the globe, where the results of the entire literature of the world relating to this subject are carefully garnered, and where every figure can be traced to the source, official or inofficial, from which it has been derived.*

* E. Behm und R. Wagner, "Die Bevölkerung der Erde," vol. i, 1872; vol. ii, 1874; vol. iii, 1875. In the "Statistical Tables" published by Professor A. J. Schem, (3d edit., 1875,) the figures relating to population have been taken from the German work of Behm and Wagner, except in those cases where the editor has sources of information of a later date than the last volume of the German work.

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The greater accuracy obtained for the statistics of population has, of course, enabled us to estimate more correctly the population professing the various creeds. Most of the States include in the census questions one in regard to the religious profession. Where this is not done, as in the United States, in England and Scotland, most of the religious denominations publish annual accounts of adult membership, of number of churches and ministers, and other facts from which inferences as to the total population, which more or less is influenced and controlled by the doctrinal tenets of a particular religious denomination, may be made. It is interesting to observe in the religious statistics of those States which include the religious profession of the inhabitants in the official census the small number of persons who avow themselves as atheists. Thus in Prussia, which, by friends as well as by foes, is sometimes looked upon as the Eldorado of atheists and opponents to the belief in a personal God, avowed atheists can only be looked for in the columns of "persons of unknown religions," who number four thousand four hundred and ninety-five, and free religions, of whom there were two thousand five hundred and thirty-one. Thus no more than about seven thousand in a total population of twenty-four millions six hundred thousand made a statement that might cause them to be looked upon as atheists. In France eighty-one thousand nine hundred and fifty-one persons were returned as "without religion," or "religion unknown," in a total population of thirty-six millions. In the Dominion of Canada, according to the official census of 1871, of a total population of three millions four hundred and eighty-six thousand, only twenty persons claimed to be atheists, four hundred and nine deists, and five thousand one hundred and forty-four to have no religion.

Facts like these indicate that however large the number of persons may be who are indifferent in religious matters, or have discarded a belief in a personal God and in Christianity, the population of the Christian countries continues to be almost a unit in its outward connection with Christianity. This includes the Christian character, more or less explicit, of laws, of customs, of literature, and of education. Thus the countries of Europe, America, and Australia may be looked upon as representatives of the Christian religion and of Christian civilization to as high a degree as at any former period of their history.

We now subjoin a few statistical statements which will show, 1. The area and population of the five large divisions of the globe; 2. The leading creeds of the world; 3. The three large divisions of the Christian Church; 4. The area and population of the States under Christian governments.*

* The first of the statistical statements here referred to are taken from Behm and Wagner, "Die Bevölkerung der Erde," vol. iii, 1875; the figures of the second and third are, with slight modifications, reproduced from the "Statistical Tables" (N. Y., 1875) of Professor Schem; the fourth is extracted from another forthcoming statistical essay of Professor Schem.

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I. AREA AND POPULATION OF THE FIVE LARGE DIVISIONS OF THE WORLD.

Continents.	Square Miles.	Population.	Inhabitants on one Sq. Mile.
Europe	3,824,455	302,973,000	80
Asia	17,300,445	798,907,000	47
Africa	11,557,875	206,007,000	18
America	15,954,623	84,392,000	5
Australia	3,425,072	4,563,000	1.5
Total	52,062.470	1,396,842,000	26.

II. THE LEADING CREEDS OF THE WORLD.

1. *Christianity.*—Three of the five large divisions of the globe may be set down as almost wholly Christian. Every country of America, without exception; every country of Europe, except Turkey; the Australian continent, with many of the Polynesian Islands, profess Christianity as the national religion; and even in Turkey, the Christians constitute the large majority of the population in the European dominions, and the entire expulsion of the only non-Christian government of Europe appears to be near at hand. In Asia more than one half the entire area (nine millions three hundred and seventy-nine thousand square miles) is under the rule of Christian governments, chiefly Russia and Great Britain, and the extent of this territory is increasing every year. In Africa the possessions of the Christian powers are likewise steadily increasing. In addition to Abyssinia, which has been a nominally Christian country for fifteen hundred years, Liberia, the Transvaal Republic, the Orange Free State, and Madagascar, are independent African States with Christian governments. In all the countries of America, Europe, and Australia, in the dependencies of the European powers, in Asia and Africa, the Christian population is either officially enumerated in the census, or can be estimated with a high degree of accuracy; and if it is only kept in mind that statistics of Christianity, or any other creed, can only mean the population nominally connected with, and actually influenced and controlled by, its doctrines, the estimates of the present number of Christians will be accepted as being a comparatively near approach to the real facts; nearer, at all events, than any former estimate of Christians or any present estimate of the other large creeds. According to the latest information accessible, we estimate the Christian population of America at about eighty millions, of Europe at two hundred and eighty-nine millions, of Australia and Polynesia at three millions, of Asia at sixteen millions, of Africa at six millions, of the entire globe at three hundred and ninety-three millions.

2. *Buddhism.*—This form of religion is commonly represented as having a larger number of adherents than any other form of religion, and some estimate the population connected with it as high as five hundred millions. Other estimates are, however, much lower, some being as low as three hundred millions. The impossibility of making accurate estimates arises from the fact that Buddhism in China has so much con-

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formed itself to the old Chinese religion, and in Japan to the national religion of Shintoism, that the marks of difference have become almost imperceptible. The present sovereign of Japan is making great efforts to repress Buddhism, and to clear Shintoism from its Buddhistic admixtures; but the latest accounts from Japan agree in representing Buddhism as being still the popular religion of the country, and the same report is made on China. Buddhism in an unmixed form is the recognized State religion in Siam, Burmah, Anam, and Thibet; and it prevails in Ceylon, and in some parts of British India, where, according to the latest census, the Buddhist population amounted to about nine millions three hundred thousand. It also prevails in Mongolia, and among some of the Kirgheez tribes subject to the rule of Russia. Buddhism is confined to Asia, with the exception of about two hundred and fifty thousand nomads in European Russia.

3. *Brahminism.*—This religion prevails only in British India, and in the islands of Bali and Lombok. According to the latest census taken in the provinces of British India, the number of Brahmaists amounted to about one hundred and forty millions five hundred thousand. The total population connected with this religion is not likely to exceed one hundred and forty-five millions.

4. *The Religious System of Confucius and the Shinto Religion.*—The former is the State religion of China, the latter that of Japan. Both, as has already been stated, have been overgrown by Buddhism to such an extent as to make it nearly impossible to recognize the boundary lines. The population by which the moral precepts of Confucius are accepted as the highest authority is vaguely estimated from sixty to one hundred and twenty millions, and that which worships in the Shinto temples from twelve to twenty millions.

5. *Mohammedanism.*—Asia has a Mohammedan population of about ninety-five millions, nearly one half of whom are subjects of the British Government. The Mohammedan population prevails in Asiatic Turkey, in Persia, in Afghanistan and Beloochistan, in all the independent States of Central Asia, in the islands of Java and Sumatra, and in Arabia. Russia had in 1875, in its Asiatic possessions, a Mohammedan population of about five millions, which may be expected to increase rapidly by the progressive absorption of the States of Central Asia. The Mohammedan population of China is undoubtedly larger than was formerly assumed, as has been proved by the Mohammedan rebellions in the north-western and south-western provinces. It can certainly not be less than three millions, and may be much larger. In Europe, the Mohammedan population of Turkey has been for some time on the decline, and is not supposed to exceed four millions. Russia, in its European provinces, has about two millions three hundred and fifty-nine thousand. In Africa, Mohammedanism not only rules in the States of the northern and eastern coast, Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, Tripoli, and Egypt, but it has gradually conquered nearly the whole interior of Africa, having advanced westward to the borders of Liberia. It is thought that nearly one half

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of the total population of Africa, or about one hundred millions, may be set down as imbued with Mohammedanism.

6. *Judaism.*—Judaism is neither the predominant religion, nor the religion of the government in any particular country of the globe, but it is represented in every civilized and in many uncivilized countries. The Jews number more than five millions in Europe, of whom about one half live in Russia and Poland. They are also numerous in China, in Morocco, and other countries of Northern Africa, and are increasing rapidly in the large cities of the United States. Their aggregate number may be about seven millions.

III. The Three Large Divisions of Christendom.

It is common to divide the Christian Churches into three groups: 1. The Roman Catholic, which regards the Pope as the head of the entire Christian Church; 2. The Eastern or Oriental Churches, which recognize the first Council of Nice as œcumenical, and believe in a government of the Church by bishops who derive their consecration, in an unbroken succession, from the apostles; 3. All others generally comprised under the name of Protestants. They reject the infallibility of the Pope as well as of œcumenical councils, and subordinate all sources of doctrine to the Bible. The name *Protestant* is disliked and disowned by some sects put in this group; and parts of other sects claim a place in the second instead of the third group. The Old Catholics and Jansenists have not yet entirely cut loose from the first group, though they are excommunicated by the Pope. The number of Christians belonging to each of the three large groups is about as follows:—

Continents.	Protestants.	Roman Catholics.	Eastern Churches.
America	33,000,000	47,000,000	.....
Europe	72,000,000	148,000,000	69,000,000
Asia	2,000,000	5,000,000	9,000,000
Africa	2,000,000	1,000,000	3,000,000
Australia and Polynesia	2,200,000	800,000	.....
Total	111,200,000	201,800,000	81,000,000

It will be seen from the above table that the Roman Catholic Church embraces a considerable majority of the total population of America, and nearly one half in Europe. It exceeds the Protestant population in Asia, but is exceeded by it in Africa and Australia.

IV.—Independent States Under Christian Governments.

The power and influence of the States which may be said to be under Christian government has increased more rapidly than the number of Christians, and the Christian aggregate population of these territories by far exceeds the aggregate number of Christians. In fact, the Christian nations, when united, rule the world without the possibility of any opposi-

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tion, and their ascendency is becoming more prominent every year. The following list contains all the States of the world which have either Christian monarchs, or, in case they are republics, a predominantly Christian population. The figures given for each State include the area and population of all its colonies and dependencies. Counting the small insular States of Polynesia which have been Christianized as one, they are forty-eight in number, of which six belong to the Eastern, (marked in the list with E,) twelve to the Protestant, (marked P,) and the remainder to the Roman Catholic nations. The States are arranged in the order of their population. It will be noticed that the list is headed by a Protestant State, and that among the six most populous Christian States of the globe three are Protestant. By casting up the population of the Protestant States, the interesting fact will be ascertained, that considerably more than one half, and nearly two thirds of the aggregate population of Christian States, are under Protestant governments:—

States, inclusive of Colonies and Dependencies.	Sq. Miles.	Inhabitants.	States, inclusive of Colonies and Dependencies.	Sq. Miles.	Inhabitants.
British Empire (P)	8,755,159	288,604,841	Servia (E)	16,817	1,838,000
Russian Empire (E)	8,585,142	85,686,000	Ecuador	248,800	1,308,000
France	577,195	41,736,000	Guatemala	40,778	1,194,000
German Empire (P)	208,729	41,060,864	Liberia (P)	9,567	718,000
United States (P)	3,611,844	38,555,983	San Salvador	7,335	600,000
Austro-Hungary	240,954	35,904,435	Hayti	9,288	572,000
Italy	114,409	26,801,154	Honduras	47,092	350,000
Netherlands (P)	674,100	26,569,000	Uruguay	69,800	300,000
Spain	816,075	25,196,100	Transvaal Republic (P)	114,000	300,000
Brazil	3,288,100	10,296,238	Nicaragua	58,169	250,000
Mexico	741,823	9,158,247	Paraguay	56,714	221,079
Portugal	741,625	8,023,500	Luxembourg	999	197,528
Sweden and Norway (P)	294,030	6,063,806	Costa Rica	21,433	185,000
Belgium	11,373	5,258,821	San Domingo	19,959	136,500
Madagascar (P)	228,600	5,000,000	Montenegro (E)	1,701	120,000
Roumania (E)	46,710	4,500,000	Orange Free State (P)	42,479	57,000
Abyssinia (E)	158,400	3,000,000	Sandwich Islands (P)	7,629	56,877
Colombia	820,738	2,894,992	Andorra	144	12,000
Switzerland (P)	15,992	2,669,147	Liechtenstein	68	8,060
Peru	503,468	2,500,000	San Marino	24	7,816
Chili	126 084	2,074,000	Monaco	6	5,741
Bolivia	500,880	2,000,000	Australian Islands, excl. of European possessions and Sandwich Isl's (P).	390,750	1,926,100
Denmark (P)	54,808	1,988,000			
Argentine Confederation	838,605	1,812,500			
Venezuela	408,272	1,784,194			
Greece (E)	19,358	1,457,894	Total	32,419,915	635,459,411

Art. X.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Among the recent German works which openly attack the Christian religion and predict its approaching downfall, that by the philosopher, E. von Hartmann, entitled "The Spontaneous Decomposition of Christianity and the Religion of the Future," (*Die Selbstzersetzung des Christenthums.* Berlin, second edition, 1874,) has made quite a stir in literary circles. Unlike many other works against Christianity, which regard the Church of Rome as the most consistent organization and development of Christian ideas, and Protestantism as a kind of compromise between Christian-

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ity and progressive science, E. von Hartmann dismisses Catholicism with a few brief remarks on its services in the past and its anachronism in the present. He then concentrates his attacks upon Protestantism, which he characterizes as the religion of worldliness, as a religion which is willing to hear of something to its advantage in the next world, provided it can first secure the more solid satisfaction of this world. Turning to the religion of the future, the author does not share the opinion of the majority of anti-Christian writers, who believe that bald materialism will take the place of the overthrown religion, and that mankind in future will be without any religion whatever. Hartmann believes in a religion of the future, but declares his inability to delineate its chief characteristics. Christianity, he thinks, will furnish some of the constituent elements, but individual immortality and vicarious atonement will find no place in it. As was to be expected, the work has called forth a large number of replies. The pamphlet of Dr. Huber, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Munich, and one of the prominent men of the Old Catholic Church, is regarded as one of the best. The pamphlet is entitled, *Die Religiöse Frage, wider E. von Hartmann;* (The Religious Question against E. von Hartmann.) Munich, 1875. By a number of previous works this writer has established for himself the reputation of being one of the most powerful writers against all opponents of Christianity. His pamphlet begins with a review of the religious situation of the age. Against the attacks taken from logic and exact science, he urges that religion is not a result of either logic or exact science, but that it rests on the wants of the soul. The charge that Christianity is now in open conflict with the science of the age, is refuted by a reference to the times of the first establishment of the Christian religion, when the same charges were made. The question whether Christianity can remain the religion of the future is identical, according to Huber, with the other, whether the future will have a religion; for the attacks upon Christianity are so many attacks upon the essence of all religion. Other pamphlets against Hartmann have been written by Dr. Heman, (Hartmann's *Religion der Zuknuft in ihrer Selbstzersetzung nachgewiesen.* Leipsic, 1875,) and by Dr. Schwarz, (*Das Ziel religiöser und wissenschaftlicher Gährung.* Berlin, 1875.)

Dr. Delitzsch, Lecturer on Theology at the University of Leipsic, has published the first volume of a work on "The Doctrinal System of the Church of Rome," (*Das Lehrsystem der Römischen Kirche.* Gotha, 1875.) The object of the work is to give a more thorough delineation of the Roman system than can be found in any Protestant work, and it has made careful use of the entire recent literature of the Church of Rome. The first volume treats, in an introduction, of the sources and the organization of the doctrinal system of Rome, and then proceeds to the first main section, comprising the fundamental doctrine of Romanism, or the doctrine of the Church.

A valuable work on "Philo of Alexandria, as Interpreter of the Old Testament," (*Philo von Alexandrien.* Jena, 1875,) has been published by

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Prof. C. Siegfried, who had previously published several articles on Philo in the theological periodicals of Germany. An introduction treats of the internal history of Judaism, from the construction of the first temple to the age of Philo of Alexandria. The main work consists of two parts: 1. Philo as interpreter of the Old Testament. 2. The historical influence of Philo's exegetical principles.

The fragments of Papias, one of the earlier writers of the Christian Church, which have been preserved by the Church historian Eusebius, have an important bearing on the question of the authenticity of the Gospel of St. John. They have, therefore, of late been made the subject of several special treatises. The most recent is by Dr. Limbach, a young theologian of the orthodox Lutheran school, entitled, *Das Papias Fragment*, and directed against a treatise, of the same title, by Dr. Weissenbach, a theologian of the Rationalistic school.

The Commentary to the Gospel of St. John, by Prof. Luthardt, (*Das Johanneische Evangelium.* Nuremburg, second edition, 1875,) is regarded by the evangelical theologians of Germany as one of the best productions of German exegetical literature. The first edition appeared in 1852, since which time a very large number of books explaining or bearing on the fourth gospel have been published. The author has compared this new literature, enlarged his work by references to recent works, and rewritten several parts.

The Commentary to "The Sacred Writings of the New Testament," (*Die Heilige Schrift des Neuen Testaments.* Nördlingen, 1875,) by Prof. J. Ch. K. von Hofmann, Professor of Theology at Erlangen, and one of the veterans of the Lutheran Church of Germany, has now reached part vii, sec. 1, which comprises the first Epistle of Peter. The epistle, according to Hofmann, was written by the Apostle Peter at Rome during the time between the departure of the Apostle Paul from Rome (A. D. 63) and the latter part of the summer of the year 64. It is very closely connected with the Epistle to the Ephesians, and has lively reminiscences of that to the Romans.

A prominent representative of the Rationalist theological school of Switzerland, Professor Langhaus, of Berne, has begun the publication of a Manual of Biblical History and Literature, (*Handbuch der biblischen Geschichte.* Berne, 1875.) The work will be completed in four parts.

A new edition of the ancient Church writer, Arnobius, (*Arnobii adversus Nationes libri vii.* Vienna, 1875,) by Professor Reiferscheid, forms the fourth volume of the collection of the ancient Church writers which is published by the Vienna Academy of Sciences under the title, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum editum consilio et impensis Academiæ litterarum Cæsarea Vindobonensis.* The former volumes of the collection contained the works of Sulpitius Severus, Minutius Felix, Julius Firmicus Maternus, edited by Halm, and of Cyprian by Hartel. The editors of the volumes which have thus far appeared are scholars of the first rank, and the entire collection is one of the many publications which

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are recognized in all countries as specimens of the profound learning of German scholars.

A new Commentary on the book of Job, by Dr. H. Zschokke, (*Das Buch Job übersetzt.* Vienna, 1875,) is a part of a Roman Catholic Commentary to the entire Old Testament, edited by Professor Rohling and others. Previously four volumes had been published. The work is chiefly intended for students of theology and educated laymen.

The union Conferences which have been held at Cologne and Bonn between Old Catholic, Anglican, and Oriental theologians, have awakened a new interest in the history of the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Ghost. (See Meth. Quart. Rev., 1875, p. 673.) Prominent theologians of all these three communions agree in the opinion that the differences of belief which so long divided the Eastern and Western Churches can be harmoniously adjusted. The Anglican and Old Catholic members of the Union Conferences made to the Oriental Churches the concession that they declared the addition of the word *filioque* to the creed of the Church, which was first made by order of Charlemagne in spite of the opposition of the pope, to have been illegal. There was, however, a difference of opinion as to what the precise doctrine of the ancient Church has been, and as to the wording that should be chosen to harmonize the views of the theologians of all the three communions. The Conference has called forth several theological treatises on the subject. One, from the Russian archimandrite, Sylvester, Professor of the Ecclesiastical Academy of Kiev, has been published by the Society of Friends of Ecclesiastical Enlightenment of St. Petersburg, which chiefly patronizes the Union Conferences with Anglicans and Old Catholics in a German translation, entitled *Antwort auf die in dem altkatholischen Schema enthaltene Bemerkung von dem Heiligen. Geiste.* ("Reply to the Remarks on the Holy Ghost contained in the Old Catholic Declaration." Petersburg, 1875.) As the Russian language is but little understood outside of Russia, Russian theologians, in order to bring their views to the knowledge of theologians of other Churches, now, in many cases, procure the translation of their works into German, which is now more widely understood among learned theologians than any other language.

Art. XI.—INORGANIC METHODISM.

Dr. Curry's able Article in our present number, and this our little essay in response, ought, perhaps, to exchange titles. He has stated the case, really, of inorganic Methodism, and has endeavored to read its extremer principles into our history and institutions. We propose to give a brief, varying, yet not wholly contradictory view, stating more decisively the organic element in Methodism,

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leaving the reader to form his own conclusions from reason and Scripture. His closing paragraphs, frankly indorsing the adoption and permanence of our episcopacy, without any essential change, will be received by the large body of our readers with gratification.

1. We agree that a call to the preaching of the Gospel is the true requisite for every true minister. To be "moved by the Holy Ghost" thereto is the formula we have derived from the English Church. And so St. Paul tells us that God "gave" (Eph. iv, 11) the various ministries, or rather ministers. He "gave" apostles, evangelists, pastors, and teachers. The mission, right, and authority of each of these classes depended, it must be carefully noted, on "the measure of the gift." The call of the called extended only to the extent of the call. If a "teacher" undertook to be an "apostle" he was a usurper, and liable to fall into schism. It does not follow that every "called" preacher is also a "called" *minister* in every respect. He may be "called" as an *evangelist*, to rouse the people, and yet not as an *elder*, to administer government and sacrament. Taking the natural talent as a basis, the Spirit bestowed upon the man the gracious "gift," to be exercised within the limits required by the common good and order of the Church. But,

2. If there is a *call* of the individual to the ministry, there is also still more emphatically a *call* of the Christian body to be a Church. When on an island, like ancient Crete, there is a scattered number of Christians, it is their duty to gravitate toward each other, to unify, and to organize into a governmental system. This duty is based upon the social instinct; on the "impossibility of going to heaven alone;" and on the supreme importance that the Christian body should form itself into not only a commonwealth, but into an *army* for the conquest of the world. St. Paul exhorted not only the Church of Corinth, but all the Churches of Achaia together, "That ye all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you; but that ye be perfectly joined together in the same mind, and in the same judgment." Equally true is it that this Church army should be officered and commanded. It should have its organization and its ordinances, constituting its form and identity. St. Paul's favorite image is the human body, (Eph. iv, 3–16;) which image he uses to illustrate how each part must adhere to its own functions, and how thereby the common life and energy would be most triumphant. The ambitious little foot must not aspire to be the head. The jaunty little evangelist, the brilliant Strawbridge of the day, however successful in sally-

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ing out, getting up revivals, and raising rural societies, must not therefore assume to be an apostle, or even, perhaps, a pastor, unless in the blessed order of the one body. Otherwise, there would be a schism between him and the apostle; but the Strawbridge, and not the apostle, would be the schismatic.

3. It is the "call" of the Church to test and judge "the call" of the minister. It is not sufficient for a man to start up and declare, upon his own motion, that he is "called," to authorize him to exercise the organic ordinances of the Church. It is in the Church that lies the duty and right to furnish from her bosom and hand, and to authenticate and externally commission, the ministry. Herein lies "the priesthood of the people;" that out of the holy people shall go forth a holy ministry. Both to Timothy and to Titus St. Paul furnishes a large section of a brief letter in describing what sort of a person the elder and the deacon should be. It was not enough that he professed to be "called of God." He must exhibit a number of good traits to Timothy's authoritative eye. He must be well reported to Timothy by the Church. He must be "proved." No man could announce himself as elder, and of his own sweet will go to administering ordinances and ordination. He might be a brilliant evangelist and yet unfit for an elder. The very fact that, in a spirit of "Irish independence," he insisted on being an elder when he was only an evangelist, without regard to organic order, would have rendered his fitness suspicious, and have made him a probable schismatic. Separation from a true organic Church is justifiable only on grounds of *the right of revolution.* On any less ground it is schism.

4. If Strawbridge had "a call" to be an evangelist, Wesley had far more a divine "call" instrumentally to inaugurate the movement called Methodism, and to organize and control it. The Almighty made him a natural autocrat. Upon that noble basis the divine Spirit, as usual, based its charism and its mission, and his call was in extent according to the measure of his gift. It was something more than "providential," unless the charism be held a part of the providence. His call to his mission as founder-apostle was far more special and far more divine than Strawbridge's call was to the preaching of the Gospel under and within the great organic movement. What this centralizing and organizing character of both Wesley and Asbury signifies we may all judge by comparing Wesley's work with Whitefield's. Why is it that Whitefield's work has left little trace behind it, and Wesley's is filling the world? The reply, humanly, is *organism.* But for the autocracy

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of Wesley, which reached America through Asbury, the sporadic work of men like Strawbridge would have been like water spilled upon the ground. When, then, in opposition to Wesley, to the Conference, to the unity and power of the whole movement, Strawbridge insisted by willful individualism to administer the sacraments, he was acting, however sincerely and heroically, out of the divine order, and was a schismatic. And when we are told that he had a *right* to administer sacraments, there still would remain the question, Was it right for him to exercise his right? Nothing is more common than rights in abeyance; rights which there is no justifiable occasion for exerting. Rightly was his name left off those "Minutes" whose compact he violated. His evangelism seems to have ceased, and we rejoice at the final testimony that he died "in great peace." When in virtue of his call to be an evangelist he assumed the functions of an elder, he impinged against the far higher call of Wesley, and, like a beautiful but slender yacht dashing against the Great Eastern, he wrecked himself.

5. Ordination by laying on of hands, and in no different manner, is sanctioned by Scripture example. Thrice did we rub our eyes in wonder, and read again the words on page 127, that this mode of ordination was, with certainty, sanctioned only by "patristic authority." The imposition of hands is authorized in both the Old and New Testaments for at least three several purposes: as a mode of blessing, of imparting the Holy Ghost, of *conferring sacred office and authority*. It was performed by Divine command by Moses, for this last purpose, upon Joshua. Num. xxii, 23. Twice in the Acts of the Apostles is ordination by the laying on of hands mentioned, namely: that of the deacons by the apostles, (Acts vi, 6,) and that of Paul and Barnabas as apostles in mission to the Gentiles. Acts xiii, 3. Three times is the laying on of hands, mentioned by Paul in his Epistles to Timothy, an ordination thereby to the ministry. Twice it is used in reference to the setting apart of Timothy to his office by St. Paul and the presbytery. Once, in the midst of cautions to Timothy against appointing elders hastily, he says, "Lay hands suddenly on no man." This can have no other meaning than that Paul's method of ordination to eldership was by laying on of hands. And this method must, therefore, be read into all those ordinations by St. Paul of elders and deacons into all his Churches. The difference between the Scripture authority for baptism and that for ordination by imposition of hands is, that while the former has most explicit warrant, both from Scripture *example* and also Scripture

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command, the latter has Scripture *example* only. The phrase in Heb. vi, 2, "doctrine of baptisms and laying on of hands," does decisively import that "the laying on of hands" was one of the *doctrines* of Christianity. And the assuming that it has no more Scripture authority than the "handing of a book" is an extravaganza. And the command, "Lay hands suddenly on no man," is not far from even *a command to the laying on of hands.* We may fairly say that this is the only form authorized, and is the form to be used. The not using it, is at least a disrespect to a divine example. There is then, scripturally, a formal defect. When used in its full import and in the right spirit by the officer authorized by the Church, a divine authentication and authority are conveyed. Nor is there any valid doubt that the New Testament practice of ordination has continued in uninterrupted succession down to the present as truly as the Sabbath or the Lord's Supper. Those three parallel lines connect us, thanks to Wesley and our fathers, by an historic tie to the primitive Church. Nor is it in the spirit of our fathers, or of true Methodism, to wantonly break our historic connections with the post-apostolic catholic Church. In his letter to American Methodists authenticating Coke, Wesley rejoices that, by our national independence, they are free to follow "*Scripture and the primitive Church*," and so can accept his episcopacy.

And these views we understand to be the fundamental and constitutional views of the Methodist Episcopal Church from its first founding, at the Christmas Conference, until now. Our ordinations are, professedly, not a mere "blessing," nor a mere "recognizing" or "discerning." They are a solemn conveying from the body, the CHURCH, through the ordainer as its agent, of an office, an *authority*, for most solemn functions. Nothing less than this can be meant by those awful words by which a bishop is, and has ever been, consecrated: "The Lord pour upon thee THE HOLY GHOST for the office and work of a bishop in the Church of God NOW COMMITTED unto thee by the authority of the Church through THE IMPOSITION OF OUR HANDS, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen." These words are a triple blasphemy if it be not held that the Church by a divine authority communicates a divine office, dignity, and *authority*, through the mode of the laying on of hands, *which mode alone is authorized by Scripture.* Is this High-Churchism? It is the High-Churchism of our whole history. And those other words, to which we have all assented at our presbyterial ordination, are scarce less decisive: "The Lord pour upon thee the Holy Ghost for the office

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and work of an elder in the Church of God, now *committed unto thee by the authority of the Church through the imposition of our hands.*" We think that any who should pronounce ordination so used to be a "fetish" or an "INCANTATION" would do well to reconsider their words.

Of this authentication the source is not the bishops, (who are but its mere agents,) nor the eldership, but the *body*, lay and ministerial, of the one whole Church. And the pastor so ordained is not a mere hired-man of the particular charge to which he is sent; but the humblest of all our pastors is truly *a representative of the whole Church;* and what rightful thing he does in his legitimate sphere, the unity of the Church does through him. If directly and internally called of God, he is also mediately and externally called by the divinely ordaining Church. And it is in this twofold call that his authority and high dignity as *minister* and embassador of God consists.

6. If Strawbridge was a permanent schismatic, the Fluvanna Conference, which undertook the performance of spontaneous, mutual presbyterian (if it could be called even "presbyterian") ordination, was briefly schismatic; but it soon saw its mistake, and nobly, with perfect unanimity, redeemed itself. The men were, like Strawbridge, deeply holy men, and committed their error, not like him, with mere "persistent individualism," but in the spirit of perfect love. For years the child had grown up without baptism, and the convert had, indeed, received the love-feast but not the holy supper. The southern ministers, by a large majority, were coming to the conclusion to disobey Wesley and break with the Church by self-ordination. In accordance with the then custom of holding two or three sessions a year, and yet considering them all one Annual Conference, the northern ministers (who were almost to a man opposed to self-ordination) assembled under Asbury at Baltimore. This was done, not for the convenience of Asbury alone, but for the convenience of all the northern preachers, whom the war impeded in going to Virginia and attending the fuller regular Conference. They claimed this Baltimore assemblage to be only a "preparatory Conference." The southerly Conference, really representing but the southern section, did by a majority of a majority (and so, perhaps, a minority of the whole ministry) for a brief period inaugurate the separation movement. They ordained presbyters, and for one year we were actually a presbyterian Church! But at the next regular session of the Conference this ephemeral presbytery evaporated into thin air! Asbury, attended by Garrettson and Watters, vis-

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ited and addressed the Conference. He read Wesley's thoughts against separation from the Church of England, showed Wesley's private letters of instruction, and set before them the views of the northern preachers touching loyalty to Wesley and the great Methodist movements. For a while the presbyterians stood firm. But seasons of prayer took place, an effusion of the Spirit seemed to overwhelm them, and amid the rush of pentecostal feeling all hearts fused into one. In that glow of holy union it was agreed to give up the ordinations and await the decision of Mr. Wesley on the subject. Thus did the divine Spirit teach these holy men to subject their "call" to the higher "call" of Wesley and Methodism. For four long years did our unanimous American Methodism wait before Wesley could bring himself to the ordination of Coke and the organization of an episcopacy.

7. The ordination of Coke by Wesley, which seems to be slightingly styled a "unique affair," has long appeared to us one of the grandest acts of Wesley's life. It cleared American Methodism at one brave stroke alike from all presbyterian movements, all Anglican claims, and all internal schisms. And from that time to this, thanks be to God! we have stood out before Christendom on our own high plane, "rejoicing as a strong man to run a race." It seems too slightingly said, also, that "Wesley had been appealed to by various persons" to give us a Church government. He did so after the union above described in compliance with the unanimous request of American Methodism, patiently waiting for four years. If popular assent makes ecclesiastical government legitimate, no act was ever more legitimate, no government was ever more legitimate, than Wesley's in this matter. It was he, not they, who hesitated or doubted; and the length of their waiting shows that the independent presbyterian movement was never deep in the hearts of the people, and that preachers and people rejected with conscious depth and firmness every other thought than the getting an episcopacy from Wesley. For it was an episcopacy they expected. They were Church-of-England people, Episcopalians. They knew that Wesley disliked presbyterian government, and preferred episcopacy. And when, from Wesley, Coke came, the Conference accepted him with a *unanimous vote*. And they elected Asbury with *unanimous vote*. And their first eucharist they partook with holy rapture, and from one end of the Connection to the other no voice was heard but joyful acceptance. The Conference received Wesley's authentication of Coke, designating it explicitly as "letters of episcopal *orders;*" they adopted Wesley's ritual of ordaining

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three grades; and they inaugurated a "Methodist Episcopal Church."

8. As to the logical grounds of Mr. Wesley's ordination, we endeavored to show four years ago the following points: 1. After Mr. Wesley's reading of Lord King, both he and the British Conference still avowed the belief that there are three proper orders in the New Testament, which are not, however, necessary to the absolute validity of a Church. 2. Nevertheless, the eldership is essentially the one order from which the other two are derivative. Not that a number of elders have a right to get together and ordain a bishop when they please. If they have the right, it is not right for them ordinarily to use the right. Wesley declared, in 1755, that it would be disorderly for him to so ordain, and yet when the "call" came his ordination was right. He, then, professedly, as being himself a regularly ordained elder in the Church of God, performed, under the due extraordinary call, that ordaining act, the power to which inheres in the eldership. 3. It was the rise of a people formed by God requiring his ordaining action that presented the providential call. The charismatic call was not a miraculous inspiration, but essentially, we suppose, of the same nature as a call to the ministry, being, in fact, within the scope of his call to his wide ministry. And our Discipline has from the beginning contained both the statement that our episcopacy is "orders," and that in the eldership inheres the right to ordain bishops when the entire episcopate becomes vacant, and that the eldership and laity may by full and formal process modify or abolish the episcopacy.

9. Wesley's ordaining act American Methodism accepted, but English Methodism rejected. English Methodism organized a valid presbyterian Church, being, as an already isolated independent body, guilty therein of no schism, but liable to the felt defect of ignoring Wesley's act. Dr. Porter, in his "Compendium of Methodism," furnishes ingenious suggestions why a body covering a narrow ground less needed a unifying episcopacy than our broad-spread communion. But Dr. Crane, in his valuable volume, noticed upon another page, points to some facts indicating that their rejection of the Wesleyan episcopacy is involving serious consequences. We have said that secession from a given Church is schismatic, unless justifiable by the law of revolution. When so justified it is upon the Church, and not upon the seceders, that rests the guilt of the schism. There have been several secessions from the Methodist Episcopal Church, in which it is not for us at present to say where the responsibility of the schism lay; but each

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one was, scripturally, a *schism*, with a responsibility somewhere. But we are in schism, and it behooves us as much as possible to diminish that schism by embracing all in the spirit of love and union. Christendom, generally, is in a state of deplorable schism, and it is with great interest that we trace the yearnings of her broken fragments after reunion. What the precise form of that final reunion will be which shall fulfill on earth the high-priestly prayer of Christ we inquire with deep ponder, but are unable to know. We are inclined to the belief that its organic form will be voluntary episcopacy; not compelled by the dogma of its necessity to the validity of a Church, but freely induced by the feeling that all other forms are less scripturally complete, and less efficient as a Church *militant*, as an army, for the conversion of the world. For it is the Wesleyanism of Wesley himself, that though a Church has a right to frame its own form, the best of all forms is the episcopal.

Art. XII.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

The Disruption of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1844–46, comprising a Thirty Years' History of the Two Methodisms. By Edward H. Myers, D.D. With an Introduction by T. O. Summers, D.D. 12mo., pp. 216. Nashville, Tenn.: A. H. Redford, Agent. Macon, Ga.: J. W. Burke & Co. 1875.

The author of this book, Dr. Myers, was long a leading Church editor, and is now an appointee of the Southern bishops as one of the commission to our next General Conference. The book, we are informed in Dr. Summers's Introduction, has the approval of some, and probably of all, of the bishops, and every effort seems to be made to give it the prestige of an authoritative manifesto, announcing to our Church the present views and demands of the Church South, but more specially assigning to the ministry and membership of the Church South the programme they are to accept in relation to the present and past. The proposal made from our delegates to the Church South, and generally approved by our side, to "let by-gones be by-gones," and to shake hands without a dubious debate over the past, is unceremoniously pronounced by Dr. S. to be "a farce." The old debate must be rehearsed. The present book, therefore, comes forth as a commencement of the contest, giving a one-sided, South-sided, history of some of the past, an

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argumentative indictment of our whole course, and a presentation of the repeal of our annulment of the so-called "Plan of Separation," (by which repeal we would be bound to surrender all Southern territory, and withdraw our jurisdiction to Mason & Dixon's line,) as condition to fraternization. When Dr. S. pronounces this volume "*irenical*," he is surely *ironical*. It is accusatory from end to end, and can be fully met only by an answer from our side equally accusatory. Dr. S. discards a peaceful "farce" in order to secure a quarrel. *We* did not propose to forget the past because we were not thankful and religiously proud over *our* past. Our antislavery history, in all its relations to the South, is a glorious history. And so far as our rectitude and Christian brotherhood in dealing with the Church South are concerned, we should rejoice with exceeding joy to have the case stated before and decided by the high court of ecumenical, catholic Methodism. This perpetual quarreling and re-quarreling, and re-re-quarreling the case over and over, with no umpire, and no arbitrative result, is to us a bitterness and a disgust. But let Christendom, let universal Methodism, sit to hear our case, and our soul would be in the work. But as to the "irenic" character of the book, it is sufficient to say that it demands as condition to fraternity action on our part which our General Conference declared, in its first movement for sending a fraternal delegation, that it would never perform, namely, *withdrawal of our jurisdiction from the Southern States.*

Dr. Summers, we are glad to say, agrees, however inconsistently, that neither side need be required to renounce its own views and adopt those of the other. And that was ample reason for not opening a sectional debate. Let each side silently hold its own views in regard to the past; let equitable arrangements be made in regard to present affairs, and a permanent brotherly feeling be established for the future. We shall, therefore, briefly go over the main points of Dr. Myers's history and argument, repudiating his views and frankly stating our own, but not requiring that any southerner should adopt ours.

ORIGINAL AGGRESSIONS OF THE SLAVE POWER.

And, at start, Dr. Myers must and does make a primary assumption which would fatally vitiate his case before the high court we invoke. Primordially, if slavery was right, Dr. Myers's side was right; if wrong, wrong. He assumes that slavery, with its oligarchy, had a right to exist and push its persistent aggressions upon freedom and right, and that its opponents who resisted its

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aggressions were "northern agitators," in a bad sense "abolitionists," guilty of all wickedness. We maintain that slavery had no right to exist; that whether legalized or not, it was a sin and a crime; that the laws that established it were criminal laws; that the "politics" under which it was sheltered were criminal and sinful "politics;" that those in the North who yielded to or aided its aggressions were partakers in the sin; and "the northern agitators" and "abolitionists" were "in the general" heroic maintainers of truth, freedom, and eternal justice. And now before said high court we arraign both Dr. Myers and his clients, and say that their whole history is a history of aggression; of aggression by slavery and wrong upon freedom and right, pushing back the antislavery legislation of our common Church step by step; sadly yielded to by us for a while, and when at last we took our stand at the episcopacy, and decided that slavery shall not capture it, his clients made a revolutionary disruption of the Church and established a new one. We, finding the disruption irresistible, adopted a plan by which, after they had made the disruption, peace might be sectionally maintained. That plan his clients first claimed, most untruly, to be an authorization of their disruption, and then themselves ruthlessly broke, violated, and trampled upon that very plan. We carefully observed the plan while it lasted and then legally repealed it. We are now most absurdly called upon to rescind that repeal. Never!

The original platform of our American Methodism was pure and absolute abolitionism. John Wesley, in that immortal manifesto which has been a pillar of fire to our northern antislaveryism in its last forty years' fight, proclaimed the true doctrine of ultra-abolitionism. It was adopted by our founder bishops, Coke and Asbury; it was adopted by our Conference. But the despotic slaveholding oligarchy, by mobs, menaces, and pressures, silenced our bishops, and drove our Churchly legislation back until scarce a shred remained. We sorrowfully concede to Dr. Myers that our "fathers erred;" erred in servilely yielding to the aggressions of the slave power; but their error is palliated by the wonderful versatility of alternate violence, persuasion, and treachery on the part of that black aggressive power. The bottom of northern servility was touched when, in the General Conference of 1840, that humble apology for slavery was issued in reply to the antislavery address from the British Conference, quoted with such self-complacency by Dr. M. as a northern ratification of his own pro-slavery positions. We assure Dr. Myers that we have no more respect for pro-slaveryism in the North than in the South. Like any other iniquity,

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intemperance, for instance, it has little reference to latitude or locality. South and North, in different degrees, had share in the guilt; and South and North, in different degrees, have suffered the chastisement of the Almighty.

DEALING WITH BISHOP ANDREW IN 1844.

In the General Conference of 1844, after every other concession had been made to slavery, the final question came up to be tried and settled, *Shall the triumph of the slave power be completed by its possessing our episcopate?* The opposite forces of freedom and despotism in the two national sections were increasing in power, and it was an inevitable issue sooner or later. With freedom and the North it was a settled determination that no slaveholder's ordaining hands could be laid upon the heads of our young ministry. In the South, under the intensifying absolutism of the slave power, a discontent was growing at the hitherto agreed exclusion of slaveholders from the episcopate. The case of Bishop Andrew, who had become a slaveholder by marriage, brought the issue to a point. After a brief period of humility and willingness to resign on his part, it was boldly announced that *he would not be allowed by his brethren to resign;* and it is clear that the unanimous purpose was by the southern delegates adopted that there should be an episcopal slaveholder or a secession. If the northern delegates yielded, slavery was supreme in the Church; if they firmly resisted, then, on some pretext or other, which their desperate wits could invent according to the exigency, the southern section would secede. If the course of the northern delegates in their refusal should be violent or illegal, the pretext would be easy. The course of the northern majority was, however, marked by a defeating wisdom and moderation. They might have justly tried and condemned Andrew for "improper conduct," and direful then would have been the southern howl. But human ingenuity can devise no measure more mild yet efficient to preserve the purity of the episcopacy than the action adopted. His case was brought forward in routine by the Committee on the Episcopacy. The Conference then asked the bishop to furnish his statement of the facts, and that statement it accepted as the whole unquestioned case. It brought against him no charge, passed upon him no penalty, or even censure, but informed him by resolution that it was the "sense" of the General Conference that he withhold the further exercise of his episcopal functions until he had disembarrassed himself of all entanglement with slavery which would render him unacceptable in some sections of the Church. It was further directed that his name should be

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retained on the usual documents, and his full episcopal salary be continued. It is painful to note that Dr. Summers once, and Dr. Myers repeatedly, utter the unjustifiable statement, to spread it through the South, that Bishop Andrew was "deposed." It was no deposition, but was simply an enactment directing his episcopal conduct. This mildness reduced the seceders to the sad strait of grounding their action on its very want of judicial action, and on that ground they seceded. The real fact was, that sooner or later the "irrepressible conflict" between the opposing principles of slaveholding despotism and freedom would come to an outbreak; and the glory of our fathers was, that in their share of the necessary disruption such was their moderate firmness that they allowed the southrons to secede only in a mode worthy of their bad cause, namely, with desperate sophistry and unequivocal fracture. And it is the moral misfortune of Dr. Myers that his position requires him, as he interprets it, to defend their course in the same spirit.

THE (FALSELY) SO-CALLED PLAN OF SEPARATION.

As soon as the case of Bishop Andrew was decided, the southern members announced, formally, their purpose of seceding. Thereupon a committee of nine was formed to arrange for sectional peace in case they executed their illegal purpose. This committee reported a plan which our readers will find verbatim in a former *Quarterly*, where its character is ably discussed by Rev. Dr. D. A. Whedon. Southerners have fastened upon this Report the title of the "Plan of Separation," for the purpose of conveying the false impression that it was a plan *authorizing or legalizing the southern withdrawal and establishment of a new Church by authority or sanction of our General Conference.* It was NOTHING OF THE KIND. It was only an enactment that in case we were by them deserted, still, illegal and unconstitutional as that desertion would be, we would stay on our side of a certain sectional line provided they would stay on their side. Of this there is plenty of conclusive proof. During the debate on this plan, Dr. Bangs, who was one of that committee, did, in open conference, in the presence of the other committee men and of the southerners generally, give the following uncontradicted narrative of the formation and purport of that plan:—

"The speakers who have opposed that report have taken entirely erroneous views of it. It *did not speak of division*—the word had been *carefully avoided through the whole document*—it only said, 'IN THE EVENT of a separation taking place,' *throwing the*

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responsibility from off the shoulders of the General Conference AND UPON THOSE WHO SHOULD SAY THAT SUCH A SEPARATION WAS NECESSARY."

It was, therefore, the deliberate purpose of the committee in making that report that the General Conference should not be held as preparing a plan for separation, and in accordance with that purpose, as explained by Dr. Bangs, the report was adopted by the General Conference. Leaving the responsibility of the separation to those who withdrew or seceded, it undertook to make such arrangements as, AFTER *the separation* by the unauthorized act of the seceders, should preserve peace between the sections.

Entirely unhistorical and untrue, then, was the statement made by the southern bishops at St. Louis: "We separated from you in no sense in which you did not separate from us. The separation was by compact and mutual." They did separate from us; and we neither separated from them, nor authorized their separation from us. We formed no "compact" for them to separate; we only enacted that *if* THEY *did separate* we would not go over into their section if they did not come over into ours. This enactment, not to overpass, took no effect until after the unauthorized sectionalizing took place. When, therefore, the Louisville Convention based their inauguration of a new Church, as they did, upon an authorization from our General Conference, they based it upon a non-existence. There never was any such authorization. Their secession and new Church were both illegal and revolutionary.

RESCISSION OF THE PLAN AN INSULTING PROPOSAL.

And now Dr. Myers and his co-thinkers ask us to rescind our repeal of that action, as the so-called Plan of Separation is the only security of their Church property at the time of the secession. We reply that while we do not require our southern brethren to think as we do over our past history, yet we must say with General Grant, in his late speech, "We do not propose to apologize for the part we have taken," and we scout the proposal of rescission as not to be considered. Contrary to Dr. Summers's liberal maxim, the proposal requires us to think as they think and do as they say. We are willing to shake hands in silent oblivion of the past; we are willing with them to kneel down before God, while each prays forgiveness for his share in the common sin; but the proposition that the maintainers of freedom and government must apologize to the assailants of both for such

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maintenance is a reverse of the tables altogether ludicrous. It is too much like the culprit expecting the judge to beg pardon for hanging him. We are surprised, however, that such keen-sighted men do not see that the rescission of said plan would have *no effect on the property question.* If the decision of the Supreme Court has settled that question forever, they need no such rescission. If it has not, then there is no act of our Church that divides the property. The General Conference of 1844 did not pretend to possess the power to divide the property; the Plan of Separation does not; and our Annual Conferences to whom the division was in 1844 referred, positively refused. The property then remains undivided to this day.

So far, however, as the legitimate inauguration of their Church is concerned, our General Conference was guilty of the "farce" of proposing to dismiss that question among the departed "bygones," and none of us desired to raise the discussion until Dr. Myers's book reopened the quarrel. And whatever legal action is necessary on our part to pass a statute of amnesty and limitation placing the question of property beyond revival, we should hope our General Conference would be ready to adopt. But certainly Dr. Myers's bitter and accusatory book is not persuasive in this direction. Dr. Bledsoe was allowed for years to indoctrinate the Church South, under its "auspices," with secessionism. This book essays to complete that work by fixing a deep, hostile sectionalism into its entire soul and body. But the plantation days are past, and there is a large and increasing body of noble men in that Church who may not take prescription from Nashville, and who really mean a fraternity of heart. The ultra sectionalists may not find it easy to silence men who have understood the kindly heart of our North, and who cordially, yet with entirely independent spirit, reciprocate its feeling. Such men are Bishop Kavanaugh, Dr. M'Ferrin, Dr. Abbey, Dr. J. O. A. Clarke, Dr. Leonidas Rosser, and Dr. Josephus Anderson. Between such men and ourselves a true and honoring fraternity will, we trust, exist whatever the ecclesiastical politicians may do or say.

POINTS OF LAW TOUCHING OUR EPISCOPACY.

1. There have been lately, even in the editorials of our New York "Christian Advocate," much play and puzzle upon the terms "co-ordinate" and "subordinate" departments of government. The whole puzzle may, we think, be solved by the single thought that *two governmental departments may be co-ordinate in the con-*

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stitution, each by turn, and yet be in their action, subordinate to the other. Our national Supreme Court is constitutionally co-ordinate with the President and Senate, yet it is subordinate, nay, is "the creature" of the President and Senate in that its incumbents are by them elected, and it must be governed by all constitutional laws by Congress enacted and by the President signed. The President and Congress are subordinate to the Supreme Court in that their laws are liable to be adjudicated upon by it and declared null and void. So our episcopacy is, we agree with Dr. M., constitutionally co-ordinate with our General Conference; and the former is subordinate to the latter as its constitutional president and executive, and the latter is subordinate to the former, in that it is subject to all the rules and regulations of the former. Co-ordination does not exclude subordination.

2. Let it be remembered that there is an episcopacy as a co-ordinate institution, an episcopate or particular bishop's office, and the bishop or officer. Now, while it is true that the *episcopacy* is a co-ordinate *institution* which cannot be modified or abolished but by the constitutional process, it is not the less true that the *officer*, *the bishop*, is subject in the exercise of his office to the "rules and regulations" of the General Conference. The General Conference is, indeed, in duty bound to legislate not in order to impede or lower, but to aid and secure the purity and efficiency of the bishops in the legitimate exercise of their duties. So legislating it may not only try the bishops for "improper conduct," but may inform them what its "sense" is that they should do or not do; it may lay down rules for their action, and assign them residential districts. This plenary power is right and necessary in order to secure a responsible body of bishops. Dr. Myers has an awful horror of a mad and lawless General Conference, and but little dread of an irresponsible episcopacy. Now, certainly, a General Conference, fresh from the people's vote, existing but a single session, and obliged individually, forthwith, to return and face its constituency, is the safest of all depositaries of power. But a body of life-tenured, irresponsible bishops, which might hereafter amount to fifty or a hundred, with full power in successive conclaves to concoct plans of usurpation, would be a very unsafe permanent oligarchy. A bishop has been for centuries the most absolute despot in Christendom. Entire subordination to the *bona-fide* "rules and regulations" of the General Conference, fresh from the people, was the unquestioned doctrine of the Church until the southern delegations, to meet their case, set up their novel hierarchical claims. Responsibility to the General Conference is

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the check upon the bishops; immediate connection with its constituency is the check upon the Conference.

3. If, now, our General Conference in dealing with Bishop Andrew *aimed* to impair the co-ordinate episcopal department, we surrender it absolutely to all the maledictions with which Dr. M.'s "irenic" pages are made horrid. It was a "double-headed monster," a "star-chamber," or any thing else his "paroxysmal" rhetoric pleases. But it did nothing of the kind. It found him involved in an impediment to his episcopal acceptability; an impediment which every previous General Conference had agreed that a bishop must not incur. It simply in the exercise of its power to pass "regulations" expressed its judgment to Bishop Andrew that he should pause, unload himself, and then go on in the exercise of his office. Its intention was not to impair the episcopacy, but to maintain it in its full purity and power. For both the purity of its purpose and the eminent wisdom and delicacy with which it acted, it is worthy of all honor. It was the historic glory of that General Conference to make the first bold and successful stand against the aggressions of slaveholding despotism in our Church, and to aid in awakening that reaction in behalf of freedom which rose into a revolution, and culminated in sweeping American slavery out of existence. Ever honored be the memory of our General Conference of 1844!

Finally, we are glad to say that for the members of our General Conference, and for all others, Dr. Fuller, in our "Atlanta Advocate," is giving Dr. Myers's book a very thorough and annihilating analysis. This able and conclusive refutation will, we trust, be republished in permanent form, and be thoroughly distributed, especially in the South, where falsehood on the subject reigns. It is worth all that "Advocate" has cost us to have such a work there and thus performed.

In our next Quarterly we may treat fully of the Repeal in 1848 of The Plan for peace in case the South seceded, enacted by the Conference of 1844.

Lectures on the Reunion of the Churches. By JOHN J. I. VON DÖLLINGER. D.D., D.C.L., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Munich. Provost of the Chapel-Royal, etc., etc. Translated, with Preface, by HENRY NUTCOME OXENHAM, M.A., late Scholar of Baliol College, Oxford. 12mo., pp. 165. New York: Dodd & Mead. 1872.

Döllinger is one of the potentates of Europe. His immense learning, his great ability, his venerable years, full of intellectual achievements, his leadership of a movement that may tell powerfully upon future history, all combine to render him an oracle to

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whom we listen with rapt attention. The subject of these luminous lectures is the future reunion of universal Christendom; the reconstruction of the genuine catholic Church; the re-incorporation of the body of Christ. He looks to this as the sublime condition of the overthrow of anti-Christianity, rationalistic or pagan. He holds with Goldwin Smith:—"As things are, rationalism and fatalistic reveries may be laboriously confuted, but amid the energies and aspirations of a regenerated Christendom they would spontaneously pass away."—P. 27.

He looks upon sectarian schism as an anarchy in which infidelity obtains its triumph. The feebleness of Christian truth arises from "the uncertainty and discordance of the doctrines delivered from the pulpit. The impression left on one's mind is, that the evil lies in the want of confidence and respect of the laity for their preacher, in whom they see a man teaching simply according to the measure of his attainments, and from his own subjective point of view. They have no feeling that he is supported on the broad stream of Christian tradition flowing down through eighteen centuries, and that his message is but the echo of the voice of the whole Church reaching up to Christ; that they do but hear from his mouth what has been always and every-where proclaimed in the name of the Lord."—P. 149.

With this view Dr. Döllinger traces the religious history of Christendom with a masterly hand. When Christendom was an undivided force her missionaries were one, and nations were gained to the Church; now different sections fight each other in the sight of heathens, and are a laughing-stock to unbelievers. This he illustrates by facts like the following:—

> In Tahiti, the French Government years ago took possession of the Protestant missions and handed them over to French Catholic emissaries. We know how dear this arbitrary procedure cost the Government of Louis Philippe, on account of the pecuniary indemnification paid to the English missionary Pritchard, which was so cried out against in France. In Madagascar, the emissaries of the rival Churches, Catholic and Protestant, brought matters to such a pass that King Radema oscillated for a year between them, and when he was murdered each party charged the other with the crime, and the mutual hatred and endeavors to supplant one another still continue. In 1845 the Protestant missionaries were ejected from Fernando Po by the Spaniards, who laid claim to the island. That is the spectacle presented by Christians to the gaze of the heathen world. Christ says that every kingdom divided against itself shall be destroyed. We understand the failure of missionaries. And that is not all. What is to Christians the holiest and most venerable of all places, the birth-land of our faith, where Christ taught, lived, and suffered, is now the meeting-place of Churches that hate one another. Greeks, Russians, Latins, Armenians, Copts, Jacobites, Protestants of various sects, all have there their fortresses and intrenchments, and are intent on making fresh conquests for the rival Churches. To the shame of the Christian name, Turkish soldiers have to interfere between rival parties of Christians, who would else tear one another to pieces in the holy places, and the Pasha holds the key of the Holy Sepulchre. The strife between Latins and Greeks for the possession of the chapel in 1852 was the immediate occasion of the Crimean war.—Pp. 30, 31.

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Dr. D. then traces the history of the Reformation. He concedes its absolute necessity. The Church was thoroughly corrupt, and its ruling power at Rome profited by the corruption so greatly that it meant to prevent reform. Revolt, separation, revolution, were the only remedy. The rehearsal by this eminent scholar, who firmly believes in a primacy of the Pope, settles our faith that the Protestant version of history is true and fair. We are not deceived by our great historians. Popery, the Jesuits, the Inquisition, are all that Protestantism has painted them to be. And, in spite of the venerable Doctor's protest, we believe the crimes of that execrable triad justify us in branding them as the "Antichrist" of prophecy. Yet he well shows that western Christendom reluctantly yielded the dogmas of the old Churches. The revolt of the Reformation held itself to be temporary. For a long period Protestantism looked forward to a humbled popedom and a restored unity. Again and again, under leading minds, such as Leibnitz and Grotius, negotiations were conducted in behalf of reunion. Every time it was the absolutism of Rome that broke up every plan. Of the Articles of Trent and the infallibility of Rome in all the past, Rome would not surrender a hair; and the only compromise was the complete submission of Christendom to the supremacy of the Italian bishop. Schism is a sin; Christendom is in a state of schism; and the Pope is the great schismatic. Döllinger is a firm believer in the historical succession of the apostolic episcopacy, and holds its abandonment to be a great mistake in the Reformation and a main obstacle to the full reunion. Episcopacy we understand to be his basis for reconstruction, but in what relation to the Roman primacy we do not understand.

Lost Forever. By L. T. TOWNSEND, D.D., Author of "Credo," etc. 12mo., pp. 448. Boston: Lee & Shepard. New York: Lee, Shepard, & Dillingham. 1875.

Dr. Townsend writes with an earnest purpose to check that spurious philanthropy which, diffused through our community, views crime as a misfortune, and refuses to find a murderer guilty because capital punishment is itself a crime. Hear some men talk and you would believe we are living in an age of lamb-like tenderness. Take up the newspapers, you find it is an age of ruthless bloodshed, and that it is murderers and their kin who reap all the benefit of this tenderness. The arm of the assassin grows strong as the arm of justice is weakened. This maudlin tenderness that refuses to call crime by the name of crime, and refuses to demand justice as its stern correlative, Dr. T. holds to be in accordance

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with, if not the consequence of, that maudlin theology that blots justice from among the attributes of God.

Hence he seeks to reassert the stern old doctrines of the great body of the Church of all past ages. There is a divine Law; man is a responsible being. There is a capital punishment under the divine government, and the being divinely sentenced to it is "Lost Forever." To eternal Death there is no Resurrection. Based on the Bible, confirmed by the terrors of God in nature, accordant with our intuitive views of the moral Law of the universe, the immutable truth ever stands that the penalty of incorrigible guilt is an undone eternity. That this truth needs reasserting is clear from the fact that there are large numbers of evangelical Christians who are relaxing into Universalism, Restorationism, and after-death probationism.

The "British Quarterly," the organ of the Independents of England, contains the following startling statements on this subject in a notice of a book by Baldwin Brown:—

Why should he affirm that he is not a Universalist, when he means only that he cannot accept the ordinary method of Universalism, so as to regard universal repentance and restoration as predetermined by a decree, instead of resulting from purely moral processes? The essence of Universalism is the issue, not the process. Clearly Mr. Brown is a Universalist in the sense of believing that ultimately all will be saved, although he is wisely reticent in affirmation about the means: and this is the whole issue. Beyond all doubt, *the dogma of eternal penal infliction has been tacitly abandoned; no congregation scarcely would now endure its unequivocal preaching.* But there is before us a great question, and probably a great controversy concerning its alternative. In our judgment, that is not necessarily Universalism. The most terrible thing about moral evil is, that *it is*, even apart from its issues; and there seems no warrant either in moral philosophy, Scripture, or human experience, for putting such a moral impotence upon possible exercises of human freedom as to say that it *must* work to one issue. This is the weak point of all forms of Universalism, Mr. Brown's included. With him, we are contented to leave it to Him who is Love; only we would do so before intimating our own theory, not, as Mr. Brown does, after. It is a poor faith that tells God first that the "lost rebellious spirit must bend the knee at the name of Jesus, and enter life through his love;" and then that, inasmuch as we know nothing about it, we will leave it to him, because "we have no power to formulate the doctrine of the last things." We would, too, again venture to suggest that Mr. Brown scarcely need anticipate martyrdom for his discourses. In all avowals of honest opinion some will be offended. Few public teachers escape this in some form or other. It is part of the cost that every wise man counts. But after all it does not, happily, in these days amount to much; it is scarcely worth talking about. The martyr spirit that talks much about itself is not perfect in its heroism, and it is hardly worth while for any man to pin on for himself the black cloak of the *auto da fé.*

History and Significance of the Sacred Tabernacle of the Hebrews. By EDWARD A. ATWATER. 8vo., pp. 443. New York: Dodd & Mead. 1875.

So inspiring was his theme, that after thirty years of pastoral work Mr. Atwater retired from the pulpit to devote himself to its investigation. Under the guidance, very cautiously followed, of

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the rationalistic Bähr, with extended independent investigations of his own, he applies the methods of science to the depths of his subject. In nine chapters he seeks as far as possible to ascertain the exact structure, furniture, and mode of erection of the tabernacle, and its officers, sacrifices, lustrations, calendar, migrations, and expenses. Thus is laid a solid structural and historical basis. Then in the second part, of eighteen chapters, he endeavors to penetrate the significance of the tabernacle. It was theology, framed in wood, both of the Mosaic and Christian dispensations. It was visible prophecy. It spoke to an illiterate age, not in letters, but in images and symbols. And those images and symbols reign through the Bible from Exodus to the Apocalypse, and by a full exhibition alone can the holy word be fully understood. From the ancient tabernacle flows a stream of light and illustration down to the latest chapters of our sacred books. The symbolisms of number, form, color, minerals, vegetables, and animals, all are pregnant with meaning, and form an impressive language of their own.

The work, in both its evidencial and illustrative character, is full of suggestions. The preacher will find it full of starting-points for sermons, and rich with sacred imageries to enliven their style. The Sabbath-school teacher who desires to be thoroughly accoutered for his work will find here a whole armory. Mr. Atwater's volume fills a blank place in our sacred literature, and should be a well-read book in every minister's library.

Methodism and Its Methods. By Rev. J. T. CRANE, D.D., of the Newark Conference. Author of the "Right Way," "Popular Amusements," "Arts of Intoxication," "Holiness the Birthright of all God's Children," etc. 12mo., pp. 395. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1875.

Dr. Crane's volume discusses in free and liberal spirit the history and institutions of our Church, with a view not only to the coming General Conference, but to the permanent use of our thoughtful men: our first organization; our itinerancy, with its lights and shadows; our episcopacy, our presiding eldership; and, finally, the prospects and perils of our future. In style it is fresh, animated, and eloquent; in temper, conservative-progressive; in purpose, loyal, yet free. Its universal perusal would be a universal benefit.

Christians and the Theater. By Rev. J. M. BUCKLEY. 12mo., pp. 156. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

Mr. Buckley first states the views of the Roman Catholic, Greek, and Protestant Churches in past days, and finds blended rejection and permission of the theater, save in the stricter phases of Prot-

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estantism. The battle between the spiritual part of the Church and the theater has been a "conflict of ages." He considers and shows the fallacies and dangers of the various defenses of the stage. He brings the discussion to a close issue by a searching examination of the moral character of the plays brought on to the stage at the present day in our city of New York. The result is a solemn inference of the irreformable immorality of the theater, demanding a firm opposition on the part of the Church. The work is written in a clear, critical style, very calm in tone, yet very decisive in conclusion.

The Life of Christ. By FREDERIC W. FARRAR, D.D., F.R.S., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, Master of Marlborough College, and Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen. Complete in one volume. With an American Appendix, giving over five hundred Translations of non-English matter contained in the work. 8vo., pp. 744. Albany, N. Y: Rufus Wendell. 1875.

This Life of Christ we noticed with high commendations on its first appearance in this country from the English press as decidedly the best in our English language. Mr. Wendell's enterprise of adapting it to the popular reader, and then circulating it by special agencies among the people, is a public benefaction. The large number of passages in the ancient languages were an obstacle to its popularity which is now removed. It is, thence, a book for the million, and we hope a million will read it.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

Paralysis and other Affections of the Nerves; Their Cure by Vibratory and Special Movements. By GEORGE H. TAYLOR, M. D., Author of "Diseases of Women," "Exposition of the Swedish Movement Cure," etc., etc. 12mo., pp. 161. New York: Samuel R. Wells.

The dynasty of drugs, if not wholly death-smitten, has been largely circumscribed by the invasion of modern therapeutic inventions. First came Hahnemann with his infinitesimal doses, and not only compelled the drug dealers to mitigate the ferocity of the old administrations, but has raised a large medical practice, proved by statistics to be quite as curative in its mild power as the old savageism. Then came Pressnitz with his water-cure, and proved that external application of one of the commonest elements in nature is a powerful remedial agent in a large class of cases. Next came the Swedish movement-cure, which demonstrated that in another large class of cases persistent motion of a certain kind produced decided curative effects. But the great difficulty in this system was the impracticability, arising alike from patient and administra-

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tor, of performing the motions with a persistent energy and regularity. Last comes Dr. Taylor, and proposes to render this system amply efficient by the application of machinery propelled by steam.

You enter Dr. Taylor's room, and find it well lined with iron machines on one side and cushioned lounges on the other. You approach one machine to which is attached an iron shoe, and "put your foot into it." Instantly the shoe begins an iron vibration by steam-power, and, with your heel for a center and foot for a radius, the toe of your boot is made to describe the arc of a circle of three inches or so both ways, between one and two thousand times a minute. Forthwith a genial warmth impregnates your foot, and slowly streams through the interior of your leg kneeward. The caloric fluid gradually floods the molecules of your crural members in a style perfectly delightful to the frigid or rheumatic flesh and blood. This operation of about ten minutes being closed, the feeling of subsidence within your feet reveals to you to what an excitement they have been raised. For ten minutes you recline upon the lounge, to allow the full effect upon the system. Next you take seat upon another iron machine, and two projectiles grasp your leg with a blended vibratory and frictional motion powerful as the previous, and its application to every part of the limb, from hip to toe, carries the caloric flood downwards. You close with the lower man impregnated with a most generous glow, and again repose upon the lounge the due time. Thus, by various mechanical methods performed successively upon every part of the body, alternated with reposes, the entire system is filled with warmth, not applied by artificial means to the surface, but pervading the depths of the interior man. The process is most agreeable to the suffering patient, and he can endure its experience without irksomeness two hours a day through the secular days of the week. One of the latest announcements of science is that heat is a mode of motion, and motion is a mode of heat, so that Dr. Taylor's method is singularly in accord with "modern thought."

The curative effects of this treatment, it is claimed, are somewhat of the following character:—1. Both by the mechanical effect of the vibration and the caloric streaming in between particles the congestions, "settled blood," sore spots, and swellings are disturbed, a solution is produced, and the effete molecules are drifted off. 2. Oxidation is produced. To understand this we must remember that the human system is a *furnace*, whose vital heat is produced by a perpetual inward *combustion*. The food we eat, consisting mostly of carbon, (that is, *coal*,) constitutes the fuel, and the oxygen (the universal burner) is the fire. Nearly all disease

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implies that the furnace is clogged and the combustion impeded. Now vibration shakes the coal and the fire into vigorous collision, and the flame of life burns anew. 3. The capillary tubes, filled up with effete matter, are compelled by persistent vibration to throw out their burden and to return to their proper functions. 4. Of course, by all this process the circulation is cleared and attains new vigor and activity. 5. Finally, the nerve centers are reached by the renewed health and power of the contiguous parts of the system. Such is the theory. And our non-professional impression is that Dr. Taylor's invention will hold an important and permanent place in the future healing art.

The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature. To which are added two brief Dissertations on Personal Identity, and the Nature of Virtue. By JOSEPH BUTLER, LL.D., Lord Bishop of Durham. With a Life of the Author, copious Notes, and an ample Index. The whole edited by Rev. JOSEPH CUMMINGS, D.D., LL.D., President of Wesleyan University. 12mo., pp. 395. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1875.

This edition of the great English ethical classic being the latest is easily the best, as Dr. Cummings has gathered all the advantages of the previous into it with some additions of his own. It is worthy to be adopted as the standard edition by all our colleges. The work itself will stand while great moral thought exists in the world. And Butler's sermons, stating the fundamental ethical principle, are well worthy republication. He was the first to place the doctrine of right upon its true basis, not as a product of will or power, but as a simple eternal reality in itself.

History, Biography, and Topography.

The Theistic Conception of the World. An Essay in Opposition to Certain Tendencies of Modern Thought. By B. F. COCKER, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy in the University of Michigan; Author of Christianity and Greek Philosophy. 12mo., pp. 426. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1875.

THIS volume is thus far Dr. Cocker's masterpiece. It deals with the high themes, amid which he loves to dwell, with rare ability. His well-cut sentences, transparently expressing the thought, roll through the whole volume like a lofty-sounding oration. It handles the great question of the day, which is fast becoming the very existence of God, partly with the answer of detailed objection, but, more usually, by positive self-evidencing statement of the conception, relying on the ratification which our intuitive

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receptivity will give to his affirmations. He belongs to the high *à priori* school. He is an intuitional positivist, just as Comte was an empirical positivist. A certain tinge of Cousin and Coleridge runs through his style of thought. He has an aspiring faith after the elevated; believes that the sublimest and most ennobling views are the most real; and refuses to allow the *true* to be wrenched and torn from the *beautiful* and *good*. Such a philosophy necessarily soars to and rests in the Divine. It finds the perfected unity of beauty, goodness, and truth in Him, and delights to recognize Him, in spite of the degradations that seem to alloy the world, as ruling and reigning through the great Whole.

The work presents four leading topics:—1. *God the Creator*, his existence and nature, as primordial cause of all. Of the four primordial suppositions, *matter*, *force*, *thought*, *will*, which lie at the basis, respectively, of materialism, necessity, pantheism, theism, the author selects the last as alone solving the problem. God is centrally omnipotent WILL. And here, in stating the unconditionality of this Will, is the only point on which we think it important to dissent from the positions of the work. For that unconditionateness, the author thinks it necessary to assume that not only matter, but *time and space, are caused to exist by Will.* 2. *Creation*, its metaphysical possibility and psychological conceivability, and its true history according to Moses and science. Herein we have a beautiful exhibit of the Mosaic cosmogonical narrative as the "Psalm of Creation." 3. *Conservation*, in which the contact and bearing of God on the material world, and his immanence in, and transcendence over, the physical system are treated. 4. *Providence*, or God in mundane and human history, in which, among other modern problems, the prayer-gauge is fully argued. 5. The divine *Government* of responsible man, in which the doctrines of our grand Arminian theology are stated with fearless frankness and masterly ability. The march of the thought is stately and ever onward. The lovers of high theological science will enjoy a rich treat in the perusal of this magnificent volume.

Martineau, the brilliant defender of Theism in England, has lately made the unfortunate concession to the *scientists* (rather than to any real *science*) that *matter*, as well as *time* and *space*, is increate and eternal. Dr. Cocker, in his former volume, admitted the uncreatability and eternity of time and space; but in view of Martineau's unnecessary concession, our author reverses the whole case, and affirms there is nothing increate but God, and time and space are by him caused. Our own view is that space is *vacuity*, absence of all occupant; that it is as truly extended as

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matter; is optically divisible into parts by imagined lines or walls, but is essentially indivisible and infinite. And as being vacuity and true nonentity, that is, *nothing*, it is not the subject of creation, and is the limitless back-condition of all occupancy by existence. It is that anterior inexistence which is logically necessary to all existence. It cannot, therefore, be created. The passage from the "North American Review," (page 69,) rejected by Dr. C. as presenting no idea at all, seems to us to present the precisely true idea. It is, in fact, almost a repetition of our own words in a work previously published, which Dr. C. has repeatedly done the honor to quote.

Dr. Cocker amply affirms, on page 216, that between two objects, at a distance from each other, with no object intervening, there is "pure empty space;" which he affirms is identical with nothing. Hence we have the equation space=nothing. From this starting point let us take a glass pump, so perfect that it can be absolutely exhausted of every thing, leaving nothing but empty space=nothing. Now this space=nothing has extension as really as so much water; for it does extend from wall to wall, and from roof to floor, of the glass receiver. If Dr. Cocker here should arrest us and say, "Nonsense, how can nonidentity have extension? we reply, We cannot tell, dear doctor, but you see that it has extension with your own eyes. And you yourself, on page 216, admit the possibility of ninety-two million miles of pure space=nothing. And if there may be ninety-two miles of space=nothing, then there may be half or quarter of that length; so that space, vacuity, nihility, nothingness, is divisible, measurable, and made up of parts. Now we may say that this extent of space within the walls of the receiver is a portion or part of general space, divided by the walls from the outside space; and in that sense we may say that space is "divisible." Or we may say that you cannot cut a piece of space, as an ice-man cuts a cubic piece of ice from a large mass of ice, and remove it; and in that sense space is "indivisible." And this seems to solve that contradiction which Dr. C. condemns, committed by writers who affirm alternately, that space is "divisible" and "indivisible." If now you smash your glass receiver at a blow, you will remove the optical division between the interior and exterior space=nothing. And if you in thought remove all limitations, you get, in necessary thought, unlimited space=nothing; that is, you get immensity of space=nothing, in which saying we do not "confound immensity with space." And this immensity of space=nothing is to us the anterior condition-thought, the absolute precedent to all positive existence. To say

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that it is "caused," as Dr. C. affirms, or made or created as other philosophers affirm, is as absurd to our thought as the idea of its being annihilated is to Dr. Cocker.

We might define space as *the permanent possibility of positive occupancy.* This might remind folks of Mill's definition of matter as "the permanent possibility of a sensation." Each of the two formulas furnishes a true predicate of its particular subject; but neither is an essential definition, since both specify not the intrinsic property of the subject, but only express a consequence of its existence. But if our formula furnishes a true predicate of space =nothing, then to suppose it eternal is only to say that it is the eternal possibility of occupancy by God's own omnipresent being. For all language, hitherto, and all thought, has affirmed that God's omnipresence is in universal space.

And if space is a possibility of occupancy, then the non-existence of the occupant does not, as Dr. C. seems to think, destroy the space. The destroying of the walls of the above glass receiver does not destroy or affect the space formerly held between the walls; it simply removes the wall which cut it off from exterior space. Destroy all the astronomic bodies, and all the existing space-filling substances, and neither the extension, divisibility, nor real existence of space would be affected; there would still be unlimited or infinite pure space. And that infinity of pure space is, we think, as Dr. C. does not, rightly conceivable, as an infinite number of parts of space. Is not a year of time a part of eternal time? Would not an infinite number of years be eternity? Would not an infinite number of parts of space be infinite space? We cannot, therefore, agree that "an infinite series" of years or time-points, for instance, "is a contradiction."

Dr. C. seems to have joined that class of philosophers who think that any thing supposed to exist eternally must either be caused by God, or be in an offensive sense "independent" of God. If God act under any conditions, then, alas! he is no longer the 'Unconditioned." Of such reasoners we humbly ask, Does not God exist under the *necessity* of being? Is he not under the "condition" of a *necessity* of existence? Does not the eternal necessity of his own existence "rule" him? Can omnipotence annihilate itself? Is, then, that necessity of existence, which he cannot overrule, in an offensive sense "independent" of God? Again, is not God subject to the law of non-contradiction? Can he cause the same entity to be and not be? Is that law of non-contradiction created by God? If so, then God is subject to no laws of reasoning, and all reasoning about him is at an end. Yet these writers

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abound in statements as to what God must be; what, in given cases, he must do. And all theology consists in suppositions and reasonings implying that there are things not the product of will, even supreme Will, not subject to power, even Omnipotence.

The reasons for rejecting the idea of uncaused realities seem not valid. When Herbert Spencer says, as quoted, "If we admit that there can be something uncaused, there is no reason to assume a cause for any thing," (which dictum is contradicted by Spencer's own uncaused absolute,) we do not assent. We might as well be told that if something is blue, every thing must be blue. Each thing must be judged by its own perceived attributes. When I see the attribute of *blueness* or of *uncausedness* in an object, I am able to affirm it without affirming that any thing else is blue or uncaused. Some things may be necessary and eternal, and so uncaused; other things may be contingent and temporal, and, therefore, unable to exist without a cause. And so Dr. C. wisely limits the axiom of causation, that things that *begin to be* must have a cause. The pyramids of Egypt bear marks of contingency, and so must be held to be caused; but the geometrical laws, according to which all architecture exists, are necessary, and so uncreated. That a clover should have four leaves requires a cause; but the arithmetical law that two and two are four requires no cause. And Dr. C. himself affirms, (p. 391,) that complete cause causes *uncausedly*. And so while matter exhibits the attributes of temporal phenomenality and manufacture, time and space, and the ethic basis of right, are increate and eternal.

The Mosaic Account of Creation the Miracle of To-day; or, New Witnesses to the Oneness of Genesis and Science. To which are added an Inquiry as to the Cause and Epoch of the Present Inclination of the Earth's Axis, and an Essay upon Cosmology. By CHARLES B. WARRING. 12mo., pp. 292. New York: J. W. Schermerhorn & Co. 1875.

Mr. Warring's work essays to show that the days of the Mosaic narrative of the creation are literal days, and the whole story exact history. He allows, indeed, seven stupendous periods of time, in each of which a great process was prosecuted and completed; but of each period there was a final finishing literal day, and these seven finishing literal days are the seven days of Moses' narrative. There is so much science and ingenuity in the process that we admire and sympathize with Mr. Warring without being at all able to adopt his theory or his book. When we are told by Moses in the Fourth Commandment, "For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth," and are required to interpret him literally, we must say that the process of making was going on during the

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hours of the day and no other time. But when we are told that ages on ages intervened severally between the days, we think it follows that Moses stated the fact incorrectly. And if even every word is literally true, the whole conveys a false meaning; and finally you thus escape the figurative only by a catch. You avoid symbolism, but you fall into what is much worse, riddle.

We would far rather fall back into harmony with Augustine, and other Christian fathers, and avow that these were not literal but "ineffable days." We would, indeed, borrow from "modern thought," both in its better modes of exegesis and its deeper science, a modern interpretation. We first analyze the component parts of the Mosaic narrative of creation, and find therein the double triad of three created receptivities and three occupancies. The natural conclusion therefrom is that this succession of "days" is that of an order of the writer's thought, and not of chronology. Not but that the order of the text may, by allowing great periods to lap over upon each other, coincide with the actual progress of the cosmogonical development. Dr. Dana has, we believe, shown that it actually does. But accurate chronology is not the writer's object. We next examine the structure, and find that it is complex, yet artistic, organic, and complete as a unit within itself. Next we examine the style, and find that it is wholly unlike the second chapter; but is measured, rhythmical, figurative, and picturesque. We finally remember that the process it describes lies back of human origin, was never seen in its events by human eye, and is consequently apocalyptic. We then, for our own individuality, feel perfect repose in the assumption that it is a psalm of the creation, composed, perhaps, by Adam, and chanted in the patriarchal antediluvian Church. We commend the rich analysis of the passage by Dr. Cocker in his late volume.

Literature and Fiction.

Thy Voyage: or, A Song of the Seas, and other Poems. By Rev. E. F. Burr, D.D., author of "Ecce Cœlum," "Pater Mundi," "Ad Fidem," etc. Seventeen Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 60. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1875.

The second line of Dr. Burr's poem, a hexameter, reading as follows,

> "Autumn-woods sprinkled with blood of the wounded year,"

betokens a true poet. It is as striking and more poetical than John Foster's sarcasm upon a lady's crimson embroidery as being

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"red with the blood of murdered time," of which it is a resemblance, but not an imitation. It is a line that might sweetly yet solemnly haunt the walker through the Indian-summer forests of New England. But is the line a happy non-such, which the poet cannot equal with another? Read what immediately follows, and you will find that his mind is a mine of gorgeous imageries:—

> "Blue sky where a single great cloud-barge drifts gently,
> With its bulwarks of silver and opal and gold,
> Whence lean (pity our gross eyes see them so faintly)
> Our guardian spirits, all gently tilting down
> From out as many pictured cornucopias,
> Faint musics, perfumes, zephyrs, sparkles, tinted gleams,
> Freshly culled from gardens just this side heaven."

This beautiful, thin red-and-gilt-octavo does not do up the fancies and rhythms of the poet any too gorgeously.

The Catskill Fairies. By VIRGINIA W. JOHNSON, author of "Joseph, the Jew," "A Sack of Gold," "The Calderwood Secret," "Kettle Club Series," etc. Illustrated by Alfred Fredericks. 8vo., pp. 163. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876.

Mrs. Johnson tells her stories so prettily, vivified by pictures claiming to be drawn from life, that you might be beguiled into believing that there actually are fairies up the North River somewhere. But this book, like Drake's "Culprit Fay," and Irving's "Sleepy Hollow," is all a figment, a mere *sell.* We have been up there ourself, and know that her fairies are mere woodchucks. Nevertheless, young children, and old children too, are fond of being made fools of, and Mrs. Johnson's yarns are, for both, most excellent foolery.

Summer Days on the Hudson: The Story of a Pleasure Tour from Sandy Hook to the Saranac Lakes. Including Incidents of Travel, Legends, Historical Anecdotes, Sketches of Scenery, etc. By DANIEL WISE, D.D. Illustrated by One Hundred and Nine Engravings. 12mo., pp. 288. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1875.

Dr. Wise has discovered no fays or fairies up the North River country, but he wakes up the slumbering historic memories at every step. Externally as well as internally the book is a gem, glowing with pictures, and gorgeous with gold and red.

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Foreign Theological Publications.

Die Christliche Ethik. (Der Sündenfall und die Sünde.) Von P. T. CULMANN. Stuttgart.

The second part of Culmann's *Ethics* appeared some years ago. We refer to it here simply in order to present the author's conception of the fall and of sin in general. He is dissatisfied with the ordinary conception; let us see whether his own betters the matter. His view is: Man stilled his hunger for God, not with the food offered by God, but with a satanic gift. Thus Satan entered into him, not as a personal giver, but as an impersonal gift. But in this gift the giver lay in germ. So long as this germ was not fully developed, man was not fully possessed by Satan, and was hence redeemable. So long as the Church regards merely the formal side of disobedience in the fall, it cannot fully understand sin. It must regard not only the form of the law, but also the contents. The content here was the satanic gift that was *taken into* man. In this fall man was deceived, and hence became only a half-devil instead of a whole one, as would have been the case had he fully appreciated what he was doing. It is only his impersonal nature-side that was infected by depravity. But this infection was real and positive. Had man let himself be tempted merely to lust after the forbidden fruit, then an act of his moral freedom would have sufficed to repair the damage. But he went further: he ate, and thus took satanic *substance* into his being. Hence he is impotent for self-delivery. He cannot eject this substance from his nature: he can simply negate its full development. Satan has taken a part of the fortress: man cannot expel him from this, but he can veto his taking the rest. Herein lies his remaining liberty. But this liberty is fruitless. The human organism being infected with satanic substance, the actions of man are evil, notwithstanding his disapproving will and judgment. The bent of the human machine is downward, and the helmsman cannot reverse it. And this, too, not in the sense of the mere material body, but in that of the very substance of human nature. Hence the actions of the unregenerate *must* be sinful. If the view that sin is mere formal disobedience were correct, then mere repentance would obtain justification; for if man is to forgive his repenting brother "seventy times seven times," much more would God do so to his erring children. But mere repentance does *not* suffice. This view of Culmann is also opposed to the notion that the forbidden fruit was a sort of poison. For though a poison might work the disso-

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lution of the body, it could not also ruin both soul and spirit. It is also opposed to the Augustino-Protestant notion that the fall wrought the utter ruin both of man's nature and of his person. If man was totally ruined, then he was totally worthless, and God would not have given him any further attention. Upon the occurrence of the fall God adopted measures of redemption. Chiefly he gave to man an *object* whereon he might fix his personal pleasure, love and desire, and thus set a dam against the further inroads of his involuntary satanic tendencies. This object was the promised Christ. It was to be so assimilated by *faith* as finally to render any further inroads of Satan impossible. But how was Satan to be expelled from his hold upon man's impersonal nature-side? The satanic substance had to be expelled by the assimilation of a divine substance. This takes place in the eucharist. Christ's eaten body does for our *nature* what his beloved character does for our *spirit*—expels the satanic substance which constituted our depravity.

Such is Culmann's view. It has the faults inherent in any view that regards sin as a substance. Such views all end in sacramentarianism or magic. If sin was objectively put into us, then it has to be objectively taken out. But sin is not a substance; it is simply the perverse action of moral agency, together with the perverse character or second nature thereupon resultant.

Die Erziehung der Jugend. (Pedagogics.) Von F. ASCHER. Berlin: F. Berggold.

A very fresh, suggestive book on the very trite subject of child-training. Young parents and all young people would find great profit in it. It is very practical. In style it is popular and sententious. Let some young aspirant in translating try his hand on this little work. It would be well for our people to be able to compare German family notions with our own Young-American, so as to judge of the difference; for German family management is confessedly very successful.

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Miscellaneous.

THE splendid LINE ENGRAVING PICTURE of Bishop Simpson is a new and highly improved style of presenting the counterpart of our magnates to the Church. Of the photographs heretofore circulated, some are good, but many are a misfortune to the original. This picture is of good size, live and like, giving the top of the Bishop's best expression.

The Wesleyan Demosthenes: Comprising Select Sermons of Rev. Joseph Beaumont. With a Sketch of his Character. By Rev. J. B. WAKELEY, D.D. 12mo., pp. 444. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1875.

The departure of Dr. Wakeley to the blessed land will render this volume a dear memento to thousands who have listened to the music of his own eloquent voice. His heart was drawn toward Beaumont by a portion of kindred genius.

Beaumont was a true child of genius, with, like Maffit, some of the eccentricities of genius. Nature made him an orator, and his sermons are stirring in the perusal, as they carried all before them in the delivery. They may be safely read as models of the best Methodist preaching.

The Gift of the Holy Ghost. The Believer's Privilege. By Rev. E. DAVIES, Author of "Believer's Hand-Book," "He Leadeth Me," "Juvenile History of Bishop Asbury," "Book of Anecdotes," "Choice Hymns." 12mo. For sale by Rev. E. Davis, Reading, Mass. James P. Magee, John Bent & Co., Willard Tract Society. James H. Earle, and Congregational Publishing House, Boston, Mass. Rev. A. Wallace, J. B. M'Cullough, and Perkinpine & Higgins, Philadelphia, Pa.

God's Way; Or, Gaining the Better Life. By Mrs. M. A. HOLT, author of "John Bentley's Mistake," "Working and Winning," etc. Three Illustrations. 16mo., pp. 150. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

What God Does is Well Done. From the German of C. G. Salzmann. By Miss E. T. DISOSWAY. 12mo., pp. 304. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1875.

Toward the Straight Gate; or, Parish Christianity for the Unconverted. By Rev. E. F. BURR, D.D., author of "Ecce Cœlum," "Pater Mundi," "Ad Fidem," etc., and Lectures on the Scientific Evidences of Religion, in Amherst College. 12mo., pp. 535. Boston: Lockwood, Brooks, & Co. 1875.

A Summer Parish. Sabbath Discourses, and Morning Service of Prayer at the Twin "Mountain House," White Mountains, New Hampshire, during the Summer of 1874. By Rev. HENRY WARD BEECHER. Phonographically Reported by T. J. Ellenwood. 12mo., pp. 231. New York: J. B. Ford & Co. 1875.

The Vedder Lectures, 1875. "The Light by which we See Light;" or, Nature and the Scriptures. A Course of Lectures delivered before the Theological Seminary, and Rutgers College, New Brunswick, New Jersey. By TAYLER LEWIS, LL.D., L.H.D., Union College. 12mo., pp. 246. New York: Board of Publication of the R. C. A. 1875.

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The Patriarch of One Hundred Years. Being Reminiscences, Historical and Biographical, of Rev. Henry Boehm. By Rev. J. B. WAKELEY, D.D. 12mo., pp. 587. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

Hope Raymond; or, What is Truth? By Mrs. E. J. RICHMOND, author of "The Harwoods," "The M'Allisters," "Adopted," "The Jeweled Serpent," etc. Three Illustrations. 16mo., pp. 213. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1875.

The Berean Question Book, (International Series,) for 1876. 18mo., pp. 142. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

The Lesson Compend for 1876. By Rev. JESSE LYMAN HURLBUT, A.M. 12mo., pp. 135. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

Marian's Mission; or, The Influence of Sunday-Schools. By EMMA LESLIE, author of "Glaucia," "Flavia," "Quadratus," "Ayesha," etc. 12mo., pp. 283. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1875.

Brought Home. By HESBA STRATTON, author of "Jessica's First Prayer," "Nelly's Dark Days," "Bede's Charity," etc., etc. 12mo., pp. 221. New York: Dodd & Mead.

The Bertram Family. By the author of "Chronicles of the Schönberg-Cotta Family." 12mo., pp. 336. New York: Dodd & Mead. 1875.

The Little Trowel. By EDITH WADDY. Two Illustrations. 16mo., pp. 164. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

Gipsy's Adventures. By JOSEPHINE POLLARD. Three Illustrations. 16mo., pp. 174. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

Little Foxes. By the author of "How Marjorie Watched," "Helena's Cloud," "For Earth or Heaven," etc., etc. Three Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 176. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1875.

The Two Paths. By Mrs. RICHMOND, author of "The Harwoods," "The M'Allisters," "The Jeweled Serpent," "Adopted," "Zoa Rodman," "The Fatal Dower," etc., etc. 16mo., pp. 238. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1875.

The Pre-Adamite; or, Who Tempted Eve? Scripture and Science in Unison as Respects the Antiquity of Man. By A. HOYLE LESTER. 12mo., pp. 164. Philadelphia: Published for the Author by J. P. Lippincott & Co. 1875.

A book of some loose science, and looser rhetoric, maintaining the doctrine of the plurality of human races, and its consistency with Scripture. Eve's primeval fall was her seduction by a pre-adamite Mongol into miscegenation. Such fooling is below the dignity of types. The works of Poole and M'Causland on this subject are worth study.

Social Impurity the Sin of the World in all Ages. The Causes and the Remedy. By Rev. J. J. FLEHARTY, of the Central Illinois Conference. With an Introduction by REV. GEO. W. COLMAN, of the Bureau Association. 12mo., pp. 179. Cincinnati: Printed for the Author. 1875.

The Conquest of Europe. A Poem of the Future. In fourteen short Cantos. By CONFUCIUS. 12mo., pp. 35. 1876.

A Practical Course with the Spanish Language. On Woodbury's Plan with German. By H. M. MONSANTS, A.M., late Assistant Professor in the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis, and LOUIS A. LANGUELLIER, LL.D., late Tutor in the College of the City of New York. 8vo., pp. 398. New York and Chicago: Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor, & Co.

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John Todd: The Story of His Life Told Mainly by Himself. Compiled and Edited by Rev. JOHN E. TODD, Pastor of the Church of the Redeemer, New Haven, Conn. 8vo., pp. 529. New York: Harper & Brothers.

John Winthrop and the Great Colony; or, Sketches of the Settlement of Boston, and the more Prominent Persons Connected with the Massachusetts Colony. By CHARLES K. TRUE, D.D. 16mo., pp. 207. Two Illustrations. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

Select Poems of Oliver Goldsmith. Edited, with Notes, by WILLIAM J. ROLFE, A.M., formerly Head Master of the High School, Cambridge, Mass. With Engravings. 12mo., pp. 144. New York: Harper & Brothers.

From Jest to Earnest. By Rev. E. P. COE, author of "Barriers Burned Away," "What Can She Do?" "Opening A Chestnut Burr." 12mo., pp. 548. New York: Dodd & Mead.

Easy Lessons in German. By W. H. & E. K. WOODBURY. 12mo., pp. 237. New York & Chicago: Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor & Co. 1875.

Mehetabel. A Story of the Revolution. By Mrs. H. C. GARDNER. Three Illustrations. 16mo., pp. 372. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

An Island Pearl. By B. L. FARJEON, author of "Bread, and Cheese, and Kisses," "London's Heart," "Blade of Grass," "Golden Grain." "The King of No Land," "Joshua Marvel," "Jessie Trim," "Grif," "At the Sign of the Silver Flagon," etc. 12mo., pp. 70. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876.

The Might and Mirth of Literature. A Treatise on Figurative Language. In which upward of six hundred writers are referred to, and two hundred and twenty figures illustrated. By JOHN WALKER VILANT MACBETH. 8vo., pp. 542. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1875.

Select Dialogues of Plato. A New and Literal Version, chiefly from the Text of Stallbaum. By HENRY CARY, A.M., Worcester College, Oxford. 12mo., pp. 551. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1875.

Leofwine, the Saxon; A Story of Hopes and Struggles. By EMMA LESLIE, author of "Glaucia," "Flavia," "Quadratus," "Ayesha," etc. Three Illustrations. 16mo., pp. 301. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1875.

Elfreda. A Sequel to Leofwine. By EMMA LESLIE, author of "Glaucia," "Flavia," "Quadratus," "Ayesha," etc. Five Illustrations. 16mo., pp. 311. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1875.

Hostages to Fortune. A Story. By Miss M. E. BRADDON, author of "Aurora Floyd," "A Strange World," "Lost For Love," "John Marchmont's Legacy," "Birds of Prey," "Eleanor's Victory," "Fenton's Guest," "Bound to John Company," etc. With Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 159. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1875.

The Abbe Tigranes, Candidate for the Papal Chair. By FERDINAND FABRE. Translated by the Rev. LEONARD WOOLSEY BACON. 12mo., pp. 372. New York: J. B. Ford & Co. 1875.

Farm Legends. By WILL CARLETON, author of "Farm Ballads." Illustrated. 12mo., pp. 131. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876.

Notices of the following books postponed to the next number:—

Murphy on the Psalms. From Hurd & Houghton.

Luthardt on John's Gospel. Scribner & Co.

Van Lennep's Bible Lands. Harper & Brothers.

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METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

APRIL, 1876.

ART. I.—LUCIUS ANNÆUS SENECA:

THE LAST OF THE STOIC PHILOSOPHERS.

L. Annæi Senecæ Philosophi: et M. Annæi Senecæ Rhetoris quæ extant opera. Two vols., folio. Parisiis. 1607.

The Workes of Lucius Annæus Seneca, both Morall and Naturall. One vol., folio. London. 1614.

The Epistles of Lucius Annæus Seneca, with large Annotations. By T. MORELL, D.D. Two vols., folio. London. 1786.

Abrégé Analytique de la Vie et des Œuvres de Sénèque. Par A. VERNIER. One vol., 8vo. Paris. 1812.

De L. Annæi Senecæ Vita atque Scriptis. C. G. VAIGHT edidit. One vol., 8vo. Jenæ. 1816.

Seneca's Morals: by Way of Abstract. One vol., 8vo. London. 1818.

Specimen Literarium Inaugurale Exhibens Senecæ Librum de Providentia. R. A. NANTA edidit. One vol., 8vo. Lugd. Batav. 1825.

Philologus: Zeitschrift für das klassische Alterthum. Göttingen. 1852, 1853.

Saint Paul et Sénèque. Recherches sur les Rapports du Philosophe avec l'Apôtre. Par AMEDÉE FLEURY. Two vols., 8vo. Paris. 1853.

New Brunswick Review. New York. 1855.

L. Annæi Senecæ Disciplinæ Moralis cum Antoniana Contentio et Comparatio. A. DOLGENS edidit. One vol., 8vo. Lipsiæ. 1857.

Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie. Rev. A. HILGENFELD. Vol. I. 8vo. Jena. 1858.

Sénèque et Saint Paul. Étude sur les Rapports supposés entre le Philosophe et l'Apôtre. Par A. AUBERTIN. One vol., 8vo. Paris. 1869.

Life and Epistles of St. Paul. By THOMAS LEWIN. Two vols., folio. Second edition. London and New York. 1875.

I. SENECA'S RELATION TO ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

LUCIUS ANNÆUS SENECA was the last great representative of the Stoic philosophy. To the student of the philosophical and religious relations of paganism to Christianity, his writings—although they reflect in a measure the decadence of the post-Augustan period—are of more importance than those of any

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Greek or Roman author. For this there are two reasons. First, because his philosophy is the final and hopeless exhibition of the inability of the pagan mind, after its long but futile attempt both to solve the mysteries of our being and to establish safe rules of conduct; and, second, Seneca's moral philosophy embodies the unconscious and mysterious approach of pagan wisdom to Christianity. It was, to the Roman world of thought, the Baptist preparing the way for a system mightier than any it had known. Here, too, we find some explanation of the fact that no man has ever received from his fellows, both of his own and later times, a more diverse judgment than Seneca. The Roman authors who describe him, taking Tacitus or Quintilian as examples, were generally unfavorable, though Juvenal dared to express a preference of him to Nero, the Roman emperor:—

> "Libera si dentur populo suffragia, quis tam
> Perditus, ut dubitet Senecam præferre Neroni."

Early Christian writers, as Jerome, Lactantius, Augustine, and Tertullian, refer to him in terms of high commendation. Augustine speaks of his being conversant with the apostles, and Jerome says he deserves to be ranked among the saints. Lactantius, who elsewhere calls him a "divine pagan," thus gives him a rank above all the Stoics: "Seneca, who was the sharpest of all the Stoics—how great a veneration has he for the Almighty!" Indeed, so warm was the admiration of him by the primitive Church that the tests of historical criticism were forgotten, and he was regarded as practically a Christian, if not an intimate friend and an admirer of Paul himself, during the closing period of his life. The Roman Catholic Church has always held him in high veneration, and at the Council of Trent he is referred to as one of the Fathers of the Church. The French critics, as a rule, have been extremely favorable to him. Montaigne prefers him to Cicero, and, in his "Defense of Seneca and Plutarch," thus acknowledges his great obligation to the two: "The familiarity I have had with these two authors, and the assistance they have lent to my age and to my book, which is wholly compiled from what I have borrowed from them, oblige me to stand up for their honor." Diderot reverses his previously unfavorable

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judgment, and passes a high eulogy upon him. Rollin, often called the French Quintilian, commends the variety of his attainments, the depth and exactness of his philosophy, the wealth of his imagination, and the general purity of his style. The most recent criticism, such as that of Zèller in Germany, and of Martha and Aubertin in France, partakes more of the judicial spirit, and praises and blames according to the requirements of justice.*

II. Personal History.

Marcus Aurelius Seneca, the father of Lucius Annæus, was a native of Spain, and belonged to the strong and rich Roman colony of Corduba, (Cordova,) which was planted on the banks of the Bætis (the modern Guadalquivir) by Marcus Marcellus when prætor in Spain. It was afterward elevated to the dignity of Colonia Patricia, by which it had the privilege of sending senators to Rome. The family were of the equestrian order, and possessed considerable wealth. Helvia, the wife of Marcus Aurelius Seneca, was a woman of many endowments of mind, and is frequently alluded to in the writings of her son. Lucius Annæus was born at Corduba about B. C. 7. He had two brothers, the older being Marcus Annæus Novatus, (afterward changed by adoption to Junius Gallio,) and the younger, Lucius Annæus Mela, who became the father of the celebrated poet Lucan. Martial thus speaks of this triple character of the family: "*Et docti Senecæ tres memoranda domus.*" The family removed to Rome when Lucius Annæus was about two years of age. His youth was passed during the reign of Tiberius, and he enjoyed all the literary and social advantages which the station, wealth, and personal care of his father, himself an orator of great culture, could afford. He made a visit to Egypt, probably of considerable length, while his uncle was prefect of that province. To this fruitful episode in Seneca's life are due the frequent references in his writings to that country, particularly in his "Natural Questions;" and very likely he was the real author of Nero's organization of an expedition for the discovery of the sources of the Nile—the first attempt in history to solve the mysteries of that wonderful river. Liv-

* Cf. "Westminster Review," 1867, pp. 43, 44.

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ingstone, Barth, Baker, Rohlfs, Speke, and Schweinfurth, have only followed in Roman footsteps.

The studies of Seneca were first in the department of eloquence and the affiliated sciences. But he exhibited gradually a taste for philosophy, from which the persuasions of his own wife were not strong enough to alienate him. His father, likewise, was loath to see his talented son devote himself to a class of studies then in decline, and not promising either political or social advancement, and used his influence to have his son become an advocate. Seneca, however, seems to have had a large measure of liberty, for he enjoyed the instructions of the best Roman interpreters of the Greek philosophy, such as Papirius Fabianus, Attalus, Demetrius, and Sotion. Of this last he was very early a disciple, as he says in one of his epistles: "*Modo apud Sotionem puer sedi.*" So great was the influence of the Pythagorean philosophy, as represented by Sotion, upon him, that he became an ardent believer in the transmigration of souls, and proved his faith for a time by becoming a vegetarian, as the eating of animal food could be hardly less than parricide to one of that belief. The first public labors of Seneca, however, were according to the wishes of his father, for we find him exercising the functions of the public advocate, acquiring a just celebrity for eloquence, and even producing his first literary fruit in this department. The same paternal influence is also perceptible in Seneca's becoming a candidate for the quæstorship or treasurership, in which he was successful. During his incumbency of this office he became an object of jealousy on the part of the Emperor Caligula, who grew angry with him on the sole ground that the young orator pleaded too ably one day before the Senate in his presence. That emperor was only prevented from putting him to death by representations of one of his mistresses that it was hardly worth while, as Seneca was a hopeless consumptive, and would soon die at all events. Caligula was succeeded by his uncle, Claudius, and the latter was in power but a short time before his wife, the corrupt Valeria Messalina, who became jealous of the favor shown by her husband to his niece, the beautiful Julia, took her revenge by charging Seneca with an illicit intrigue with the latter. The result was, that Seneca was banished to the island of Corsica, where he remained eight years.

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This exile was a transitional period in Seneca's mind and life. He had been married, and had two children. His wife, whose name is unknown, was now dead. He married a second time, his wife being Paulina. One of his children, a boy, died twenty days before his father's exile to Corsica. The other, Novatilla, was committed by her father to the care of his mother, Helvia, with these words: "Fold her to your bosom; she has lost her mother; she seems to have lost her father. Care for her. Love her for me." Once in Corsica, Seneca betook himself closely to the study of his much-loved philosophy. This proved to be a productive period of his life. Of his lonely home he had nothing good to say. He satirized every thing about him, and thus complained that Corsica was poor in every thing—but exiles:—

> "Barbarous land which rugged rocks surround,
> Whose horrent cliffs with idle wastes are crowned,
> No autumn fruit, no tilth the summer yields,
> Nor olives cheer the winter-silvered fields:
> Nor joyous spring her tender foliage lends,
> Nor genial herb the luckless soil befriends;
> Nor bread, nor sacred fire, nor freshening wave;
> Nought here—save exile, and the exile's grave!"

Polybius, now the favorite at court, lost his brother, and Seneca addressed him from his lonely Corsica an epistle on "Consolation," in which he shrewdly combined the good advice of bearing patiently what we cannot escape, with fulsome adulation of Claudius Cæsar. But this flattering proved quite unnecessary, for either it was never reported to the emperor by Polybius, or, if that man had the temerity to do it, it had not the slightest effect upon his master to recall the philosopher from exile. Now came Messalina's day of retribution, for, having formed an illicit alliance with the young and handsome Caius Silius, she died a wretched fugitive, and Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus, succeeded her as empress. This latter made use of her influence with the emperor for securing the return of Seneca from exile. It was a stroke of policy on her part to gain popular favor for herself and her son, Domitius, (Nero,) for Seneca was a great favorite in Rome, and no more adroit management could have been adopted by the empress for the accomplishment of her plans.

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The life of Seneca henceforth became intimately connected with Nero. He became prætor, and the tutor of young Nero. Tacitus, who is the chief authority for what we know of the life of both Nero and his preceptor, thus states the purposes of Agrippina: "Agrippina obtained for Seneca a revocation from exile, and with it the prætorship, favors which she supposed would be well pleasing to the public on account of his signal eloquence and accomplishments; besides her own private views, namely, the education of her own son, Domitius, under such a master, and the use they should make of his counsels, both to obtain the empire and to govern it." Agrippina secured the death of her husband by poison, and now the great plan of her life was successful—her son, Nero, became Roman emperor. Farrar says of her absorption in the interests of her son: "Whatever there was of possible affection in the tigress nature of Agrippina was now absorbed in the person of her child. For that child, from its cradle to her own death by his means, she toiled and sinned. The fury of her own ambition, inextricably linked with the uncontrollable fierceness of her love for this only son, henceforth directed every action of her life. Destiny had made her the sister of one emperor, intrigue elevated her into the wife of another. Her own crimes made her the mother of a third." *

Claudius was no sooner dead than Seneca, true to his temporizing character, made him the object of his keen satire, and at the same time bestowed fulsome eulogy on the young Nero. This ruler did, indeed, promise well until his seventeenth year, but soon afterward he manifested a restiveness and recklessness that gave Seneca good ground for fearing that his imperial disciple might any moment become his oppressor. Agrippina prided herself on her influence over her son; but when she found that he had become weary of his wife, Octavia, and formed a secret alliance with the freed-woman Acte, her indignation became violent and public, for she was shrewd enough to see that this change in Nero was fatal to her own share in the empire. She directed her hostility particularly at Seneca and Burrhus, the joint tutors of Nero, who, according to Tacitus, did what they could to restrain the vices of the young emperor, and saw only evil in the general influence of his

* "Seekers after God," p. 113.

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wicked mother.* The mother, out of revenge for her son's throwing off her influence, threatened to bring forward Britannicus, the son of Claudius, as the real heir to the throne. Nero now needed to act promptly, and the result was, as there is every reason to believe, that the speedy death of Britannicus was caused by Nero, who was then only in the first year of his wretched reign. Imputations have been cast by various writers —Merivale among the rest—upon both Burrhus and Seneca as probable accomplices; but there is no proof that such was the fact. This much is certain, however, that Seneca soon afterward wrote his "Essay on Clemency," dedicating it to his pupil, Nero, in which he extols that virtue as especially beautiful in rulers, and represents Nero as a remarkable illustration of it.

This essay possesses for all Protestants a singular interest, and we must digress a moment to narrate its association with the Reformation in France. Francis I., king of France, was a relentless persecutor of the Huguenots, and after his return from Spain, whither he had been taken as a prisoner by Charles V., after the battle of Pavia, was as hostile as ever to his Protestant subjects. Calvin, then a young man of twenty-three, had been laboring on a commentary on Seneca's "Essay on Clemency." He was a great admirer of the Roman Stoic, and to reproduce for his own countrymen one of his essays was his first work, in which he engaged after turning his back upon his preferments and faith of Roman Catholicism. He was amazed to find so little attention paid to Seneca, and resolved to do his part to supply the want. "He was annoyed," says Merle d'Aubigné, "that the world had not given him the place he deserved, and spoke of him to all his friends. If one of them entered his little room and expressed surprise at seeing him take such pains to make the writings of a pagan philosopher better known, Calvin, who thought he had discovered a ton of Gospel gold in Seneca's iron ore, would answer: 'Did he not write against superstition? Has he not said of the Jews, that the conquered give laws to their conquerors? When he exclaims, 'We have all sinned, we shall all sin unto the end!' may we not imagine that we hear Paul speaking?"† He was mourning the death of Berquin and other Protestants, and

* "Annales," xiii, 2, etc.

† "History of the Reformation in the Time of Calvin," vol. ii, p. 85.

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feared that many more would fall. He knew that the king was passionately fond of new books, and he hoped that this literary venture of his would find its way into his hands, and that he might be influenced by its sentiments, especially where Seneca urges Nero to mild measures, showing him that any other course is not only futile, but also impolitic and injurious. Such words as these, from Seneca, were now uttered in the ears of Francis I.: "Clemency becomes no one so much as it does a king. You spare yourself, when you seem to be sparing another. We must do evil to nobody, not even to the wicked; men do not harm their own diseased limbs. It is the nature of the most cowardly wild beasts to rend those who are lying on the ground, but elephants and lions pass by the man they have thrown down. To take delight in the rattling of chains, to cut off the heads of citizens, to spill much blood, to spread terror wherever he shows himself—is that the work of a king? If it were so, far better would it be for lions, bears, or even serpents, to reign over us!" This was Calvin's first production, or, as he called it, "the firstlings of his print," and was dedicated to one of his early associates of the Mommor family, Claude Hangest, Abbot of St. Eloi, April 4, 1532, with these accompanying words: "This, with all that I possess, belongs of right to you; for I was nurtured as a child in your house, and instructed into the same studies with you." The young man had only the common experience of novitiates in authorship, for he found no publisher willing to undertake the doubtful enterprise of issuing it. He resolved to publish it at his own expense, scanty as his means were; but when the printing was completed he said: "Upon my word, it has cost me more money than I had imagined."* His money was gone, and to his friend Daniel he again wrote: "I am drained dry, and I must tax my wits to get back from every quarter the money I have expended." The young author's name on the title-page was Calvinus, and henceforth Cauvin, the family name, became, in literature and theology, *Calvin*. He wrote to Daniel on the 23d of May: "At length the die is cast; my Commentary on Clemency has appeared." Shortly afterward he wrote: "Write to me as soon as possible, and tell me whether my book is favorably or coldly received. I hope that it will contribute to

* Plus pecuniæ exhauserunt. Calvinus Danieli, Geneva MSS.

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the public good." As to the effect of the work on the king's mind, nothing is known. "Did the king read the treatise?" asks Merle d'Aubigné. "We cannot say. At any rate Calvin was not more fortunate with Francis I. than Seneca had been with Nero."

We now return to Seneca's life. Agrippina became an object of just suspicion on the part of her son, Nero, and the question was only one of time which should succeed in ridding the world of the other. A report was brought to Nero one night that Agrippina was plotting for his overthrow by the substitution of Plautus on the throne. The charge was unjust, and Agrippina was successful in having her accusers condemned, and herself restored to the favor of her son. The calm lasted four years, the end of which marked the completion of Nero's golden age — "the famous Quinquennium" — during which Seneca and Burrhus had been the actual rulers, and the affairs of the government had been administered with an ability and success that commanded universal admiration. But now Nero broke loose from all restraint, the occasion being another charge that Agrippina was plotting against her son. Nero promptly resolved upon his mother's death, and his plan was worthy of his general inhumanity; for he arranged that a pretended public reconciliation between his mother and himself should take place at Baiæ, but that the bolts of the vessel on which she should return to her retreat should be loosened, and his victim drowned. She escaped death by water, but shortly after fell by the blows of assassins. Anicetus was the first to strike her, and she replied: "Strike my womb, for it bore Nero." Her supreme passion for her son's ruling continued, however, to the last, and it is said that she uttered the words: "*Occidat dum imperet*"—Let him slay me if he only reign! Recently an attempt has been made to justify Nero against the charge of parricide; but the deliberate judgment of Tacitus, Josephus, Dion, and Suetonius, is unequivocal in the admission of his guilt.

What part did Seneca play in these scenes of blood? On this subject the opinion of his contemporaries was divided. First, there were many who believed that he was cognizant of the attempt of Nero to drown his mother. The weight of testimony here is in his favor. Even Dion admits that "there

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was no proof of Seneca's complicity in the imputed crime of Nero." Second, it was alleged that Seneca was an abettor in the murder of Agrippina at the hands of Anicetus and his soldiers. This is not proved, and the probability is against it. There is no likelihood that he attempted to dissuade Nero from the crime, for he was pretty sure that "if the son did not kill the mother, the mother certainly would kill the son." Tacitus reports that Seneca not only charged Nero with the crime, but repudiated all share of responsibility for himself. But no amount of charity can acquit Seneca of writing Nero's statement to the Roman Senate, that Agrippina did fall by her own hand. This was not only false, but amounted to a direct connivance at the crime.

It was now Seneca's turn to become involved in hopeless difficulties. Nero having become weary of his wife, Octavia, determined to substitute Poppæa for her. It was this woman who, by "her tears, her blandishments, and even her sarcasms," was the real author of Nero's murder of his mother, for the great aspiration of her life was to become empress, and she knew that so long as Agrippina lived this hope could never be realized. In Nero's proposition to cast aside Octavia and take Poppæa as his wife, he was gently opposed by Seneca. The nobles, long jealous of the philosopher, now found it easy to alienate the emperor's mind from him. Seneca saw his danger, and offered to surrender his just wealth to his master, and withdrew from the city, pleading his delicate health and love of study. Nero gave no formal consent, but Seneca lived in comparative retirement. The enemies of Seneca reported to Nero that the philosopher was a participant in Piso's conspiracy. Seneca succeeded in disproving all share in the plot but again begged permission to retire, for Nero's burning of the city and persecution of the Christians, and the great prevalence of social disorders and crimes, proved that the old teacher no longer had the slightest influence over him. Again his request was denied. The conspiracy of Piso now assumed threatening proportions, and charges were brought against Seneca with greater plausibility. Nero resolved on his death. The philosopher was found at his villa, Nomantanum, in the society of his beloved wife, Paulina. He heard his sentence with stoic calmness, and begged only the privilege of making some

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additions to his will. This was refused. For the particulars of his death we are indebted to Tacitus. The philosopher said to his friends, that since he was disabled from requiting their benefits, he bequeathed them that which alone was left him, yet something more glorious and amiable than all the rest—the pattern of his life. He begged them not to weep for him. He implored his wife to "moderate her sorrow, to beware of perpetuating such a dismal sorrow, but to bear the death of her husband by contemplating his life spent in a steady course of virtue, and to support his loss by all worthy consolations." But Paulina would not be comforted, and attempted to put an end to her life. Seneca, seeing her deep devotion, gave his consent in these words: "I have laid before thee the delights and solaces of living; thou preferrest the renown of dying. I shall not envy thee the honor of the example. Let us equally share the fortitude of an end so brave; but greater will be the splendor of thy particular fall." At the same moment the two had the veins of their arms opened. Seneca's blood flowed very slowly, and then he ordered the veins of his legs to be opened. His sufferings becoming intense, he persuaded his wife to withdraw to an adjoining room, lest the courage of each might fail by witnessing the agony of the other. Nero ordered that Paulina's death be prevented, and so her wounds were bound up. She lived but a few years, in feeble health, her greatest joy being the memory of her husband. But no clemency was visited upon Seneca. His death coming too slowly, he requested his friend and physician, Statius Annæus, to administer poison to him. This was unnecessary, for it failed to act upon his thin body. He then had recourse to a hot bath, but this failing, he was removed to a vapor bath, or *sudatorium*, where he expired amid the fumes. His secretaries and slaves were about him, and on them he sprinkled water, with the formula of a libation: "To Jove the Liberator!" His body was burnt privately, without any funeral ceremonies, according to the arrangements he had made when in the splendor of his power and full enjoyment of his great wealth. Some writers, as Sicco Polentone, who have imagined that Seneca was a Christian at heart, represent that his final words were an invocation to Christ, and that he baptized himself with the water of the bath. But this is only a beautiful fiction.

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III. Estimate of Seneca's Life and Character.

Seneca cannot be judged properly without a careful regard to the times in which he lived. Every great character reflects his period. This reflection need not be that of the prevailing sentiment. Sometimes, as in the case of great reformers, it is that of a protest against it. Even then, however, it is the reflection of the protest which the better spirit of the age bears within itself. Martin Luther, one man standing out in antagonism to his contemporaries, was but the embodiment and reflection of Europe's aspiration of reform for three centuries. Seneca's chosen field was that of a moral teacher, and it is unreasonable to expect that, with only a pagan culture, and that at a time of Rome's moral decadence, he should exhibit either in his personal life or philosophy such an example as we could fairly expect from the simpler and purer Roman days, to say nothing of any Christian period. No age has surpassed that of the Cæsars, particularly the later ones, in splendid iniquity. Horace could well say: "The age of our fathers, worse than that of our grandsires, has produced us, who are yet baser, and who are doomed to give birth to a still more degraded offspring." Juvenal, fifty years later, could affirm: "Posterity will add nothing to our immorality; our descendants can but do and desire the same crimes as ourselves." Farrar, in referring to this testimony of contemporary witnesses, groups the evil characteristics of the times of Seneca under five heads: 1. The violent contrasts in social condition; 2. Atheism and superstition; 3. Excessive luxury; 4. Deep sadness; and, 5. Boundless cruelty. It was in the midst of such a civilization that Seneca lived and wrote, and the wonder is that we find so much in him that contrasts favorably with the spirit and life of his times. His genius, position, and the wishes of his father, first brought him within the circle of the political maelstrom. He frequently strove, later, to escape all contact with political life, and we must suppose his efforts sincere. We fully believe that the most unfavorable opinion of Seneca's complicity with Nero's guilt can apply only to the latest period of his life, when he found himself involved in the meshes of that emperor's cruel policy. Lipsius well exclaims: "How happy would Rome have been if Nero had continued to follow the advice

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of Seneca as he began! For what could be more commendable than the earlier years of his life, while under the direction of Seneca?" That he was a willing party to any wrong act, even his most severe critic, Dion Cassius, seems hardly to believe; but that he was a party at all was both his crime and misfortune, and from the two there is no possibility of acquitting him. The most that can be done is to give him the benefit of a careful weighing of the palliating circumstances which surrounded him. Much stress has been laid upon Seneca's enormous wealth. Tacitus refers to it, but declares that Seneca's wealth had no effect upon his temperate, and even austere, life: "Seneca, with a diet exceedingly simple, supported an abstemious life, satisfying the call of hunger by wild fruit from the wood, and of thirst by a draught from the brook." The philosopher began life with great wealth, and after his return from exile, and during his tutorship of Nero, there came vast accessions to it from the hands of that ruler. He had treasures in other lands, as Egypt and Britain, and, like his wealthy contemporaries, derived immense revenue from money at interest. Tacitus nowhere charges Seneca with guilt in the acquisition or retention of it. Seneca, even requesting Nero to take from him his fortune, used the following noble language: "Order the auditors of thy revenue to undertake the direction of my fortune, and annex it to thine own; nor shall I by this plunge myself into indigence and poverty; but, having only surrendered that wondrous opulence which exposes me to the offensive blaze of so much splendor, I shall redeem the time which at present is employed in the care of pompous feasts and gardens, and apply it to the repose and cultivation of my mind."

The misfortune of Seneca's career was his tutorship of Nero, and while in the early exercise of this office he used every means to guard his pupil against wickedness. Later, however, when he could no longer control him, he seems not to have hesitated to approve of the misdoings of Nero. He was, perhaps, still in the hope that, by this means, he might moderate the violence of the youthful despot. But this was no sufficient ground for vacillation, or for practical approval of wrong, even though exile or death was the certain penalty.

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IV. Seneca's Philosophy.

The position which Seneca occupies as a philosopher is not that of an originator so much as an expounder. We must content ourselves, here, with merely indicating his relation, as a philosopher, to his times, and his position as a believer in the Divine being and in the moral laws which He has imposed upon the universe. While Seneca adopted the general principles of the Stoic system, he by no means adhered strictly to them, but seems to have reserved to himself the large rights of the eclectic thinker. The Roman mind was not at all adapted to the repose and equanimity which form a fundamental element in Stoicism. It was only after popular liberty was lost, when the government became a thing that lay within the reach of the most ambitious and unscrupulous, and morals became corrupt, that we find any tendency to fall back upon the resources of the mind itself. Says M. Aubertin:—

> The establishment of the empire, while pacifying eloquence and suppressing liberty, did not enfeeble philosophy. It gave it, on the other hand, a higher importance, a less uncertain credit, and more faithful partisans. In the general abasement, in the mental waste and the incurable ennui where so soon the ardor of the noblest souls was chilled, philosophy, the sole consoler amid this fearful disgrace, offered to the conquered, if not an impossible hope, at least a refuge and an indemnification. Hence, says Horace, the faithful interpreter of the delights of the contemporary mind, it became "the work of all the days, of all the ages, and of all the conditions." This world, grown old and condemned, there found its remedy and salvation. Philosophy gathered up the fragments from the irreparable shipwreck of liberty.*

How this change in the condition of Roman political life involved a new employment of the mind, and that in the direction of Stoicism—the last resort in sorrow for every unchristian heart—has been very strongly stated by a writer in the "Westminster Review:"—

> In the age of Seneca the fashionable Epicureanism of the earlier empire had been supplanted by the philosophy of the Porch. Roman independence had been destroyed; Cæsar sat like an embodied destiny on the throne of the world, the terrestrial correspondent of the overruling Fate, the great cosmical unity, the generalized expression for the irrevocable order and irrevocable succession of individual or collective causes, in which men were inserted at the

* "Sénèque et Saint Paul," p. 103.

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hour of their birth. A philosophy that encouraged political action could not but give offense. The true wisdom was to conquer the troubles of life by silent endurance; the true compensation for the abandonment of power or place was to be sought in retirement, resignation, the inward serenity which can neither be given nor taken away. The Stoical disinclination to a public career, or any form of political activity, tended, with more or less consciousness, toward the ideal of Apollonius of Tyana, who announced that he had no interest in the republic, but lived under the rule of the gods. From criminal preoccupation, from enervating luxury, from the satiety, the danger, and corruption of the times, the young, the ardent, the aspirant to a higher life, turned away to seek a refuge in the internal resources of the Stoical retreat, a predisposition typifying the ultimate separation of the temporal and spiritual power. Stoicism thus became a religious philosophy, a code of moral precepts, of prudential regulations accommodated to the various exigences of life. Of this school of practical wisdom and pious speculation, Seneca was for a considerable time the distinguished chief.*

Between Cicero and Seneca this Stoic philosophy took root in Rome. The period was resplendent with a group of minds that seem to have derived all their inspiration from Greece, and yet to have comprehended well the moral needs of their own day. Says M. Aubertin:—

Leaving Cicero, and coming right to Seneca and his neo-Stoical contemporaries, what do we find? A philosophy abundant in new perspectives and of vast consequences. The basis of doctrine has undergone a transformation. The spiritualism of these philosophers has a character of mystical exaltation, impassioned raving, and religious enthusiasm unknown to the author of the Tusculan orations. Whence comes this new character, marked by such visible characteristics? It is the natural result of the labor of these eighty-six years that separate Cicero and Seneca. . . . The latter has left us a lively picture of these fruitful years; he is full of the reading of his masters; he hears their voice, cites fragments of their discourses, and reproduces their opinions with that vividness of imagination which is the dominant faculty of this remarkable mind.†

These philosophers did not neglect metaphysical study, but their taste lay chiefly in the department of morals. Seneca, while he was a careful gleaner from his immediate Roman predecessors, and always cites them in support of his opinions, went far beyond any of them in the development of his system.

Seneca's view of Deity is essentially that found in the Stoic

* Vol. for 1867, pp. 71, 72. † "Sénèque et Saint Paul," pp. 101, 102.

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system in its best state. There is a supreme God, who is the soul of the world. He has operated on matter as organizer, not as creator. Matter is eternal, but disordered, and only waited for the divine soûl to bring it into harmony. Matter has no soul; it is simply inert and passive, and subject to the power of God. God is the divine reason, placed in the world. While God has made the world out of pre-existent matter, he has not been able to change its essence. This accounts for the reign of evil, for matter has essentially an evil principle. God has supreme control over human affairs. He descends to men, and dwells with them. Our condition is fully known to him. It is to him that we live, and to him that we must approve ourselves. We must so live that God will see only good in us, for he sees just what we are. "There is no need," says Seneca to Lucilius, "to lift your hands to heaven, or to pray the ædile to admit you to the ear of an image, that so your prayers may be heard the better. God is near thee; he is with thee. . . . A holy spirit resides within us, the observer of good and evil, and our constant guardian. As we treat him, he treats us. At least no man is without God. Can any one ever rise above the power of fortune without his assistance? It is he that inspires us with thoughts, upright, just, and pure. We do not, indeed, pretend to say *what* God; but that a God dwells in the breast of every good man, is certain." * This universe could only be restrained from ruin by the presence of God. The least events and the lowest lives are known to him. We must, therefore, submit fully to God. Our condition may be wretched, but this is sometimes a necessity for our discipline. God could relieve us from misery, but then that would not always be best. We are in a condition which requires training and the highest culture.

Seneca, in his entire ethical system, went far beyond his times. "He seems," says Gillett, "as if by a flash of intuition, to apprehend the moral relations of men, and the proper aims and duties of human life. He sets himself up as a teacher —not an example, for he confesses his imperfections and deficiencies—and his words are memorable alike for their terseness and their worth. That he stood aloof from Christianity —that the vigor of his years had passed before he could have

* Epistola xli.

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had any knowledge of Christianity—adds to our surprise." * The ethics of Seneca are based upon God's identification with the universe and his presence in human life. Here belongs the brotherhood of man. We are not isolated in any sense, for the whole family of humanity is united by the bonds of a common origin. Nature made us relatives when it begat us from the same materials and for the same destinies. It planted in us a mutual love, and fitted us for a social life. What is a Roman knight, or freedman, or slave? These are but names that spring from ambition or injury. Our country is the world, and our guardians are the gods. Slavery, therefore, is to be condemned as a crime against God. "Seneca," says Lecky, "has filled pages with exhortations to masters to remember that the accident of position in no degree affects the real dignity of men; that the slave may be free by virtue, while the master may be a slave by vice; and that it is the duty of a good man to abstain not only from all cruelty, but even from all feeling of contempt toward his slaves." † All exhibitions of a man's rights to make another suffer are cruel in the extreme. Gladiatorial contests, therefore, have no possible apology. Such amusements are "brutalizing, savage, and detestable." Man must imitate the natural world, where each has his right, and his own part to play. In nature we find apparent disturbances and irregularities. Earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, and violent storms, would seem to be abnormal. But this is not the fact. They are only the evidences of the reign of cosmic law. To show this order in nature was the design of the "Natural Questions" of Seneca, perhaps more than any other work of antiquity the direct forerunner of Humboldt's "Cosmos." That work of Seneca was valued by Montaigne more highly than any other, because of its having been written in old age, after the temptations to the enjoyment of popular and imperial favor had ceased. We close our reference to Seneca's philosophy by citing the general view, as just as it is forcible, of a writer, already referred to, in the "Westminster Review:"—

Free from the superstitions of the populace, exalted above the illusions of Stoical orthodoxy, replacing the multiplicity of gods

* "God in Human Thought," vol. i, p. 253. † "History of Morals," vol. i, p. 324.

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by the unity of the divine nature, and substituting for external worship the spiritual adoration which lies in the knowledge of God and the humble imitation of his perfection, Seneca, as a competent authority observes, holds a foremost rank among those who represent in its highest purity the elevated moral conception which classical antiquity attained. True to the old Stoical traditions, he yet gave predominance to the religious point of view, introducing into his teaching a difference in degree that was almost a difference in mind. Hence his theology became more human—his deity more personal. Contemporaneously with the missionaries of a new faith, he insisted on the necessity of obedience to the will of God, of a life in harmony with the divine nature, of the presence of God in the soul of man, of the slave as well as the free, of self-surrender to the Providence that orders the world, as the ground of all internal freedom and peace. The practical character of his morality, his conviction of human weakness and imperfection, his lessons of mercy and forgiveness, his doctrine of forbearance and indulgence to human infirmity, his ideal of the married life, his estimate of true friendship, his spirit of universal love and divine impartiality, at once attest the nobleness of his moral aspirations, and illustrate the mutual approach of the wisdom of the Greek and Roman world, and of the enlarging piety of a less exclusive Palestine. The work that Seneca endeavored to do, however imperfectly, must always have a profound interest for the student of that great religious revolution which formed a crisis in the history of the human race, not only on general grounds, but because, to borrow the remarkable expression quoted by M. Martha from the eloquent Tertullian, it was "*testimonium animæ naturaliter Christianæ.*" *

V. Works of Seneca.

Seneca's writings have not all been preserved. We have the greater part, however, and from those still extant we can well appreciate Quintilian's statement concerning him, "that he treated on almost every subject of study; for both orations of his, and poems, and epistles, and dialogues, are extant." † It is not probable that any leading work of Seneca has been lost, for being a great favorite in the early Church, the interest in his writings served to preserve them, while those of less favored Roman authors were neither copied nor cared for. The list of his works, as given by George Long in Smith's "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology," forms the basis of our catalogue.

* Vol. for 1867, p. 84. † "Inst. Orat." x. 1, § 129.

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1. *De Ira.* This was addressed to Novatus, and was one of Seneca's earliest works. 2. *De Consolatione ad Helviam Matrem Liber.* Written to his mother during his banishment to Corsica. One of his purest and best works. 3. *De Consolatione, ad Polybium Liber.* Composed in the third year of Seneca's Corsican exile. Diderot and others maintain that it is not by Seneca, because it is unworthy of him. But the external evidences are too strong. 4. *Liber de Consolatione, ad Marciam.* Written after Seneca's return from exile, and designed to console Marcia for the loss of her son. Marcia was the daughter of A. Cremutius Cordus. 5. *De Providentia Liber.* "A Golden Book," says Lipsius. Seneca proves here that Providence has a power over all things, and that God is always present with us. 6. *De Animi Tranquillitate.* Written shortly after Seneca's return from banishment, when he was prætor, and had become Nero's tutor. The object is to discover the true means by which peace of mind can be attained. The author, surrounded by all the splendors of the court, writes as one very ill at ease. 7. *De Constantia Sapientis, seu quod in Sapientem non cadit Injuria.* Addressed to Serenus, and founded on the Stoic doctrine of the wise man's impassiveness. Lipsius says of it: "This book betokens a great mind, as great a wit, and much eloquence; in a word, it is one of his best." 8. *De Clementia ad Neronem Cæsarem Libri duo.* There is too much flattery in this work. It is here that Seneca relates the anecdote of Nero's unwillingness to sign a sentence of execution, and his exclamation: "I would I could neither read nor write!" The second book is incomplete. 9. *De Brevitate Vitæ.* Written to Paulinus, and recommending the proper employment of time, and the best means to derive wisdom from our life. 10. *De Vita Beata.* Addressed to his brother, L. Junius Gallio, and pleading that there is no happiness without virtue, though health and riches have their value. The conclusion is lost. 11. *De Otio.* Sometimes joined to *De Vita Beata.* 12. *De Beneficiis.* In seven books, addressed to Æbucius Liberalis, and explaining the way of conferring a favor, and the duties of the giver and recipient. 13. *Epistolæ Morales.* One hundred and twenty-four, written to Lucilius, and consisting of moral maxims. Composed for the most part in the latter period of Seneca's life, and comprising his moral

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reflections after losing imperial favor. 14. *Apocolocyntosis.* A satire on the deceased Emperor Claudius. It is a play on the word pumpkin, and means pumpkinification, or the reception of Claudius among the pumpkins. 15. *Quæstiones Naturales.* In seven books, addressed to Lucilius Junior, dealing with questions of natural history, and comprising copious extracts from various Greek and Roman authors. 16. *Tragediæ.* Ten tragedies are attributed to Seneca by various Latin writers, Quintilian among the number. (Inst. Orat., ix, 2, § 8.) They bear the following titles: *Hercules Furens*, *Thyestes*, *Thebais* or *Phœnissæ*, *Hippolytus* or *Phædra*, *Œdipus*, *Troades* or *Hecuba*, *Medea*, *Agamemnon*, *Hercules Œtæus*, and *Octavia.* As the titles indicate, the subjects are mostly from the Greek mythology. They are written in Iambic senarii, interspersed with choral parts, in anapæstic and other meters. None of these tragedies are adapted to the stage, and were never intended for that purpose. They were designed for reading or recitation, after the fashion of the Roman rhetorical training. Moral sentiments abound in them all, as with every thing that Seneca wrote.

VI. Editions.

The *Editio Princeps* of Seneca was issued in Naples, 1475, in folio. The edition of J. F. Gronovius, (Leyden,) 1649–58, is in 4 vols., 12mo.; that of Ruhkopf, (Leipzig,) 1797–1811, 5 vols., 8vo. The French writers, as stated above, probably through the impulse of Montaigne, have bestowed great attention on Seneca, both in textual criticism and translation. Lagrange's version is the best. In England, the first edition of *The Workes of L. Annæus Seneca, both Morall and Naturall*, translated by Thomas Lodge, appeared in London in 1614, with a Latin dedication to Chancellor Ellesmere. An English translation of the Tragedies, by several hands, appeared as early as 1581. Bähr, in his *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*," vol. i, gives a copious bibliography relating to Seneca.

VII. Relations of Seneca and St. Paul.

To the student of sacred and ecclesiastical history the question of the relations of Seneca and St. Paul is one of the most interesting connected with the boundary line between Chris-

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tianity and the pagan philosophy. The coincidences between the writings of the two are among the unsolved problems of literary history. Every writer on the subject concedes them to be striking, and those who do not admit an acquaintance have difficulty in explaining the parallelism. The most common solution of the latter class is thus expressed, by the writer already referred to, in the "Westminster Review:"—

> This resemblance is only one among many instances of the drift of the common consciousness under the same impelling winds of motion, to a similar or analogous intellectual and moral deliverance. The common thought, the common feeling, the common misery, the common aspiration—in a word, the common development of the human mind, had manifestations unlike, yet not all unlike, in Greece and in Judæa; and Saul of Tarsus and Seneca of Rome, each in his own way, acknowledged the smiting presence of the new light that was dawning on a half-expectant world.

Of the co-operative character of the writings of St. Paul and Seneca as great moral teachers, Merivale thus speaks:—

> Far different as was their social standing-point, far different as were the foundations and the presumed sanctions of their teaching respectively, Seneca and St. Paul were both moral reformers; both, be it said with reverence, were fellow-workers in the cause of humanity, though the Christian could look beyond the proximate aims of morality and prepare men for a final development on which the Stoic could not venture to gaze. Hence there is so much in their principles, so much in their language, that agrees together; so that the one has been thought, though it must be owned without adequate reason, to have borrowed directly from the other. But the philosopher, be it remembered, discoursed to a large and not inattentive audience; and surely the soil was not all unfruitful on which his seed was scattered, when he proclaimed that God dwells not in temples of wood or stone, nor wants the ministrations of human hands; that he has no delight in the blood of victims; that he is near to all his creatures; that his spirit resides in men's hearts; that all men are truly his offspring; that we are members of one body, which is God and nature; that men must believe in God before they can approach him; that the true service of God is to be like unto him; that all men have sinned, and none performed all the works of the law; that God is no respecter of persons, ranks, or conditions; but all, barbarian and Roman, bond and free, are alike under his all-seeing Providence.*

* "History of the Roman Empire," vol. v, pp. 457, 458.

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The early faith of the Church attached much importance to the acquaintance and friendship of these two men—the one representing all that was vital, aggressive, and hopeful in primitive Christianity, and the other all that was truthful and worthy in the latest Stoic philosophy. We can, therefore, look upon the production and wide circulation of a spurious correspondence of fourteen letters between them as only natural results of a fond desire to see in the pagan mind a willing acquiescence in revealed truth, on the first propagation of it, in the metropolis of the world. "From the age of St. Jerome," says Lightfoot, "Seneca was commonly regarded as standing on the very threshold of the Christian Church, even if he had not actually passed within its portals. In one Ecclesiastical Council at least, held at Tours in the year 567, his authority is quoted with a deference generally accorded only to fathers of the Church. And even to the present day, in the marionette plays of his native Spain, St. Seneca takes his place by the side of St. Peter and St. Paul in the representations of our Lord's passion."* Jerome took note of this correspondence in the following language: "Quem non ponerem in catalogo sanctorum, nisi me illæ epistolæ provocarent quæ leguntur a plurimis, Pauli ad Senecam et Senecæ ad Paulum."† This, of course, decides nothing as to the authenticity of the letters; but the credulous spirit of the whole mediæval Church was only too ready to adopt this revered father's language as a strong indorsement of the correspondence. The internal character of the letters is thoroughly decisive of their spuriousness. The barrenness of thought, the impurity of the style, the errors in matters of fact, and especially the frequent violations of historical and chronological accuracy, prove them unworthy the place they have occupied in ecclesiastical literature. Of all writers, the French have manifested most confidence in the authenticity of the correspondence; and in cases where they have not gone to this extreme, they have discussed the question with an animation and wealth of research that have attracted the admiration of the learned world. The most complete treatise on the subject is that of Fleury. This author, while claiming that Paul and Seneca were on intimate relations, concedes the improbability of the correspondence, on the

* "Epistle to the Philippians," pp. 296, 297, 3d ed. † "Vir. Illust." 12.

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ground of its being "a composition of very inferior grade, a sort of school-boy exercise, abundant in rhetorical excesses, couched in very poor language, now containing borrowed expressions from Tacitus, and now others from the existing version of Paul's epistles."* Fleury enriches his treatise by a description of the whole literature of this special subject,† and by his excellent bibliography of the manuscripts and editions containing the alleged correspondence between St. Paul and Seneca.‡ The most recent French writer on this subject is Charles Aubertin, who enters into the full criticism of the contemporary philosophy, and concludes not only that the correspondence is without any claim to authenticity, but that Seneca's writings no more prove him to have been a Christian than do the works of Plato, Cicero, and other Greek and Roman philosophical and moral writers prove them to have been followers of Christ. Lightfoot points out the untenability of Seneca's parallelism with St. Paul on the ground of the former's frequent priority to Paul's writings, the existence of the same parallels in previous authors, the many fallacious coincidences, and the depth of the opposition of his tenets to those of Paul.§ However, Lightfoot thus concludes that there are many coincidences which cannot be explained on these grounds:—

> But after all allowance made for the considerations just urged, some facts remain which still require explanation. It appears that the Christian parallels in Seneca's writings become more frequent as he advances in life. It is not less true that they are much more striking and more numerous than in the other great Stoics of the Roman period, Epictetus and M. Aurelius; for though in character these later writers approached much nearer to the Christian ideal than the minister of Nero, though their fundamental doctrines are as little inconsistent with Christian theology and ethics as his, yet the closer resemblances of sentiment and expression, which alone would suggest any direct obligations to Christianity, are, I believe, decidedly more frequent in Seneca. Lastly: after all deductions made, a class of coincidences still remains, of which the expression "spend and be spent" may be taken as a type, and which can hardly be considered accidental. If any historical connection (direct or indirect) can be traced with a fair degree of probability, we may reasonably look to this for the solution of such coincidences. I shall content myself here

* "Saint Paul et Sénèque." vol. ii, pp. 281, 282.

† Vol. i, pp. 2–9. ‡ Vol. ii, pp. 283–297.

§ "Epistle to the Philippians," 3d edition, pp. 289–296. London. 1873.

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with stating the different ways in which such a connection was possible or probable, without venturing to affirm what was actually the case, for the data are not sufficient to justify any definite theory.*

The weakest part of Lightfoot's criticism is his endeavor to show that these coincidences are due to the Semitic origin of Stoicism, and that Tarsus, especially, being a seat of Stoic philosophy, Paul became acquainted with that system, and used the religious vocabulary of the Stoics in his epistles, or "found in the ethical language of the Stoics expressions more fit than he could find elsewhere to describe in certain aspects the duties and privileges, the struggles and the triumphs, of the Christian life. Lightfoot really attributes the remarkable coincidences between Paul and Seneca to Paul's using Stoical terminology, a thing which cannot be admitted for a moment. Had there been no Stoa there could have been, just as easily, the great structure of the Pauline theology. Paul used the Greek language, with all its charm of imagery and subtle force, as the vehicle of his thoughts; but he placed no dependence, in the constructive part of his theology, on the poor resources of any system of pagan philosophy. It was Seneca, and not any other writer of his entire school, or of all paganism, who used, in the same sense as Paul, such words as flesh, angel, Holy Spirit, and offspring of God.

It is not at all improbable that Paul and Seneca were acquainted with each other. Paul long had in mind a visit to Rome, and regarded that metropolis as a point of departure for missionary labors in Spain, if not in the north, (Romans i, 13; xv, 23, 24,) and we cannot suppose him to have been without interest in the prevailing religious thought of the time and place. This would account for an independent interest in the best contemporary moral writer, Seneca, and would make their meeting no undesirable event on the apostle's part. Seneca, too, would be equally interested in the man who stood at the head of the new faith, and of whose writings he might well have had some knowledge. Once, when an important crisis had arrived in Paul's ministry, in Corinth, and when the issue of an important Jewish persecution of him had to be decided by the governor of Achaia, to whom appeal had been made, the

* "Epistle to the Philippians," pp. 300, 301.

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result was favorable to Paul; for, after the Jews had made their charge, and Paul was about to open his mouth in his own defense, this governor or deputy, Gallio by name, regarded it unnecessary, and dismissed the charge in these words: "If it were a matter of wrong, or wicked lewdness, O ye Jews, reason would that I should bear with you; but if it be a question of words and names, and of your law, look ye to it: for I will be no judge of such matters." The result was, he drove them from the judgment-seat. Now who should this Gallio be but Seneca's own brother, M. Annæus Novatus, who took the name Junius Annæus Gallio on passing by adoption into another family. Farrar, not without good ground, says: "We can easily imagine that Gallio was Seneca's favorite brother, and we are not surprised to find that the philosopher dedicated to him his three books on 'Anger,' and his charming little treatise 'On a Happy Life!'"* Seldom has a brother paid to another such a tribute as Seneca thus pays to his brother Gallio: "I used to say to you that my brother Gallio (whom every one loves a little, even people who cannot love him much) was wholly ignorant of other vices, but even detested this. You might try him in any direction. You began to praise his intellect—an intellect of the highest and worthiest kind . . . and he walked away! You began to praise his moderation; he instantly cut short your first words. You began to express admiration for his blandness and natural suavity of manner . . . yet even here he resisted your compliments; and if you were led to exclaim that you had found a man who could not be overcome by those insidious attacks which every one else admits, and hoped that he would at least tolerate this compliment because of its truth, even on this ground he would resist your flattery; not as though you had been awkward, or as though he suspected that you were jesting with him, or had some secret end in view, but simply because he had a horror of every form of adulation."† Must we not suppose that the relations between two such brothers were very intimate?‡ And is there not excellent ground for the conjecture of Schœll, in his *Histoire de la Littérature*

* "Seekers after God," pp. 20, 21. † "Quæstiones Naturales," lib. iv.

‡ On the relations of Paul and Gallio, and the character of the latter, comp. Lewin, "Life and Epistles of St. Paul." Second edition. Vol. i, pp. 291, 292.

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Romaine: "In all probability the pro-prætor, in his correspondence with his brother, had mentioned this Jewish teacher, who had preached the Gospel for eighteen months in the capital of his province!" It must also be borne in mind that the most striking parallels between Seneca and St. Paul occur in the later works of Seneca, such as his *De Vita Beata* and *De Beneficiis*, both of which were composed after A. D. 61—the year when Paul arrived in Rome—and, above all, in his epistles, written near the close of his life.* When Paul arrived in Rome he was placed in charge of the prefect of the Prætorian Guards, who allowed him to dwell in a private house with a soldier, who kept him in sight, and gave him liberty to see his friends. Now this prefect was none other than Burrhus, whom we have already mentioned as an intimate friend of Seneca, and associate of the latter at Nero's court. "Is it not natural," M. Schœll well asks, "to suppose that their conversation would have turned upon this bold and eloquent Jewish teacher, who, on account of new religious opinions, had been persecuted in Palestine, and had appealed to the tribunal of the emperor? Would not Seneca have been curious to see and hear this extraordinary man?" We do not regard it necessary to suppose that any special intimacy existed between the Christian Paul and the Stoic Seneca, in order to account for parallelism in their writings. The tradition, deep-rooted, and often repeated through many centuries, is at least very significant. Or, as De Maistre says: "The tradition concerning the Christianity of Seneca, and on his relations with St. Paul, without being finally decisive, is nevertheless far more than nothing, if one connect with it certain other presumptions."† Seneca's mental altitude and achievements prove him to have been ready for at least a guarded interchange of opinions with Paul, and it may well have happened that the influence of the philosopher at Nero's Court had weight in securing such delay of the Apostle's trial as resulted later in the latter's liberation, and in his making one more missionary tour.

* Fr. Ch. Gelpe, Tractatiuncula de familiaritate quæ Paulo apostolo cum Seneca philosopho intercessisse traditur, verisimillima. Lips., 1813. 4to. Quoted in "New Brunswick Review," Feb., 1855.

† "Soirées de Saint Petersbourg, IX^e Entretien."

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Art. II.—THE PASSAGE OF THE RED SEA.*

The departure of the Israelites out of Egypt was their *independence day*, and the date of the nation's birth. As such it is always referred to, in Scripture, in terms of lofty jubilee and devout acknowledgment of the power of Jehovah, which was so strikingly displayed at almost every step. Two hundred and sixteen years before this event their patriarch, Jacob, had left the land of his childhood and old age, and emigrated with all his family to Egypt, then the most highly cultivated land on earth. Settled in the most fertile part of the country, they had grown to a population of some two millions of souls. Divine Providence had specially fostered them. But now, for about eighty years, the Egyptian government, under a new and jealous dynasty, had adopted a severe policy toward them, and they were gradually reduced to a condition of servitude. Nevertheless, Jehovah had not forsaken them. Moses had been in process of training all these later years as an instrument for their deliverance, and the time had at length arrived for their emancipation. We need not here review the mighty acts of divine interference by which the Egyptian court were finally compelled to grant the release of the Hebrews. We will come at once to the scenes of their exit from the country. The region where it occurred is not only memorable from the inspired narrative of that event, but is likewise remarkable for its natural features, and interesting on account of the modern associations of the vicinity.

Goshen, the territory occupied by the Israelites in Egypt, was an extension eastward of the "Delta," or triangular alluvial plain around the mouths of the Nile. It seems to have corresponded substantially to the present valley of *Tumeilat*, which is a fertile, tongue-shaped tract about eighteen miles

* It is proper to state that the writer of the present article had prepared a paper for the "Quarterly" on this subject before he was aware that Dr. Vail had written on the same theme. On learning the latter fact he withdrew his paper, presuming that it would be superseded by Dr. Vail's. The editor, however, stipulated that he should return it for publication if that should prove not to be the case. Finding the editor, on his return from Florida, to be still of the same mind, he has again submitted it, with such modifications as a longer time for consideration has suggested.

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long, and averaging about two and a half miles broad, extending along the present railway, which branches off to Ismailia from the direct line between Alexandria and Cairo. Westward Goshen probably included likewise a considerable tract of the adjoining Delta. The ruins scattered along the continuation of the valley, still farther east, are thought to indicate a populous region there likewise, and hence the name of Goshen is usually extended considerably farther in that direction; but the neglect of irrigation has allowed the sands of the desert on either side to encroach upon this narrow tract, so that it is now almost uninhabitable. The portion named above, however, is still so rich that it was sold in 1863 for $2,000,000, and is now worth much more.

The government works, upon which the Israelites were compelled to serve, were public edifices in the two cities, Pithom, and Raamses or Rameses, doubtless situated in or near the land of Goshen. The first of these places is generally identified with the present *Tel el Kebir*, a village in the center of the valley of Tumcilat, with remains of antiquity in its vicinity. The other is probably represented by *Tel Ramsis*, a quadrangular mound on an arm of the Nile opposite the modern village of Belbeis, located on the Damietta branch of the railway, about seventeen miles south-west of the former place. The canal, which conveys the sweet water of the Nile from Cairo to Suez, passes through both these villages, parallel with the railway, by way of Ismailia, pursuing very nearly the same line as the ancient one constructed for the same purpose, but choked up and obliterated for many centuries. By this route small craft during the Roman period and the Middle Ages used to furnish a communication with the market at Memphis for the citizens of Klysma, which was situated in the immediate vicinity of Suez, as traces of the name still attest. The Suez Canal, which was opened in 1869 for navigation between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, has made this neighborhood public to thousands of persons traveling across the Isthmus to India and China, as large steamers sail directly through it from European ports to these distant lands. Those who wish to see more of Egypt can disembark at Alexandria, take the cars for Cairo, and thence back by way of Ismailia, intercepting their vessel again at Suez. Thus most of the spots rendered memorable

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by the exodus of the Israelites have been rapidly séen, at least from a distance, by multitudes of passengers on their way to and from the more distant east. The abrupt contact of modern improvements with these ancient scenes is calculated, perhaps, to dissipate some of the romantic haze which the imagination of Bible readers usually throws around them, but deepens rather than lessens their interest by the familiarity of approach.

After these preliminaries, we are prepared to follow the Hebrews in their exit from the land of their bondage. On the eve of the passover, corresponding to our Easter, they had rendezvoused by divine appointment at Rameses. Memphis, the capital, was forty miles distant, and hence Moses' final interview with Pharaoh, when the Israelitish leader uttered the ominous words, "Thou hast spoken well, I will see thy face again no more," must have taken place at some nearer point. The sacred meal was eaten in haste, the destroying angel at midnight smote all the first-born, and by the morning light the Israelitish host were on their march. As it is expressly stated that "God led them not by the way of the land of the Philistines, . . . but by the way of the wilderness of the Red Sea," we are sure that they took the direct south-easterly route toward the head of the Gulf of Suez, doubtless corresponding substantially with the modern pilgrim road. This way would lead them out of the fertile valley of Goshen, across a rolling, gravelly plain between low hills of shifting sand the whole distance. There was no obstruction to their journey, and they would make rapid progress. They had but little household stuff, for Orientals, especially those of nomadic habits, such as the Israelites inherited from their tent-dwelling forefathers, are not apt to encumber themselves much with furniture. Rain water would be abundant in the pits and rocks along their path at that time of the year, and they carried with them provision enough to last several days. Their first day was a long one, and they, no doubt, were anxious to fall as soon as possible into the main Haj road. Their first camp is called Succoth, or "booths," (Exod. xii, 37; xiii, 20; Num. xxxiii, 56,) probably a rough khan, like those established in all ages along this thoroughfare. The present Derb-el-Bân, a northern branch of the great pilgrim route, leads direct from

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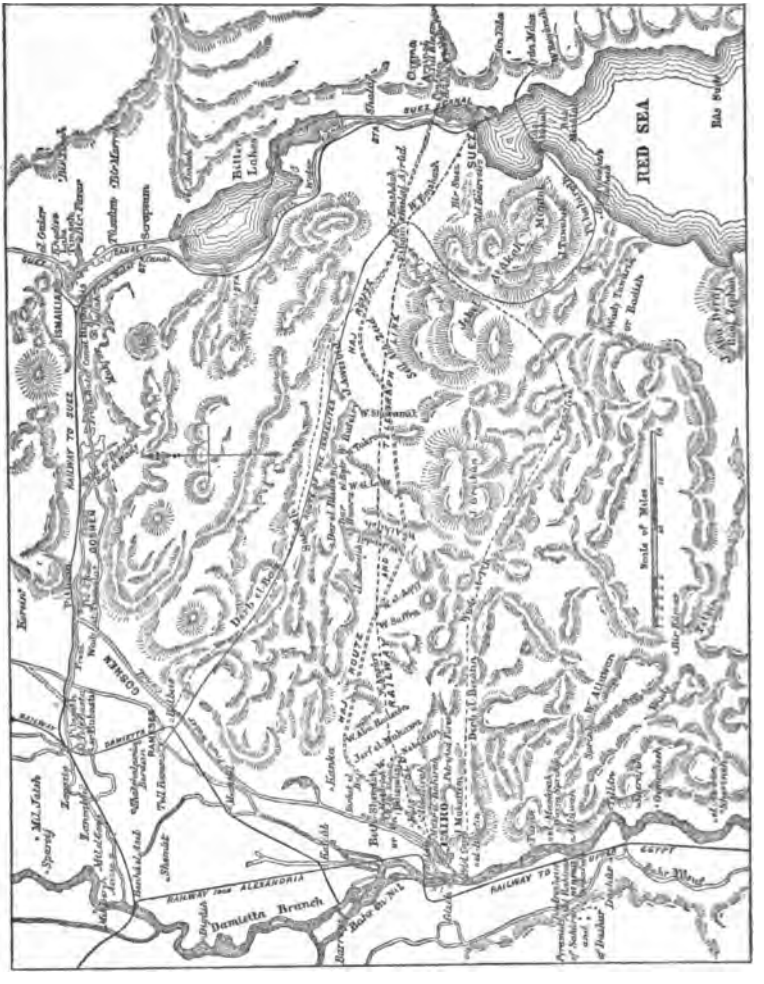

Belbeis, south-west down the valley by way of Rubeihy and Aweibet, and falls into the main Haj road at the Castle of Ajrûd, sixty miles from Belbeis. Ajrûd has been thought by many to correspond to the next station of the Israelites, "Etham, in the edge of the wilderness." (Exod. xiii, 20; Num. xxxiii, 6.) It is a long-established Egyptian outpost on the frontier of the desert. The whole air of the sacred narrative gives us the impression that this was a great landmark for travelers, and that it formed the first or immediate point of des-

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tination for the Hebrews on their journey. If this be Etham, it will be necessary to allow thirty miles for each day's journey, which, under the pressing circumstances, is not extravagant, although an ordinary day's march in caravan is only about twenty miles.

At Etham the Israelites received this divine command: "Turn and encamp before Pi-hahiroth, between Migdôl and the sea, over against Baal-zephon: before it shall ye encamp by the sea." (Exod. xiv, 2.) This direction must be carefully examined, as it is the only precise description we have of the actual crossing-place of the Red Sea by the Israelites. It is substantially repeated in verse nine, where the Egyptians are said to have overtaken the Hebrews "encamping by the sea, beside Pi-hahiroth, before Baal-zephon." Of the names of these localities no trace at present exists; their identification, therefore, must depend upon a comparison of the circumstances of the narrative, with some slight corroboration from the etymology and historical application of the names. Three or four places have been selected by different writers as rivals for the honor of this remarkable crossing, and their claims have been somewhat hotly contested at times. We propose calmly and carefully to discuss their respective merits, and to be guided by the explicit terms of the biblical account, irrespective of any theological considerations as to whether the miracle involved may thus be enhanced or lessened. We take them up in their geographical order.

1. *At the "Bitter Lakes."* These are a series of shallow ponds of brackish water, some of them of very considerable extent, stretching at intervals from the head of the Gulf of Suez to the Mediterranean. They are supposed to have formerly constituted a continuous water connection between those two great seas, which has since been broken by a change of level, leaving these isolated basins partly salt from the remnant of sea-water. A few geological evidences in support of this theory have been adduced, the most palpable of which is the fact that sea-shells, of the same character with those now thrown up by the Red Sea, may be seen along the shore of these lakes. See Dr. Harmon's late book of travels in that region.) This would seem to indicate a continuity of these bodies of water in earlier times. (See further in Laborde,

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Commentarie Géographique sur l'Exode. Paris, 1841. Fol., p. 79, *a.*)*

A rise of the intermediate land has been inferred from the stoppage of the ancient canal along this line; but this can readily be accounted for by the drifting in of sand, and the neglect of the banks. On the other hand, that no material change of level has taken place in this region in modern times, seems to be proved by the fact that the fresh-water canal now actually conveys water from the Nile to Suez, just as it formerly did, without any considerable cutting for that purpose. The brackishness of these lakes merely argues a connection at some period with the Mediterranean, and not necessarily with the Red Sea likewise, and the shells and other marine indications are probably traces of this connection only. In fact the immense lagoon of Lake Menzaleh still reaches almost to Lake Timsah, the principal or deepest of the Bitter Lakes, and there is nothing but flats and marshes in this direction; whereas southerly the Suez Canal required extensive excavations for its continuance to the Gulf of Suez, cutting in some cases, not through sand and silted *débris* merely, but through firm strata of clay and crystalline alabaster.

This theory rests upon so problematical a foundation that it

* The great bed of the Bitter Lakes extends in a northerly and southerly direction, and is separated from the Red Sea by a sand bank 4,000 to 5,000 meters long, which is seldom more than one meter higher than the latter. It is forty to fifty lower than the water level of the sea basin, and from plain indications was once covered with the sea. (Du Bois Aimée, in the *Descr. de l'Eg. Mod.*, i, p. 188 sq., 1st ed.) Before it had a connection with the Nile by means of the well-known canal, and thus received fresh water, its waters were bitter, (Strabo, xvii, p. 804.) There can hardly be a doubt that it was originally embraced in the Heroöpolitan Gulf. (Stickel, in the *Stud. u. Kritiken*, 1850, p. 328 sq.) But this is no proof that the ancient Heroöpolis was situated in the inner corner of the Arabian Sea, (Strabo, xvi, p. 767; xvii, p. 836; Pliny, vi, 33,) and that vessels sailed thence, (Strabo, xvi, p. 768;) but more probably this city was located far north of Klysma, namely, Kolsum, near the present Suez, (Ptolemy, iv, 5, 14 and 54; *Itinerar Anton.*, p. 107, ed. Wess.,) namely, somewhere about the modern Abu-Keished, or Mukfar. (Knobel, *Commentar zu Exodus*, p. 140 sq.) Its ruins are still visible there. (Champollion, *Egypte*, ii. 88.) Its importance gave name to the entire adjacent nome, and to the contiguous gulf. Both were likewise more properly designated from Arsinoë, which was situated near the present head of the bay. (See *Smith's Dictionary of Classical Geography*, s. v., Arsinoë.) This latter seems to have been the official designation of the place which was popularly termed Clysma, (namely, *the beach*, τὸ κλύσμα, Reland, *Palaestina*, pp. 472, 556.)

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has not been much resorted to in this discussion except for the purpose of strengthening the location of the Israelites' crossing at Suez, by way of showing that the water at the latter point was deeper anciently than now, and so preserving the greater appearance of a miracle in the case. It is thus incidentally alluded to by Calmet and Robinson, and by several later writers. But for this purpose, if it proves any thing, it proves too much; for if at the time of the Exodus the Red Sea extended thus far north, there is no occasion to seek for any other place of crossing, so far as a sufficiency of water is concerned.

Aside from these geological and theological speculations, there is in favor of this crossing-place only the shorter distance from Belbeis, rendering it an easy three days' journey of only fifteen miles per day to any point that might be selected in the vicinity of Ismailia. The attempt of Fürst ("Hebrew Lexicon," p. 766) to identify Baal-zephon with Heroöpolis, is mere conjecture; and his remark that Migdôl is the Magdolum of Herodotus (ii, 159) is founded on a mistake, (repeated in Smith's "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography," ii, 246;) for Megiddo, in Palestine, is doubtless there intended. (See Rawlinson's "Herod.," ii, p. 207.) The Magdolum of Egypt was twelve miles west of Pelusium, ("Antonine Itinerary," p. 14,) entirely too remote for the precise indication of locality in the Mosaic narrative.

Against the location of the miracle at the Bitter Lakes are the following facts in the biblical text: 1.) In order to go round the head of the sea (if thus far north) the Israelites would be obliged to start, not by "the way of the wilderness," as the text states, but precisely by that direct "way of the land of the Philistines" which the text expressly says they did not take. (Exod. xiii, 17, 18.) 2.) There would be no change of their course requisite or possible in order to reach this point, as the word "turn" (Exod. xiv, 2,) demands; they were already going on the direct and only route they could well have taken. Indeed, if the region of Lake Timsah were then so low as to be filled from the Red Sea, it is difficult to see how the water from the Mediterranean on the other side could have been kept out, and then there would be a continuous lake from sea to sea, and a miracle would have been necessary at all hazards in order to the passage anywhere. The Hebrews had no occasion to "turn" at

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all, for that matter. 3.) In that case Pharaoh's observation, (Exod. xiv, 3, 4,) "The children of Israel are entangled in the land, the wilderness hath shut them in," would have been very inapt; at least its force is not at all clear; for, go which way they might, the material obstacle would be the same, namely, the water merely. 4.) There is no local or historical tradition confirmatory of this spot. In short, circumstances on this theory are all so uncertain and ill-defined, that we may safely dismiss it as altogether hypothetical. If we are to determine any thing definite concerning the place of the transaction, it must be based upon the known relations of the localities as they now exist.

2. *At Suez.* This location of the event in question has a far greater array of names in its support, among the most notable of whom is Dr. E. Robinson, (in the "Biblical Repository," 1832, p. 753 sq., repeated in his "Biblical Researches," i, 80,) who followed in the wake of Niebuhr, ("Travels in Arabia," translated by Heron, Edinburgh, 1792, i, pp. 198, 451,) and whose views have been substantially reproduced—with one or two additional items—by the latest writer, Dr. Vail, in this "Review." Other important authorities on the same side are Laborde (*Commentarie Géographique*, p. 77; who cites, as having adopted it with some modification, the earlier writers, Le Clerc, G. Bajer, DuBois Aimée, Salvator, etc.) and the author of Murray's "Hand-book for Egypt," (Ed., 1873, p. 279;) Keil, "Commentary on the Pentateuch," (Clarke's translation, Edinburgh, 1866, 3 vols., 8vo.,) ii, 46 sq. The obvious purport of the arguments adduced in favor of this as the place of the Israelites' passage is, notwithstanding the disclaimer of most of its advocates, to reduce the miracle to its minimum terms, and to find a spot where it is practicable by merely natural forces. This has created a prejudice against it in the minds of most readers, and induced a controversy not always temporate or logical. Let us look at the arguments on both sides from scriptural sources purely.

In favor of this view we may say that, 1.) the distance from Belbeis (assuming that to correspond substantially with the site of Rameses) sufficiently agrees with the requirements of a three days' march, being about fifty miles in a straight line. 2.) The general direction is about the required one for the Israelites at

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the outset. 3.) The adjoining localities are thought to correspond with those of the Scripture account. Thus, it is generally agreed that Migdôl (the tower) answers to some fortress on Jebel Atâkah. 4.) There are shoals reaching nearly or quite across the channel at this point, so that an east wind might readily lay it bare; and it is, moreover, so narrow that the Israelites could easily cross in the few hours presumed to have been occupied in the passage.

Other features of this locality do not well tally with the requirements of the case, and some appear absolutely to contradict the biblical statements. Even the above coincidences, especially the last, when more closely examined, do not prove satisfactory. 1.) The direction to "turn" from the regular course hitherto pursued by the fugitives does not admit of an adequate explanation on this view. The word is an emphatic one, not the ordinary סוּר, or נָטָה, *to turn aside or away;* but שׁוּב, to *return, turn back*, namely, actually retrograde.* At least a marked digression or detour is required to meet the significance of this term. But Suez is directly on the beaten track of all ages, and precisely in the line which the Israelites had already been pursuing. It is true, the immemorial Haj route does not actually come down to the village of Suez itself, as, of course, it does not cross the head of the gulf there; it passes a mile or two above, so as to avoid the water. But this small divergence would be quite inconsiderable in the direction of a whole day's march; for the order to "turn," be it observed, was given at Etham before setting out the third day, not near its close, or in the vicinity of the sea, where the difference in direction might have been more perceptible. This last consideration is, therefore, altogether too insignificant to justify the Hebrew term. 2.) None of the places given in the biblical account as fixing the spot, determine it at Suez. Even Jebel Atâkah, if Migdôl, is too far away to be naturally selected for such a minute specification of the immediate scene. Any point from Ras Atâkah to the south end of the Bitter Lakes would be "east" of (or "before") that mountain in this general sense. As for

* Ewald, who treats the record in his usually arbitrary and irreverent manner, is yet too good a scholar not to feel the force of this expression, which he construes by saying that Moses "led the host half-way back." ("History of Israel," translated by Martineau. London, 1869, 5 vols. 8vo., ii, 69.)

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Pi-hahiroth, (whether Hebrew for *Mouth of the Ravines*, or, as is more likely, Coptic for *The Sedge-Plat*,) it finds no special adaptation to any place in that neighborhood. The attempt to identify it with Ajrûd fails utterly, for the Hebrew and Arabic names have but one radical letter in common. Equally unsatisfactory is every effort to discover Baal-zephon in any prominent landmark north of Jebel Atâkah.* There is in that direction nothing but a flat, monotonous tract of sand, with no striking name or object to fix upon. 3.) At Suez the Israelites, so far from being hemmed in by barriers on either side, and an impassable sea in front, as the biblical situation evidently was, had nothing to do, if they wished to escape, but to act just as every caravan at Suez now does, simply keep on across the open plain around the head of the bay—an easy, open, and direct passage of some three or four miles at farthest. At Suez it was impossible for them to be either "entangled in the land," or "shut in by the wilderness." The way was clear, so far as natural obstacles or intricacy was concerned, and no troop of six hundred cavalry even could effectually cut them off from it; certainly no enemy in the rear could hinder them. 4.) "A strong east wind blowing all night" across the head of the gulf (Exod. xiv, 21) would leave by morning no "wall of waters" either "on the right hand or on the left" of passengers at Suez. As will be seen by inspecting the soundings on the accompanying sketch from the British Sailing Chart, the channel opposite Suez is (except, of course, the artificial bed of the Suez Canal) nowhere over four feet deep at low-water, and not more than *one twelfth of a mile wide*. It could be waded across without any miracle or extra wind at all. In fact this has actually been done; one traveler hired a man to walk through the water at ebb-tide at Suez, which he effected, holding his hands over his head. (Madden, "Travels," ii, 143, 150.) So all the way down to the bar at the mouth of the creek which puts up into Suez the water is at the most only five or six feet deep, (in a single spot,) and generally three or four at ordinary low tide, with a tolerably uniform width of about one tenth of a mile. But a powerful and prolonged east wind, acting upon the mass of water in the outer or broad part of the bay itself, would so greatly

*Some writers refer Migdôl to *Muktâla*, but this seems to be an error for the pass *Mantûlah*, and, therefore, fails of verbal correspondence.

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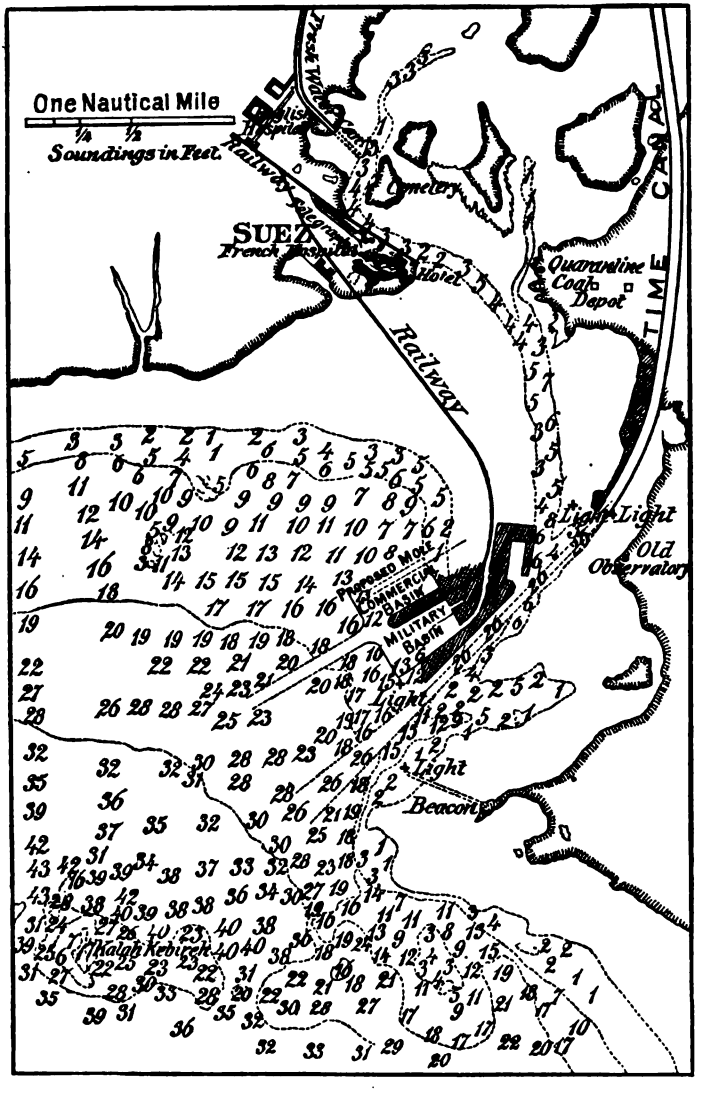

lower the tide on the eastern shore, where the channel of Suez lies, as to drain the latter almost, if not absolutely, dry throughout its whole extent.* It is true, there would be water enough

* "Whether the wind blew directly from the east, or somewhat from the south-east or north-east, cannot be determined. In any case the division of the water in both directions could only have been effected by an east wind; and although even

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left in the bay itself to prevent an enemy from surrounding the passing host on that side, but on the north there would be no such protection. Thus, even on the supposition that the term "wall" is used in verse 22 in the sense of *defense*, the explanation clearly fails to meet the language of the text: "The waters were a wall unto them on the right hand and on the left." We desire to insist on this fact, and to us it appears decisive of the whole issue. But the phraseology seems to us to be stronger even than this interpretation. The term "wall" (חוֹמָה) is rarely if ever used in this metaphorical sense of *protection*, but invariably (1 Sam. xxv, 16, is, we believe, the only doubtful instance) signifies some *physical barrier*, whether of stone or other material, placed more or less vertically for the purpose of protection. Its meaning is by no means fulfilled in the supposition of a vague water-line, shelving away at a distance on one side. Surely nothing but a desire to minify the preternatural element in the discussion could lead to the adoption of so inadequate an interpretation; for the language, it must be remembered, occurs not in a poetical or figurative connection, but in a plain, prosaic history.* The poetical version

now the ebb is strengthened by a north-east wind, as Tischendorf says, and the flood is driven so much to the south by a north-west wind that the gulf can be ridden through, and even forded on foot, to the north of Suez, (Schubert, 'Reise,' ii, 269,) and as a rule the rise and fall of the water in the Arabian Gulf is nowhere so dependent upon the wind as it is at Suez, (Wellsted, 'Arabia,' ii, 41, 42,) yet the drying up of the sea as here described cannot be accounted for by an ebb strengthened by the wind, because the water is all driven southward in the ebb, and not sent in opposite directions. Such a division could only be produced by a wind sent by God, and working with omnipotent force, in connection with which the natural phenomenon of the ebb may, no doubt, have exerted a subordinate influence. The passage was effected in the night, through the whole of which the wind was blowing, and in the morning watch (between three and six o'clock, verse 24) it was finished." (Keil, "Commentary," *ad loc.*)

* In addition to these difficulties in the way of the crossing at Suez, we call Dr. Vail's attention to the following inaccuracies or inadvertences in the paper referred to: (1.) The distance from Etham to Suez on his map is forty miles, which is double his own maximum estimate of a single day's journey. (2.) His route of the Israelites on setting out from Rameses is north-east, the precise direction of Philistia, which the sacred narrative expressly states was avoided. (3.) His position of Pi-hahiroth east of the head of the gulf, and of Baal-zephon at Suez, is in both cases inconsistent with the statement that the Israelites encamped *east* (לִפְנֵי) of these localities. (4.) The rendering of הלך in verse 21 by "flow back" is not justified by the signification of that verb, which is identical with our "walk," and contains neither the idea of *flowing* nor that of *backward*. (5.) His expedi-

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of the transaction (Exod. xv, 8) uses much stronger language: "The floods *stood upright as a heap*, and the depths were congealed in the *heart* of the sea." The phraseology here, although figurative, no doubt correctly represents the *facts* as seen by an eye-witness. Psalm lxxviii, 13: "He made the waters to *stand as a heap*," shows the same traditional interpretation, and Heb. x, 2, confirms it, "Baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea," that is, wet with the spray.

For these reasons, even if we could find no better crossing-place for the Israelites, we should be disposed to reject the one at Suez as not fairly meeting the scriptural requirements in the case.

3. *At Ras Atâkah.* This place has been preferred as that of the crossing by the great majority of writers and travelers, including Pococke, Joly, Monconys, Shaw, Ovington, Sicard, Bruce, Arundale, Raumer, Kitto, Olin, Wilson, Durbin, Bartlett, Porter, Bonar, Murphy, etc. It seems to us to meet the demands of the biblical account more perfectly than any other. This cape is situated about six miles, in a direct line, south of Suez, opposite the southern end of Jebel Atâkah. It is a tongue running out more than a mile into the water beyond the average shore line, and continued nearly a mile farther by a shoal, over which the water at ordinary low tide is not more than fourteen feet deep. Beyond this again stretches, for nearly a mile and a half in the same direction, a lower shoal, covered nowhere by more than twenty-nine feet of water at low tide. Opposite this point there reaches out, for about two miles from the eastern shore, a similar shoal, only thirty feet under water at its deepest place. The entire width of the sea at this point is about five miles, while the space where it is not over fifteen feet deep is but three and a half miles, and the channel, itself not over fifty feet deep, is less than three quarters of a mile wide. The sea immediately above and below this spot, in the channel, is about seventy feet deep. Here,

ent of making the Israelites cross the channel at Suez *obliquely* is a mere maneuver in order to gain a sufficient width for deploying the line of the host. If the channel was drained, as it would be in many places at least, if these flats were bare, they might cross almost anywhere, and would certainly take "the shortest cut" square across.

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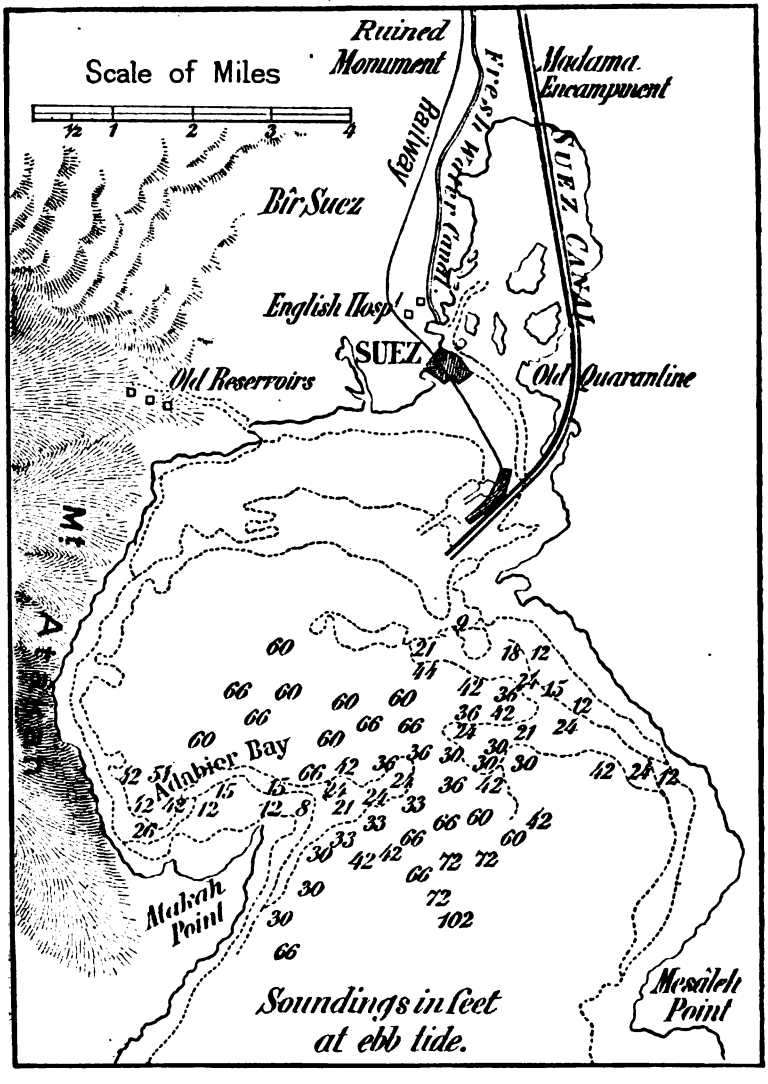

then, is a place where a strong and continued east wind, of the preternatural character implied in the sacred narrative, might open a passage suitable for the occasion, and leave a mass of water fitly comparable to a "wall on either hand." Moreover, the Israelites would in that case emerge on the shore near

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Ayun Mûsa, (Wells of Moses,) the very name of which, in addition to other local traditions, represents the scene of the event.

A close examination of the text itself confirms this view of the transaction. It says, (verse 21,) "Jehovah caused the sea to go (וַיּוֹלֶךְ, *made it walk*) by a strong east wind all night . . . and the waters were divided, (וַיִּבָּקְעוּ, *were split.*") Similar is the language in verse 16, "Divide it (the sea) and the children of Israel shall go . . . through the *midst* of the sea." The statement that the wind blew "all night," gives no just countenance to the inference that the Israelites did not begin the passage till near morning, and therefore could have gone but a very short distance in all, or, at least, when the wind lulled and the miracle ceased. For aught that appears, they may have already walked many miles, or even have continued their march some time the next forenoon, if necessary in order to cross. True, the text says, (verse 27:) "The sea returned at the turning of the morning (לִפְנוֹת בֹּקֶר, *at daybreak*, compare Judges xix, 25, 26) to its usual bed, (לְאֵיתָנוֹ, *to its perennial flow*,") but it does not necessarily follow from this that the Israelitish host had at that time all reached the opposite shore. Indeed, rather the contrary is intimated by the statement, *given subsequently* to this, that "the children of Israel walked upon dry land in the midst of the sea," (verse 29,) as if they continued their march some time after the overthrow of the Egyptians in their rear. Nor is it certain from verse 20 that both camps remained quiet all the night, although such might be the inference at first sight. The true state of the case appears to have been about thus: The Egyptians overtook the Israelites at night-fall, just as they were about to encamp (חֹנִים, in the act of *pitching their tents*, or preparing to do so) near the shore of the sea, (verse 9,) and marched down directly upon them, (verse 10.) In their dismay at the prospect of instant destruction, Moses ordered them to press forward immediately, (verse 15, וְיִסָּעוּ, *and they shall pull up stakes*, that is, break up their preparations for camp.) While they were doing this the wind sprung up, which did not lull till daylight. As they were marching to the beach the guardian pillar took its position in their rear, (verse 19,) and so followed them all night as a light to their steps, (verse 20.) When they had reached the

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middle of the sea, (verse 21,) and the Egyptians were not far behind them, (verse 22,) the morning began to dawn, (verse 24,) and to prevent the enemy from overtaking the fugitives the march of the Egyptians was miraculously retarded, so that they in their panic were about to retreat, (verse 25.) This they would hardly have thought of doing had they been nearly across, or had it been but a little way to the opposite shore: indeed, every reference to their destruction shows that they were yet in the middle of the sea. So, too, was Moses apparently at this juncture, when at his extended rod the water behind the host—who had gained somewhat by the delay of the enemy—began to fall, and the Egyptians actually turned to flee, but were overtaken in the heart of the sea, (verse 27.) while the Israelites continued their march through the channel, still open in front of them, (verse 29,) till they reached the shore, which the following waves soon strewed with the corses of the foe, (verse 30.) From this recital of incidents in the exact order of the text, it appears that the march really lasted some part of the night, and we consequently require a considerable width of water for its occurrence.*

Ras Atâkah, too, seems to correspond to the geographical features of the case. The point where the Israelites struck the western coast-line of the Red Sea is (as we have seen above) is explicitly defined in three passages of the sacred itinerary, which we translate literally: "Speak to the sons of Israel, and they shall return (וְיָשֻׁבוּ) and encamp before (לִפְנֵי) Pi-ha-Chirôth,

* "If God sent the wind, which divided the water and laid the bottom dry, as soon as night set in, the crossing might have begun at nine o'clock in the evening, if not before, and lasted till four or five o'clock in the morning, (see verse 27.) By this extension of the time, we gain enough for the flocks, which Robinson has left out of his calculations. The Egyptians naturally followed close upon the Israelites, from whom they were divided only by the pillar of cloud and fire, and when the Israelites had reached the opposite shore they were in the midst of the sea. So in the morning watch Jehovah cast a look upon them in the pillar of cloud and fire, and threw their army into confusion, (verse 24.") (Keil, "Commentary," *ad loc.*) "The Israelites would form a column a quarter of a mile in rank and a mile in file. Such a body might cross a channel of six miles in six hours, and, therefore, notwithstanding the roughness of the sea bottom, might easily decamp, set out, and reach the opposite bank in eight. By the time they had reached the shore, their pursuers, with their chariots of war, would be in the middle of the channel, where the depression of the bottom and the difficulty of progress were the greatest." (Murphy, "Commentary," *ad loc.*)

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between Migdôl and the sea; before (לִפְנֵי) Bá'al-Tsephôn, opposite it (נֶגְדּוֹ) shall ye encamp upon (עַל) the sea." (Exod. xiv, 2.) "And they [the Egyptians] overtook (וַיַּשִּׂיגוּ) them [the Israelites] encamping upon the sea; upon (עַל) Pi-ha-Chirôth, which is before Bá'al-Tsephôn." (Ver. 9.) "And they [the Israelites] removed from Etham, and he [Israel] returned (וַיָּשָׁב) upon (עַל) Pi-ha-Chirôth, which is before Bá'al Tsephôn; and they encamped before Migdôl." (Num. xxxiii, 7.) The meaning of Pi hahiroth, if it be Hebrew, can only be *Mouth of the Gorges*, (root, חוּר, *to bore;*) or if Egyptian (as Gesenius and Fürst prefer) it is doubtless *Sedgy Spot*, (Coptic, *pi-achi-roth*, "the place of meadows," according to Jablonski.) In either etymology it would most properly designate a grassy shore, as at the opening of a valley with a brook into the sea. Such a spot is found in the reedy plain (sometimes called *Badeah*) at the mouth of a wide valley just south of Jebel Atâkah. Our Egyptian dragoman, who was thoroughly familiar with these localities, called it Wady *Ghubbeh* ("cane-valley;") Robinson calls it Wady *Tawârik*, others Wady *Mûsa*, and still other names are assigned to it. Baal-zephon is doubtless a Hebrew rendering of the name of a place "sacred to Typhon," the Greek form of the Egyptian malignant deity, of whose haunt in this vicinity there are traces in ancient writers. (See the Hebrew Lexicographers.) In that case it was probably a mountain, or at least an eminence, in accordance with the heathen preference for hills as sites of shrines. Migdol is the common Hebrew word for a *tower*, and was, therefore, most likely also a commanding position. It occurs, however, as the name of a town in this quarter of Egypt, (Jer. xliv, 1; xlvi, 14,) and may be nothing more than a Hebraized form of the Coptic *megtol*, "many hills." (See the authorities in Gesenius.) In Ezekiel xxix, 10; xxx, 6, it recurs in the phrase מִגְדּל סְוֵנֵה, which may most naturally be rendered *from Migdôl of Seveneh;* in the English Bible, "from the tower of Syene," after the Vulgate, *a turre Syene;* but the rendering of the Septuagint ἀπὸ Μαγδώλου ἕως [once καὶ] Συήνης, suggests that the latter name should be pointed סְוֵנָה, *to Sevên*, thus marking out the natural limits of Egypt, from Migdôl on the north to Assuan on the south, precisely as to-day; and this conclusion is generally adopted by modern scholars. Fürst in his "Hebrew Lexicon," gives a curi-

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ous interpretation of this whole geographical question: "From Migdôl a road led to Baal-zephon, the later Heroöpolis, on the Red Sea, and, therefore, the Red Sea is mentioned with it. Exod. xiv, 2; Num. xxxiii, 7." Most readers, however, will prefer to see in these texts, so carefully worded in almost exact agreement with each other, a precise indication of the very spot where the Israelites crossed; and if the above reasons be correct, we ought to find on each side of the crossing-place a conspicuous landmark, probably a mountain. This we exactly have at the valley in question, with Jebel Atâkah ("hill of liberty," so our dragoman translated it) on the north, and Jebel Abu-Daraj ("hill of the father of steps," that is, *long march*) on the south, and a fine well-watered plain between, suitable for an encampment. In this position the Israelites would be effectually hemmed in by the sea in front, the mountains on either hand, and the Egyptians in their rear. The enemy, of course, came directly down from Memphis along Wady et-Tih, ("the Valley of Wandering,") which terminates in the wady in question, thus intercepting the Israelites, who could not escape along the narrow rocky margin of the shore around the point called Ras Atâkah. Our company tried to travel that rough coast and found it impracticable enough. Small companies, as was the case with Dr. Durbin, may indeed pass slowly along it, but not so great and encumbered a multitude as the Israelites. Besides, it is about a day's march by this route from Ras Atâkah to Suez, and the Egyptians might readily have intercepted the fugitives by sending a detachment around the other side of the mountain.

The particular path by which the Israelites reached Ras Atâkah from Ajrûd has not been agreed upon by the advocates of this point of crossing. Sicard thought they came down Wady et-Tîh from Memphis; but this, as we have seen, is not at all likely. Most others suppose that they came first to Suez, and then along the shore. But if they came that way, why might they not escape by the same? As we have just seen, they could do neither. There remains, therefore, the supposition that they passed around partly behind and across Jebel Atâkah. This exactly tallies with the command to "turn" back from Etham. From Ajrûd the route would thus be not merely a deflection, but in part an actual retrogression, as the

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accompanying map shows. A path is laid down on several of the maps of this region between the highest and westernmost summits of Jebel Atâkah, which the fugitives would most naturally take. By this route the distance for the third day's march from Ajrûd to the spring on the shore at the mouth of Wady Tuwârik would be a little less than thirty miles, the average allowed above for each of the previous days' travel. Thence to the extremity of Ras Atâkah is not quite ten miles, and thence to Ayun Mûsa is scarcely seven miles more. The journey does not seem to us to be an impracticable one under the urgency of the circumstances. It might be materially shortened for each of the succeeding days, especially the last, by locating Etham on the Haj route, somewhat to the west of Ajrûd; a supposition not at all forbidden by any known fact.*

4. Captain Moresby (in Aiton's "Land of the Messiah," p. 118 sq.) is of the opinion that the Israelites crossed at Ras Ta-

* Kurtz ("History of the Old Covenant," Clarke's translation, Edinb., 1859, 4 vols. 8vo.) has an extended observation (i, p. 357 sq.) on the time that elapsed upon the route from Rameses to the Red Sea, which he argues must have been more than the three days that appear in the narrative, (by *implication* only, however, for there is no express statement to that effect.) We condense his statements into the following points: (1.) Jewish tradition assigns seven days, and this seems to have been the origin of the Passover week. (2.) The term מַסָּע, "journey," denotes only an *encampment*, while the successive days of travel are expressed by יוֹם or "day's journey." (3.) In Numbers x, 33, we find stations three days apart, with no locality named between. (The same, we may add, is the case in Numbers xxxiii, 8, 16.) (4.) It would have been impossible for the Israelites all to rendezvous at one place and start together, especially as they all kept the Passover in their own homes the preceding night, and were not allowed to leave till morning. (Exod. xii, 22.) (5.) The distance, under any calculation, was too great for a three days' continuous march. (6.) The message to Pharoah of their movements at Etham (xiv, 5) requires at least four days from that point to the Red Sea—two for him to get the information, and two more for his army to be got ready and overtake the Israelites. To these arguments we may add the fact that a whole month was consumed (Numbers xxiii, 3; Exodus xvi, 1) in making the first eight stations, (Numbers xxxiii, 5–11,) containing—so far as the narrative directly states—but ten days of marching. As the balance of the time could hardly have been all spent in camp—of which, moreover, there is no mention in the account—there arises a suspicion that the most prominent stations only are named, or those where more than one night's halt was made, or some noteworthy incident occurred. Of course the fugitives would travel faster, longer, and more continuously, till they were escaped from Egypt, and more leisurely after the event at the Red Sea had relieved them from danger. Be all this as it may, it is in any case clear that they could as easily journey from Ajrûd to the mouth of Wady Tawârik in one day, as they could from Tell Ramsîs to Ajrûd in two.

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rafîneh, south of Mount Abu-Derâj, some sixty miles below Suez, where the sea is twenty miles wide and two hundred and fifty feet deep. This accords with certain traditions of the Arabs of the Desert, who name the warm springs in th rocks opposite after Pharoah. The inducement, however, to this view seems chiefly to be a desire to exaggerate the miracle.

Among the four localities named, the choice really lies between Suez and Ras Atâkah, and of these we decidedly prefer the latter.

Besides the works cited above, and the commentaries on Exodus, the question has been discussed by the following among the more modern writers: Kitto, "Pictorial History of the Jews," (London, 1843, 2 vols., small 4to.,) i, p. 187 sq.; Latrobe, "Scripture Illustrations," (London, 1838, 8vo.,) p. 29 sq.; Rauмer, *Beiträge zur biblischen Geographie*, (Leipzig, 1843, 8vo.,) p. 1 sq.; Mr. Sharpe, in Bartlett's "Forty Days in the Desert," (London, 2d ed., large 8vo.,) p. 23 sq.; Wilson, "The Lands of the Bible," (Edinburgh, 1847, 2 vols., 8vo.,) i, 149 sq.; Olin, "Travels in Egypt," etc., (New York, 1843, 2 vols., 12mo.,) i, 342 sq.; Durbin, "Observations in the East," (New York, 1845, 2 vols., 12mo.,) i, p. 120 sq.; Porter, in Murray's "Hand-book for Syria," (London ed., 1868, 12mo.,) i, 9 sq.; Palmer, "Desert of the Exodus," (New York, reprint, 1872, 8vo.,) p. 42 sq.; Bonar, "The Desert of Sinai," (New York, reprint, 1857, 12mo.,) p. 82 sq.; Morris, "Tour through Turkey," etc., (Phila., 1842, 2 vols., 12mo.,) ii, 219 sq.; F. A. Strauss, "Sinai and Golgotha," (Berlin, 1850, 12mo.,) p. 147 sq. One of the most recent monographs on the subject, that of Unruh, *der Zug der Israeliten aus Ægypten nach Canaan*, (Langensalza, 1860, 8vo.,) after extending the Gulf of Suez so far north as nearly to join a deep bay of the Mediterranean, locates Succoth at the narrow isthmus, Pihahiroth at Suez, and the other scriptural localities (Etham, Migdôl, and Baal-zephon) *east* of the gulf, which on this view was not actually crossed at all. This is the rationalistic theory fully carried out. The lively writer (Kinglake) of "Eōthen," (London, 1844; New York, reprint, 1845, 12mo.,) p. 188, thus briefly puts the main points of the controversy: "There are two opinions as to the point at which the Israelites passed the Red Sea: one is that they traversed only the very small creek at the northern extremity of the inlet, and that they entered the bed

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of the water at the spot on which Suez now stands; the other that they crossed the sea from a point many miles down the coast. The Oxford theologians, who, with Milman, their professor, believe that Jehovah conducted his chosen people without disturbing the order of nature, adopt the first view, and suppose that the Israelites passed during the ebb tide, aided by a violent wind. One among many objections to this supposition is, that the time of a single ebb would not have been sufficient for the passage of that vast multitude of men and beasts, or even for a small fraction of it. Moreover, the creek to the north of this point can be compassed in an hour, and in two hours you can make the circuit of the salt marsh over which the sea may have extended in former times. If, therefore, the Israelites crossed so high up as Suez, the Egyptians, unless infatuated by divine interference, might easily have recovered their stolen goods from the encumbered fugitives by making a straight detour."

Art. III.—TAXATION OF CHURCH PROPERTY.

The Exemption from Taxation of Church Property and the Property of Educational, Literary, and Charitable Institutions. By Charles W. Eliot, President of Harvard College.
Religion and the State. By Alvah Hovey, D.D. Boston. 1874.

In order to understand the true question of church taxation, it must be separated from another with which it has been entangled. The question is not as to taxing powerful ecclesiastical establishments holding property yielding large revenues. It is generally agreed that *church property devoted to business and yielding revenues should be taxed.* The real question is this, and only this, Shall tax be levied upon *church edifices*, the *lands they occupy*, and the *furnishings they contain—the property directly used for religious worship?* The question relates to the sixty-three thousand church edifices in the United States; the largest number of which are humble structures built by the free-will offerings of the most public-spirited of the people, and are held solely for religious ends. We must, however, discard side issues like the following:—

First: there is a vague feeling that the exemption of churches is a kind of "dead-headism." Accordingly it is

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complained that in the form of churches a large amount of property annually escapes taxing. In Massachusetts it is not far from $30,000,000; in New York upward of $60,000,000. Some present this as a matter of principle, others as a matter of money. As to the principle involved in the case, we will defer the matter to a further stage of the argument. As to the money side of the matter, it will be sufficient to remember that the above-named sums, however immense they may seem when named, are only a very small percentage of the taxable property of these States. In Massachusetts it is only about one and a half per cent.; in New York about three per cent. And thus the effect in increasing the tax of any one individual is most trifling. Hon. David A. Wells, in his pamphlet on Local Taxation, shows his estimate of this phase of the subject by omitting it altogether. He is chairman of a committee appointed for the special purpose of ferreting out the evils of existing tax laws. He is in duty bound to name whatever he regards an abuse. He concurs with the largest number of thoughtful men, who have studied the subject, in locating the greatest abuse in our present methods of taxation at this point: The assessors are sworn to assess property at its true and full value. The common practice is "to assess real estate at about one third of its value, and to assess personal property, so far as it can be discovered, at its full value; so that really the honest man is oppressed while the ingenious rogue goes scot free." In the exemption of United States securities he also sees something unfair. He also finds a question worth considering as to the "taxation of indebtedness;" another as to the "taxation of mortgages." His survey of the whole subject of Tax Reform is marvelously complete. But concerning the exemption of church property and kindred matters, of which some complain so loudly, he says not a word.

Another superficial plea is that the Roman Catholics are gaining a large amount of property in this country, and it will be well to put a check upon their acquisitions. Such a check would be furnished by a tax levied upon all their property. What precedent or warrant have we, however, for entering upon legislation for any such ends? Looking at the matter with reference to practical results, we inquire, What will such a check amount to? If the wages of servant girls and

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hod-carriers can erect cathedrals, they can if need be also pay the taxes on them.

The benefits that quite likely would result from taxing have been pointed out and enlarged upon. It would put a check upon extravagant church architecture. It would tend to weed out sickly Churches, and make Churches fewer in communities where they are too many and too quarrelsome. This may be dismissed with the reflection, that the evils complained of are largely hypothetical; and still further, to levy a tax for purposes such as are here indicated would be a piece of unwise and unwarranted meddling.

But some feeble arguments, on the other hand, have been urged in favor of exemption. One of the weakest is, that churches are sacred edifices dedicated to God, and therefore to tax them would be profanation. This implies a rule that would hardly apply with any thoroughness. According to this rule the man who has consecrated his possessions and himself to God ought not to be taxed! His goods should not be taxed, for they are consecrated. His poll-tax should be remitted, for his head is given to God! Still further, possibly, we would not be willing to admit the real sacredness of all church edifices. Spiritualist meeting-houses, churches where the name of the blessed Saviour is mentioned lightly or sneeringly, are not conspicuously sacred. The whole notion is most thoroughly impractical.

Then it is said, also, that churches are not sources of revenue, and therefore ought not to be taxed. For the present we may venture to say, in reply to this, that it never is recognized as a rule to exempt property because it is unproductive of revenue. Pictures, pianos, residences, pleasure carriages, and yachts; silver plate, railroad stocks, mill stocks, mining stocks, petroleum stocks, lands out west, lands in the east; all these are often, or always, the source of no revenue! Imagine a man asking, therefore, for exemption! *

The demand for continued exemption is also made upon the general ground that churches confer sundry advantages and benefits upon the community. They adorn villages, they increase the value of real estate, they elevate the taste, and refine the

* But property unproductive, because it is dedicated to the public good by the benevolent public spirit of the owners, should not be taxed.—Ed.

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manners and correct the morals of the people. But the rule again claims too much. Every true business enterprise, every pure household, every honest man might, upon the same ground, ask for exemption.

The question resolves itself into one of principle. At bottom the question is:—

I. As to the true function of government.

II. The natural and necessary relation between religion and the State.

III. The right rule of taxation in general.

I. The true function of government.

Governments have been grouped into three divisions, namely, Roman, paternal, and protective. Roman governments are those in which the State is the end, and the subjects are but means. Paternal government regards the subjects not as means, but as minors requiring paternal oversight and authoritative guidance. Protective government regards the subjects neither as means nor minors, but as men requiring nothing but protection. The true office of government, according to this scheme, is to protect the life, the liberty, and the property of the people, and in all other things allow them to act for themselves; though it is commonly added as a part of the definition (and the addition is very important one) that the government may *protect itself*. The scheme of protective government is very liberal. But Herbert Spencer goes farther and pronounces all government a relic of barbarism, and ultimately to be outgrown. Spencer should be quoted in this connection, that we may see the character and drift of this current of opinion. We need hardly say that the protective theory is the quite common doctrine of American statesmen, and the pet theory of European radicals. Now it is argued that to exempt churches from taxation is wrong, because it is not in keeping with the right kind of government; it is not genuinely American; it is a remaining fragment of the union between Church and State. So it is claimed.

We are well aware that we have opened a subject not to be disposed of satisfactorily within the space of a single article—a subject, also, which the majority of writers should treat with great deference. What style of government is best adapted to the ends of human life, and whether the general spirit and

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method of government should always be the same, are questions for mature statesmen to discuss. Our short history as a nation is eagerly seized upon as furnishing full data and proof of all that the wildest speculators claim with reference to entire separation of religion from the State. It has come to be the fashion to advocate the most complete ignoring of religion on the part of government, and then point to our national career as illustrating the beneficent results of such a course, and to assert that such a treatment of religion is the only treatment that is in harmony with the essential spirit of our institutions.

Now, it becomes us to remember that purely protective government is still a thing of experiment and speculation. The only close approach to it the world has ever known is in our own country. To narrow the statement a little, so that it shall include only what is pertinent to our present purpose, the only instance in which the Church has not been allied with the State from the third century to the present day, throughout the whole domain of Christendom, has been furnished by the United States.

The natural impulse of all Christian governments seems to have been to recognize the truth and importance of Christianity. It was so in America in colonial times. Nothing seemed more proper to the early settlers of the colonies than to wield the influence of government in favor of religion. In 1789 the first amendment to the Constitution provided "that Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." This was a step in a new direction. Still matters have been left in such a shape that precisely what relation our government organically sustains to Christianity has been, among our greatest thinkers, a matter of debate. In 1844 Daniel Webster argued the great Girard will case before the Supreme Court at Washington. He then proclaimed that Christianity was "the law of the land." He said, "General tolerant Christianity, independent of sects and parties, that Christianity to which the sword and the fagot are unknown, is the law of the land."* He referred also to a

* The quotation of these sentiments from Mr. Webster's plea, so often made, is illegitimate. Had Mr. Webster been retained on the opposite side of that law case he would doubtless have taken opposite grounds. An advocate is not bound to the doctrines he maintains as an advocate.—Ed.

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judgment of the highest court of Pennsylvania, the State where the case had its seat, that general Christianity was, and always had been, the common law of that government whether in colonial or State condition. Ex-President Woolsey joins issue with the great expounder, and holds that in no just sense is Christianity the law of the land; that, as far as legal forms go to give us any religious character at all, we are simply Theists, and not distinctively Christian; that the nation is actually Christian, inasmuch as the majority of the people believe in Christ and the Gospel. We cite these things that it may be seen how uncertain the attitude of our government has been and still is with respect to religion. This is a point well worth bearing in mind in this discussion. For when any one points to our national history as proving that the best possible way a government can treat religion is absolutely to ignore it, the truth compels us to reply, that our history has been too short, and altogether too indefinite, to prove any thing of much account in the matter.

It is to be distinctly remembered, also, that in our short experience we have found the impracticability of a purely protective government, and have at any rate been obliged to act on the principle that a republican government must protect itself. Its subjects are not then to be left entirely to themselves, simply protected by the State. Our history illustrates the wisdom and breadth of this saving clause. What is meant by our systems of public education? What is shown by the plan for compulsory education? With respect to the latter, these were the facts. Governor Geary, of Pennsylvania, found that one half the children of Philadelphia were not in school. The same state of affairs was found to exist in New York. Five and a half millions of the adult population of this country could not write their own names. Hence our plans and laws for compulsory education. This is not the mode of a purely protective government. It is not treating citizens as if they were to be left to themselves altogether—men, and not minors. The plain truth is, our government has been obliged to become in some degree paternal. The strict rule of protective government will not work. Two things at this point are very plain: First, that the theory which was obliged to give way for the sake of public intelligence must not assert itself too strongly

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in presence of public morality and religion; and second, until advocates for taxation have some better argument to urge than that exemption is not in keeping with protective government, existing arrangements may as well be let alone.

II. The natural, inevitable relation between religion and government.

The reasons that induce the exemption of institutions of intellectual education, as schools and colleges, from taxation, apply still more strongly to our institutions of spiritual and moral education, our churches. For intellectual education is not the renewer of the soul nor the savior of the State. The only foundation that can sustain public and private morality is religion. Society needs for its safety some power that will not only awaken the intellect, but purify the heart. Men need to learn the lessons of restraining their appetites, curbing their passions, submission to authority, self-sacrifice, brotherly affection. They need to learn these quite as much as to read and write; and not merely that they may live happily, but that they may be law-abiding citizens. Whatever does the work of impressing these lessons and sentiments upon the people is therefore rendering the highest service to the State. And thus, whether formally under State regulation and control, or standing independent and alone, with the last connecting link severed, the Church is doing, and always must do, a work necessary to the State for its own protection. And so far from history showing any thing to the contrary of this, the teachings of history are all the other way. At this point we may properly notice an objection that is sometimes quite plausibly urged. Christianity, it is said, is never to employ force in carrying on her work. To levy a tax to support religion would be to employ force. Exemption of church property is in effect levying a tax for religion. And thus exemption is condemned by Christianity itself. We do not propose to analyze all these statements at present. We simply say this objection misapprehends altogether the reason and purpose of exemption. This objection is simply a gun leveled at a scarecrow. Government exempts churches not for the sake of religion, but *for its own sake.* The work of religion, as far as government recognizes it, or has aught to do with it, *is not to save men, but to make them good citizens.*

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Accordingly the method and spirit of our State attention to religion are calculated to lay its broad general restraints upon the outward life, and not to lead to devout spiritual experiences. That is, the State lays hold upon one of the component parts of religion, not to advance religion, but to support itself. Murder and theft are punished not because they are contrary to the law of Christ, not because respect for life and for property are Christian sentiments, but because these crimes are dangerous to society, and these sentiments essential to public welfare. So the government may not only tolerate, but wisely even encourage, religion; not because belief in the supernatural, the authority of conscience, the distinction between right and wrong, and like general sentiments, are religious, but because these sentiments are indispensable to the stability of government. The State protects itself against utter unspirituality and moral blindness on the same grounds, and for the same reasons, as against murder and theft. Accordingly, to be consistent, the State need not and does not discriminate with great care amid varying forms of religious belief. Whatever presents itself possessing certain ordinary features of religion with perfect consistency is fostered by the government. And this because the question asked is not, What style of religion saves men? but, May not every, or nearly every, style be helpful to the State? Whether this course is dictated by the highest wisdom, whether our government ought not to go further and discriminate with some care, are questions with which we need not embarrass the present discussion. And thus it is plain, that in exempting churches, by no possibly fair construction can it be said that the State is employing force to promote Christianity. This point appears in still stronger light when we remember that the political advantage and favor thus given to Christianity are shared in by Parkerism, Confucianism, Spiritism, things anti-Christian. The advantages are not only general, but also incidental. They are not confined to Christianity, and by no means of set purpose to promote Christianity. For Christian Churches to renounce the favor or right of exemption because Christianity should not be promoted by force, would be about as wise as for Christians to renounce the right of protection for their lives and property. The one is in reality promotion of

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Christianity by force no more than the other. In both cases the advantages to Christianity is incidental. The intent of the government in neither case is religious.

Under this general head we ought also to ask, To what does this plan of entire non-recognition of religion by government lead us? First, we are to have no more chaplaincies. When our statesmen assemble for their lofty work, let each man do his own praying! or let some Church (who shall decide which?) send in a minister who shall offer to pray with and for them! Let the navy and army be furnished with missionaries, whose salaries and keeping on shipboard or in camp shall be paid by the Churches, or by the sailors and soldiers themselves. Again, it is proposed that all care for the sick, the helplessly poor and dependent, is to be laid aside by the State. Charitable institutions ought not to look for government aid in any form, and because charity is a Christian duty. With terrible faithfulness to their premises the advocates of non-recognition of religion by the State come to conclusions essentially these. Still more, all legal notice of the Sabbath must cease. If the State is to maintain the attitude of indifference and non-recognition toward religion, business, pleasure-seeking, unceasing din must be as freely permitted on that day as any other. No reason can be produced for sanctioning Sabbath observance in any degree by law if we accept the starting-point.

These are not merely possible conclusions to which the plan can be forced, but conclusions which have actually been reached by those who have adopted the general doctrine, and have been at the pains to trace it out to its logical sequences. These conclusions are abhorrent to us, not because we are accustomed to something different, but because they shock our quick sense of what is natural and right. We feel at once that the plan which leads to such results ignores the relations which ever must exist between religion and government.

III. The right rule of taxation in general.

"The right of taxation," says an eminent legal authority, "is inherent in government, provided only that its exercise shall be *equal and uniform*." And yet it is interesting to note what modifications practice has compelled in that general law. We cite, as showing the points we wish here to develop, an

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extract from the general statutes of Massachusetts, specifying what property shall be exempt from taxation :—

The following property and polls shall be exempt from taxation :—

First. The property of the United States.

Second. The property of the Commonwealth, except the real estate of which the Commonwealth has possession for condition broken.

Third. The personal property of literary, benevolent, charitable, and scientific institutions incorporated under the Commonwealth, and the real estate belonging to such institutions, occupied by their officers for the purpose for which they were incorporated.

Fourth. All property belonging to common school districts, the income of which is appropriated to the purpose of education.

Fifth. The Bunker Hill monument.

Sixth. The household furniture of every person not exceeding one thousand dollars in value, his wearing apparel, farming utensils, and mechanic's tools necessary for carrying on his business, not exceeding three hundred dollars in value.

Seventh. Houses of religious worship owned by a religious society, or held in trust for the use of a religious organization, and the pews and furniture, (except for parochial purposes,) but portions of such houses appropriated for purposes other than religious worship shall be taxed at the value thereof to the owners of the houses.

Eighth. Cemeteries, tombs, and rights of burial, so long as the same shall be dedicated for the burial of the dead.

Ninth. The estates, both real and personal, of incorporated agricultural societies.

Tenth. The property to the amount of five hundred dollars of a widow or unmarried female, and of any female minor whose father is deceased, if her whole estate, real and personal, not otherwise exempted from taxation, does not exceed in value one thousand dollars.

Eleventh. Mules, horses, and neat cattle less than one year old, and swine and sheep less than six months old.

Twelfth. The polls and estates of Indians.

Thirteenth. The polls and portion of the estates of persons who, by reason of age, infirmity, and poverty are, in the judgment of the assessors, unable to contribute fully toward the public charges.

This quotation is worthy of study. It is very suggestive.

We cannot help noticing that there is quite a number of things exempt besides churches. But it is to be observed that property is not exempted capriciously or arbitrarily, but in accordance with the following well-defined principles.

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First: it is assumed that *government must so levy taxes, if possible, as not to be oppressive.* That is, government must not defeat its own ends, and oppress the people whose welfare it is intended to secure. It is fairly presumed that there is sufficient taxable property that can yield the public revenue with comparative ease, and therefore it is unnecessary to levy taxes where they would be peculiarly burdensome. Said Governor Hoffman, "the interest of the people require a method of taxation at once equitable, effective, and *free from unnecessary oppression;* one which will yield the requisite revenues while subjecting them as little as possible to inquisitorial vexation, and which shall be attended with the least expense for official services, and afford the fewest temptations to fraud, concealment, or evasion." In view of this principle the laws of Massachusetts, just cited, exempt a certain amount of the furniture, clothing, utensils, and tools of each person; a certain portion of the property of widows, unmarried females, fatherless girls; also the polls and portions of the property of certain persons "who by reason of old age, infirmity, and poverty are, in the judgment of assessors, unable to contribute fully to the public charges." Were the tax required with mathematical equality and accuracy it would be upon some extremely burdensome.

Another principle kept steadily in view in these cases of exemption is that *government may wisely give some countenance and encouragement to measures requiring public spirit and looking to the public good.* Therefore we find that by these laws, charitable, literary, scientific institutions are exempt. For the same reason, also, favor is shown to Bunker Hill monument and the property of agricultural societies. It was well judged by the framers of these enactments that such institutions were indispensable, or at least advantageous, to the public. And as President Eliot pointedly puts the case: "If the State wants the work done it has but two alternatives—it can do it itself, or it can encourage and help benevolent and public-spirited individuals to do it. There is no third way."

Another principle closely allied to the preceding, though not identical with it, illustrated in these cases of exemption, is, that *government is not to tax its own property, or what in effect stands as such.* Thus no tax is levied upon the property of the United States, the property of the Commonwealth, and the

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property of common school districts. Thus, also, the property of our higher institutions of learning is exempt; not only because the State should wisely encourage public spirit, but because this property is in reality public. As far as private gain is concerned the capital is sunk, and the advantage chiefly accrues to the public.

Such, then, are the rules in view of which property is ordinarily exempt from taxation. Who will say they are not wise and beneficent? But to carry out to their legitimate conclusion the motives of those who advocate the taxing of churches would be to annul all these rules. All that is merciful, all that has respect to the nobler side of human life, in these provisions for exemption, would be sacrificed to a groveling devotion to money. And yet these men talk and write on as if exemption were an excrescence rather than the beautiful outgrowth of humane and Christian sentiments.

Now we hold also that to tax churches would be in direct violation of every one of these modifying principles, and therefore would not be in accordance with the right and customary rule of taxation.

To tax churches would be *oppressive.* The tax would be one of the large items in the annual expenses of religious societies. And here it should be remembered that the wealth of a Church is one thing, and the aggregate wealth of its individual members is quite another. The wealth of a Church is measured to no slight extent by the devotion of those who compose it. The making of one's wealth also the wealth of the Church is a matter of voluntary and exceptional devotion. A tax, then, may cripple and embarrass a Church of large reputed wealth, but poor in what makes a Church really rich. And the burden-bearing class, commonly burdened more than is just, may find themselves staggering under a load they cannot long support. And if this, or something approaching this, be true of the stronger and more prosperous Churches, it is not hard to predict what would come to pass with the weaker ones.

To tax churches would be to withhold *encouragement from works of public spirit.* It would actually make public spirit pay a penalty. The men who at first gave to build churches would be obliged to keep on giving to keep them from being

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sold for the collection of taxes. That is, the men who voluntarily tax themselves so that they pay more than their equitable share for the sake of public prosperity, would be taxed still more heavily that the tax of shirks and misers might be slightly lessened.

It would be not only taxing property already taxed, but *taxing property that is doing the work of the State.* There would be as much propriety in taxing school-houses, not, indeed, in view of legal technicality and forms, but in view of all the principles underlying law, and in view of the deep unchanging needs of human society.

There are several matters in connection with the subject we have not been able to introduce into our line of argument, but one or two of which we wish to touch merely before we conclude.

It has been said that to ask for exemption is equivalent to asking for an appropriation, and terrible pictures of churchly lobbyists maneuvering for money have been presented for the purpose of frightening the Churches into a willingness to be taxed. But plainly to our mind there is some difference between the two things. Of course both are alike in affording financial help. But there is an important difference between the two ways in which the help is given. Appropriations are specific, individual. Exemption is general, including all cases within a certain class. Appropriations are subject to legislative caprice and partiality. They open the door for bribery and fraud. Exemption is rather a matter of permanent arrangement, and is, therefore, far less liable to such abuse; in fact, corrupt exemption is almost impossible. Then, again, appropriations are liable to abuse because of the difficulty of determining the proper and just amount. In exemption the benefit bestowed is determined not by conjecture or caprice, but by the actual condition of the case. The amount of church property is a tolerably fair index to the amount of favor deserved, and this determines the amount of favor received.

A quite common objection to exemption is based upon the variety of religious sects. The State must either help all, or help some who deserve any thing else than help. We have two things to say: First, no human legislation is perfect.

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Exemption would be an anomaly; it would fulfill conditions required of no other legal arrangement if there were no defects in it; and second, quite likely the large majority of these religious sects which are marked by objectionable features are still doing a work for the State with which the State could not dispense. The variety of denominations may be a good argument against organic union with any one of them, but it furnishes no valid ground for taxing them all.

It has often been proposed to assign a limit to the amount of church property exempt beyond which all shall be taxed. But this seems to rest upon the false, but at present rather popular notion that no buildings have the right to be fine or noble but dry-goods stores, railroad depots, insurance blocks, hotels, or something of the money-making kind. To exempt cheap, shabby churches because they were within the prescribed limit, might be paying a premium upon meanness. To tax a noble edifice would be quite likely to make generosity pay a fine. To fix such a limit would be a bid offered by the State to induce men to put up structures that would be a credit neither to our Christianity nor to our civilization.

But, after all, quite likely we need apprehend no danger. Some abuses will be corrected, some weak points fortified, but the main features of the case will remain unchanged. There are several facts upon which we rest this conclusion. More than two thirds of our legislators, probably, are in some sort of connection with the Churches.* If not personally allied as communicants, they are held by domestic ties or by their own preference as members of the congregation. They have helped to build the churches. They are obliged by force of circumstances, if better motives fail, to help pay their expenses. We, therefore, are quite confident that the fear of God, the respect for righteousness, the love of money, some one or more of which qualities commonly distinguish these men, will cause what is just and right in the matter to prevail.

* Against such taxation there will be the nearly unanimous opposition of all the worshipers of God in the nation, including Protestants, Romanists, and Jews. The Protestants will hold the Republican party in check; the Romanists, the Democratic. The only danger is from the semi-infidel liberalism predominant in our politics, and that requires an alert watching, and perhaps may demand some energetic counteraction. Our religious press may speak with effect.—ED.

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Art. IV.—SHOULD PRESIDING ELDERS BE ELECTED?

To discuss this question understandingly, it is necessary, first of all, to take into consideration the peculiarities of our Methodist Episcopal polity.

The Methodist Episcopal Church is unlike any other ecclesiastical organization. The child of Providence, its economy was not modeled after a previous pattern, manufactured to order, or produced by one or many legislative minds. It is the outgrowth of providential indications, as they appeared in the circumstances and wants of the times. It is because of this a practical economy. It has the strength of constitutional principles, which cannot be destroyed without destroying itself, and is at the same time so flexible that it can be readjusted to any new exigencies which may arise. It is episcopal, yet its episcopacy is as far removed from the prelacy of the Roman Catholic and Protestant Episcopal Churches as night from day. It has offices unknown among other religious bodies. The most notable of these is the presiding eldership, which is peculiarly an institution of the Methodist Episcopal Church. In a most marked manner it was born of our wants, and has grown up into the bone, sinew, blood, and life of our Church polity. Because of its individuality our polity cannot be successfully compared with any other. The ecclesiastical machinery of Presbyterianism, Congregationalism, Romanism, and Protestant Episcopalianism are all so different, that not a wheel, cog, bolt, or any other part, will fit into ours. In order to attach any part thereof to our own, there must be a remodeling and readjusting of the whole.

Doubtless, for all practical purposes, our Methodist Episcopal polity is unequaled in Christendom. Not that it is absolutely perfect; not that it is free from inconveniences; not that it may not need further readjustment and development to meet the exigencies of the future. But in its present form and adaptation to present circumstances, and for the present work before it, it is difficult to see how it could be improved, or rendered more efficient. Notwithstanding this, there are many who think they could materially improve it. Our American mind is mechanical in its tendencies. It runs to the

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invention and improvement of machinery. This is not only seen in the mechanical contrivances which every-where abound, but in political and ecclesiastical matters as well. Every legislative body tries its hand at "tinkering up" the machinery of State; the result is a mass of "enactments," which burden our statute-books, without stimulating, fostering, or protecting a single interest of the people. So it is in ecclesiastical matters. If our Church machinery were improved with one change in a hundred that are proposed from time to time, there would not be left a single part of it remaining. Just now this inventive genius is concentrating upon improvements in the mode of appointing presiding elders. It is asserted that this part of our polity is out of joint and needs resetting, and the way to do it is for the ten thousand traveling preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church to resolve themselves into a college of ecclesiastical surgeons and pull it into place by the ballot. Just how this is to be done does not yet fully appear; but the ways of doing it are so many that there can be no difficulty in selecting the best out of the multitude proposed. The action of our fall conferences upon this question shows us that the crisis is upon us, and that we will be forced to settle it some way, and that soon. It is wise, therefore, for us to look into the matter. It is proposed in this paper to show,

I. The election of presiding elders, instead of appointing them, as now, is contrary to the constitution of our Church, and can only be reached by constitutional processes.

II. The proposed change is a radical one, affecting all the fundamentals of our economy.

III. There is no good and sufficient reason, either in the workings of the presiding eldership as it now exists, or in advantages to be gained by the proposed change, to demand it; but, on the contrary, as far as human foresight can judge, great disadvantage and positive injury.

I. The election of presiding elders, instead of appointing them, as now, is contrary to the constitution of our Church, and can only be reached by constitutional processes.

It is worthy of our attention, first of all, that this proposed change is not an attack upon the office of presiding elder as such, (at least such is not its professed object;) on the contrary, all the annual and laical conference resolutions calling for the

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change declare in favor of, and loudly eulogize, the office. The change asked for is a change in the mode of their appointment. The movement is not an attack upon the presiding eldership, but upon *the prerogatives of the episcopacy.* It does not propose to *abridge* the powers of presiding elders, but to *increase* them by giving them co-ordinate power with the bishops in appointing the preachers. But it does propose to *abridge the power of the episcopacy.* It is, therefore, a question which affects our "episcopacy and itinerant general superintendency."

Our third Restrictive Rule, limiting the powers of the General Conference, is in the following language: "They *shall not* change or *alter* any part or rule of our government so as to *do away* episcopacy, or *destroy* the plan of our itinerant general superintendency." Now, what is the meaning of this rule? What are we to understand it as intended to cover and guard? The way to ascertain the *true* meaning of a law, when there is any doubt as to what it does mean, is to ascertain the intention of the law-makers. This is not always ascertainable, but in this case it is, and so clearly so that there can be no doubt upon the subject. We learn from the Journals of the General Conference of 1808, (the General Conference which first ordained the Restrictive Rules,) that while this Restrictive Rule was before the General Conference for action it was moved to postpone it, "to make room for the consideration of a new resolution, as preparatory to the minds of the brethren to determine upon the present subject." The motion prevailing, the following resolution was introduced:—

Resolved, In the fifth section of the Discipline, after the question, "By whom shall the presiding elders be chosen?" the answer shall be, 'Answer 1. Each Annual Conference respectively, without debate, shall annually choose by ballot its own presiding elders."

The debate upon this resolution continued through the greater part of three days, and the resolution was on the third day voted down by ballot, the vote standing fifty-two for and seventy-three against it. "The North-Western Christian Advocate" of September 15, 1875, in alluding to the above matter, says:—

We can imagine no ghost of a doubt that the trial of this secondary issue touching the *manner* of constituting presiding elders

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was intended to define *the intent* of our constitution-makers when they used the phrases, "*Any part or rule* of our government," or "the *plan of* our itinerant general superintendency."

The vote shows that the appointment of the presiding elders by the bishops was intended to be a "*part*" or "*rule of our government*," and was to inhere in the "plan of our itinerant general superintendency." By refusing to the Annual Conferences the right to elect presiding elders as a preparatory consideration to the passage of the Restrictive Rule, they *did* place their *appointment by the bishops* in the *rule*, and by this act *did intend* and *did make* it impossible for the General Conference to take this matter out of the hands of the bishops. But if there could possibly still remain a doubt as to the intent of our constitution makers, or as to the meaning of this constitutional restriction, it can but be dissipated when the following facts are considered.

It is well known that Joshua Soule was a member of the subcommittee who drafted the constitution. Abel Stevens says, "The Restrictive Rules of the Methodist Episcopal Church are attributed chiefly to Joshua Soule." Bishop M'Tyeire, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, says explicitly, "Joshua Soule drafted the constitution." If any man could know the intent of the drafters and enactors, Joshua Soule was certainly the man. Joshua Soule was elected to the episcopacy by the General Conference of 1820. He refused ordination because the same General Conference *had ordered an elective presiding eldership.* The alleged ground of his refusal to be ordained was, that the action of the General Conference in the passage of the ordinance named *was unconstitutional.* The ordinance was suspended, and the issue as to its constitutionality raised by Bishop Soule was referred to the Annual Conferences for their action, and seven out of the twelve conferences voted the action of the General Conference unconstitutional. This was at a time when it required a unanimous concurrence of all the Annual Conferences to sustain the ordinance of the General Conference, the negative vote of one conference being sufficient to settle the matter. This conclusively proves two things: first, that Joshua Soule, having drafted the "Rule," knew what it meant; and secondly, that the Annual Conferences understood it as he did, and by their

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action so effectually settled the question that for more than forty years it was not raised again.

There can be no doubt as to what the framers of the "rule" meant. They knew what they were doing. They saw clearly the fallacy of having two episcopacies in the Church: one general, elected by the General Conference, and responsible to it; the other a subepiscopacy, elected by subordinate administrative bodies, and responsible to them alone. They were too wise to perpetrate such an absurdity upon the Church. The conclusion is irresistible. The next General Conference will have no power to grant the prayer of the bodies asking an elective presiding eldership. This prayer can only be granted when three fourths of the members present in our Annual Conferences, voting in the affirmative, shall ask it, and two thirds of the General Conference ensuing thereafter shall concur in the action of the Annual Conferences by voting for it. Then, and not until then, can the prayer be granted.

II. The proposed change is a radical one, affecting all the fundamentals of our economy.

Having shown how the matter is to be reached, if at all, let us look into the question itself. This "golden egg" may have an ecclesiastical viper in it, whose sting when hatched will poison the whole life-blood of our Methodism. This "little cloud" rising in our horizon, and promising such a refreshing *shower* upon our parched heritage, may have a hurricane wrapped up in it, which if let loose will sweep away every vestige of our Methodist Episcopal polity Our polity, so far as it relates to the question before us, briefly stated, is this: The Annual and Electoral Conferences elect the General Conference. The General Conference is the ministry and laity of the Church assembled in their representative capacity In this capacity they elect the bishops. To the bishops, by tacit compact and agreement, is delegated the power of appointment. The people place in the hands of the bishops their right to select their own pastors, and the preachers their right to select their own fields of labor. The rights and interests of both parties are placed in the hands of an agent of both parties, and in their representative capacity they hold him responsible for the right use of the sacred trust they have committed to his keeping. This is done because it is supposed

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to have especial advantages on the whole for both parties. By it the frictions and slow movements growing out of the unwieldy manner of Presbyterian and Congregational modes of supplying Churches with ministers and ministers with Churches is avoided, and adaptability and rapidity of supply secured. In this covenant, or compact, inhere the two distinctive denominational features of the Methodist Episcopal Church —our *general episcopal superintendency*, and our *itinerancy*.

This change proposes to break this compact, and in doing this it strikes directly at these two distinctive features of our economy; and in touching them it touches the very heart and life of our polity, and must lead to a readjusting and remodeling of our whole Methodist Episcopal machinery. It has been claimed that this result would not follow, so far as our itinerancy is concerned, because our Wesleyan brethren in England have itinerancy without either presiding elders or bishops. The following extract from an editorial in the "North-Western Christian Advocate" most effectually does away with the assumption:—

> An English watch has four hundred pieces, but you must not subtract from it upon the plea that an American watch has but three hundred pieces. The two watches are adjusted to their internal components, and must be undisturbed in their respective relations. The outcome in both cases is time-keeping. So with the Wesleyan Church in England, with its plan, and so with the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, with its plan; the resultant is, itinerancy. If you substitute a single wheel, the time—the itinerancy—is lost. We are adjusted to our episcopally appointed presiding eldership, and if you make that eldership elective you must elect your bishops quadrennially, just as the Wesleyans elect presidents each year. And, finally, must come election of pastors by the people; which logical and inevitable outcome can scarcely be gainsaid.

These are wise words, but we have still higher testimony as to the soundness of our position, testimony from one who certainly understood what he was talking about. Bishop Asbury, in his Journal of July 26, 1811, says: "If the preachers take any specific power, right, or privilege from the bishops which the General Conference may have given them, *it is clear that they dissolve the whole contract of the itinerancy.*" Bishop M'Kendree is reckoned as one who understood our polity

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in all its relations, and he declares of the order of the General Conference of 1820, "*Unconstitutional*, and *subversive* of the grand system of an *efficient and general superintendency and itinerancy*." This measure, then, does propose a rupture of the itinerant compact if the presiding elders are to be elected by the preachers alone, as seems to be the plan proposed by the original movers in the present agitation. In such case it proposes to take the appointing power out of the hands of the appointed agent of *both* parties, and place it in the hands of *one* of the parties exclusively. Is not this virtually saying to the people by the preachers, "We propose to break the covenant by which, for supposed mutual good, we have delegated our mutual rights to an agent appointed by and responsible to us both, and take the appointing power we have delegated to him into our own hands; we propose to appoint your presiding elders, and these presiding elders which we have appointed shall appoint us, and this agent shall be shorn of all power, but may remain, as a kind of figure-head, to *seemingly* ratify what our agents do?" Were not Asbury and M'Kendree right, when they said, "*it destroys the whole contract of the itinerancy?*" Who does not see that it levels our episcopacy to the earth? Such a course is not only revolutionary, but a usurpation of power by the ministerial order, which belongs to both ministers and laymen. It is the use of the ballot by a privileged order, to the exclusion of another order having equal rights and interests.

But it is suggested, in order to meet this difficulty, "Admit the laymen into our Annual Conferences, and let the ministers and laymen together elect the presiding elders." That would meet the difficulty of usurpation of power by the ministerial order, but it would not meet the difficulty of a rupture of the itinerant compact. Undoubtedly, if presiding elders are elected at all, laymen ought to have a voice in that election; not only upon the principles of an equality of rights with the ministry, but upon an equality of interests also. Because, if it be true, as urged, that the preachers ought to have a voice in selecting the men who hold the interests of themselves and families in their hands, so ought the people. For, unmistakably, the interests of the Churches are as much in the

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hands of the presiding elders as are those of the preachers. But this implies a readjusting of our whole polity. Certainly it changes the composition and prerogatives of an Annual Conference. It greatly abridges the powers if it does not entirely take away our episcopal general superintendency. It shears the episcopacy of its power as certainly as Samson was shorn of his strength when the razor of Delilah had severed his locks from his head. It introduces two conflicting powers into the Church, the General and the Annual Conferences. A bishop is amenable to the General Conference for his acts; but by this change his hands would be tied by the Annual Conferences so he could not act, and his work would be done by a body responsible nowhere but to itself. The office of a bishop is then changed. It is no longer an *episcopacy*, but a *presidency*, which must, to harmonize with other parts of the new order, be, at furthest, changed every four years. When that time arrives we have ceased to be the Methodist Episcopal Church.

But this is not the logical end of the reform. If ministers and laymen thus combined ought to elect presiding elders, if it is unsafe to trust their appointment to an agent appointed by both and amenable to both; then the Churches ought to have the right to elect their pastors. There cannot exist a reason for election in one case that does not exist in the other. A writer in the "Michigan Christian Advocate" puts this so forcibly, as following from the reasons adduced for an elective presiding eldership, that we present here, first, the reasons given for the former, and then the reasons growing out of them, for the latter:—

Whereas, According to our present Discipline, it is made the duty of a bishop to appoint presiding elders, and "to form the districts according to his judgment;" and,

Whereas, The Annual Conference, being more thoroughly acquainted with its own members and work, is better qualified to judge of the fitness of candidates for this office, and of the most appropriate division of our territory into districts; and,

Whereas, It gives one strength and confidence, and adds to his efficiency in any position to know that he is the

Whereas, According to our present Discipline, it is the duty of the "powers that be" to appoint ministers to their various charges according to their judgment; and,

Whereas, The Quarterly Conference and the people, being more thoroughly acquainted with their own work, are better qualified to judge of the qualities necessary in the minister; and,

Whereas, It gives the minister strength and confidence, and adds to his efficiency, to know that he is the choice of the

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choice of a majority of his brethren; and,

Whereas, The pastors are likely to rally with more enthusiasm to a presiding elder whom they themselves elect, and to sustain him more cordially, than to one who is appointed without consulting their wishes, or, as is sometimes the case, contrary to their expressed choice; and,

Whereas, There is no reason for the ballot in civil government, or in the other elective offices of the Church, which does not apply with equal or greater force to the election of presiding elders; and,

Whereas, The choice by ballot to official positions in the Methodist Episcopal Church has, so far as tried, been highly satisfactory, and has proved the Methodist ministry eminently worthy of the ballot; and,

Whereas, All the temporal interests of Methodist ministers, including home, salary, associations, reputation, and sometimes even health and life, are largely in the hands of the appointing power, and may be disposed of and controlled without their consent or knowledge; and,

Whereas, The privilege of being represented, and of saying who shall *give advice* as to what disposition shall be made of interests so important to the parties concerned, ought not to be denied; therefore,

Resolved, That we respectfully request the General Conference, to be convened at Baltimore, Md., May 1, 1876, to so change the Discipline as to make the presiding elders elective by the Annual Conferences.

Church to which he is thus called to minister; and,

Whereas, The people are likely to rally with more enthusiasm to a minister whom they themselves elect, and to sustain him more cordially, than to one who is appointed without consulting their wishes, or, as is sometimes the case, contrary to their expressed choice; and,

Whereas, There is no reason for the ballot in civil government, or in the other elective offices of the Church, which does not apply with equal force to the election of the minister by the congregation which he may be called to serve; and,

Whereas, The choice by ballot to the official positions in the Methodist Episcopal Church has, so far as tried, been highly satisfactory, and has proved the Methodist people eminently worthy of the ballot; and,

Whereas, Ministers are appointed to exercise the most important and sacred functions, involving the highest interests of the people, without their consent or knowledge; and,

Whereas, The privilege of being represented, and of saying who shall minister in interests so important to the parties concerned, ought not to be denied; therefore,

Resolved, That we respectfully request the General Conference, to be convened at Baltimore, Md., May 1, 1876, to so change the Discipline as to give the people the power to elect their own ministers.

Resolved, That we also request that the Discipline be so changed as to make it the duty of the bishops, and all others in authority, to transact all business relating to the Church, subject to the approval of the people.

Comment is unnecessary, save to add, one other result must follow. If the people select their preachers, the preachers will select their people. A wedlock so sacred as that of pastor and people cannot be consummated without the consent of both parties. When this point is reached episcopacy is ended, itinerancy is over, and the Methodist Episcopal polity is no more! We will have become Congregational, we will have lost our

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connectional unity and strength, and all our great connectional enterprises will have become paralyzed and periled, if not destroyed. These, in our judgment, are some of the logical results following the innovation proposed. Our Church machinery is adapted to our Church as it is. Every part is exactly fitted to every other part, and you cannot take away a single part without readjusting all. Is it best to try it? Our Methodist Episcopal economy now keeps time around the world. Will it add to its qualities to take out the mainspring and throw away the balance wheel? We think not. In the language of the editor of the "Quarterly Review," we say:—"Ours is not, and we trust never will be, a Methodist Presbyterian Church, nor a Methodist Congregational Church, nor a Methodist Quaker Church, but just what Wesley and the fathers meant it should be, THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH."

III. There is no good and sufficient reason, either in the workings of the presiding eldership as it now exists, or in advantages to be gained by the proposed change, to demand it; but, on the contrary, as far as human foresight can judge, great disadvantage and positive injury.

There is certainly little or no jarring in the movements of our Church machinery at present. There is not a Church economy in the land which works with so little friction. Our growth has been scarcely paralleled since Pentecost. Our manner of making appointments is giving more perfect satisfaction than any other mode of adjusting Churches and pastors in Christendom. The "Christian Advocate," an advocate itself of an elective presiding eldership, says in a late number:—

> Bishop Janes, in his address made a few days ago at the Annual Conference at Princeton, Ill., stated that out of about ten thousand preachers stationed during the past year by the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, *only three declined to accept their appointments, and not a single Church rejected its preacher.* This is a remarkable record, furnishing conclusive evidence of the loyalty of preachers and people to our general system of pastoral appointments.

The force of this statement of Bishop Janes will be more fully seen when we consider that, instead of an "Annual Conference," this conference at Princeton, Ill., was the "*General Conference*" of "*The Methodist Church*," a body having in its

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polity all the proposed "modern improvements" in modes of appointment. The statement of Bishop Janes was doubtless made in view of this fact, showing that our *mode* of making appointments was working without a jar. We have no doubt but the body who listened to his words wished in their hearts they could say as much for their own. What, then, is there wrong in our polity demanding this change? What are the supposed grievances which it is proposed to right in this way? There surely ought to be something to call for so radical a change, implying in itself the risks and dangers with which the measure is fraught.

Let us now look at some of the supposed grievances, as set forth by Rev. W. R. Goodwin, D. D., in the "Quarterly Review" for January, 1875, and see if they are such as to afford sufficient grounds for the proposed change. These reasons, he says, "are many." "First, out of personal friendship or obligation a bishop may appoint an incompetent man to the office, or he may find when too late that he has acted upon *ex parte* or insufficient information." The first of these reasons is not *very* complimentary to either the sagacity or moral honesty of our bishops. Who does not know that no bishop could do such a thing as is here intimated without being arraigned for an abuse of the sacred trust imposed in him. No bishop would dare to do it, however much he might be inclined. We venture the assertion that no one ever did do it, and no one ever will do it. The insinuation is not only an insult flung into the face of every bishop in the Church, but it bears its absurdity upon its own face. But suppose it were true, the objection would have equal force against a bishop making any appointment. Could he not just as easily, "out of personal friendship or obligation," appoint "an incompetent man" to a good charge as to a district? And if he were disposed to act as intimated, would he not be as likely to do it? As to the second reason, we admit a bishop may make a mistake; but might not the preachers, or the preachers and laymen, make mistakes too? The result of the ballot in our civil affairs does not show us that our best men are chosen to office. Is it not barely possible that the preachers and laymen might "find out when too late that they had acted upon *ex parte* or insufficient information" also?

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Another "reason" given is:—

> That not unfrequently the cabinet becomes a "ring" in fact as well as in name. Wherever this state of affairs exists, the presiding elders, either by exchange of districts or by aiding each other, perpetuate themselves in office. . . . When there is a vacancy, only such a man is nominated as will be in accord with the present incumbents. These men wax bold, and woe betide the man who opposes their plans or wishes.

We have never been in a bishop's cabinet, and cannot speak from personal experience of the truth or falsehood of these charges. That such a state of affairs ever did exist no sane man can believe. Its moral *animus* would disgrace "Tammany Hall," and put to shame the lowest metropolitan political caucus. We do not believe that any number of Methodist preachers ever were, or ever will be, so devoid of moral honesty, to say nothing about Christianity. We have heard of a "charity" which "thinketh no evil," but this does not savor of it. Suppose men have been continued in the presiding eldership who have shown that they possess especial qualifications for the office, is that in itself an evil? Is rotation in office an unmixed good? If so, why all the talk we hear about reforming the "civil service" of our General Government? Does a preacher become a "plotting knave" as soon as he becomes a bishop or a presiding elder? Such an assumption is not only nonsensical, it is slanderous. Presiding elders are neither better nor worse than other Methodist preachers. As a rule they are, and have been, faithful men of God, who have labored for the welfare of the Church, the interests of their brethren, and the glory of God. But let us suppose, for the sake of the argument, that things are as bad as Dr. Goodwin assumes. How is the electing of men to the office going to remedy it? If it be true that "since the time our Lord's debtor made out reduced bills, in order to have a home for himself when he should be dismissed the service, men have made use of their power and position to aggrandize themselves," will they not do so if elected to that power and position? If a presiding elder "by kindness, by good promises, by four annual visits, by giving good appointments, can easily and naturally obtain the votes of his preachers" to elect him a delegate to our General Conference, why cannot they do the same thing in reference to the presiding

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eldership? Will the fact that he has been voted into his office change his human nature, and reverse what is declared to have been universal since the days of the "bankrupt steward?" Our bishops are supposed to be men of at least average intelligence, and if these designing presiding elders can manipulate them as easily as intimated, why can they not, "by kindness, by good promises, by four annual visits, by giving good appointments," manipulate the preachers and continue themselves in office, and "thus become a 'ring' in fact as well as in name?"

Another "reason" assigned is, "the present size and number of the presiding elder districts." This is another question altogether, and has no more to do with the question under discussion than it has to do with a transit of Venus. The size and number of districts can be, and is, arranged under the present plan as well as under any other. Some parts of our territory have large districts and some small. There is, however, something remarkable in the fact that the loudest clamor for the proposed change comes, with rare exceptions, from the parts of our territory having the largest districts.

Another "reason" given is, "the salaries of presiding elders come largely out of the pockets of the pastors." We venture the assertion that nine out of every ten pastors in the Church will, from personal experience, pronounce this assumption untrue. On the contrary, if it were not for the friendly exertions of the presiding elder in his behalf, the "pastor's pocket" would often be a great deal emptier than it is. It is not true in the West, whatever it may be in the East, that the "people are upon the point of open rebellion" against paying the salary of the presiding elder. As a rule, there is no amount they pay more cheerfully. There are, we admit, exceptions in some of our stations where our people are not thoroughly methodized, but as a rule it is not so. But suppose it to be true that "the salaries of presiding elders come largely out of the pockets of the pastors," how will their election change the matter? Will it make the people more able or willing to pay than they now are? A presiding elder must live. "The people say we can pay about so much and no more." How, then, is his election to his office going "to put money in the pockets of the preachers?" as Dr. Goodwin assures us it will. The assumption,

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were it true, might be an argument in favor of larger districts, but has not the remotest relation to the question at issue.

Another and a last "reason" is, when condensed in a few words, "The incumbents of the office are notably incompetent." This "reason" is not notable for its modesty, even when backed by the language of Abel Stevens. It bears hard upon the competency of our bishops, who so uniformly select inferior men for this office. It assumes a sagacity, as to judgment of qualifications fitting men for places, which smacks of at least a not very modest amount of self-conceit. The fact is, our presiding elders are men of average ability, neither superior nor inferior to their brethren as a class. The history of the Church will attest this. But suppose they are incompetent. Have we any assurance that to elect them would improve the quality? The average "statesman" found in our national and State legislatures does not afford us much ground for hope. Our best men are not elected to office as a rule, but wire-pullers and professional politicians. It is not true that many can choose more wisely than one. The contrary is true if the "*one*" be competent to choose. There is no rational doubt but just as good, and even a better, "article" of presiding elder can be secured by our present plan than by the plan proposed. This is true, because every intelligent Methodist preacher knows that the men who are usually clamoring after the office are of all men most incompetent for the place. Men of worth are usually modest, and do not ask or work for any position. These are not the men likely to be selected by a popular vote, but adroit, conceited, thick-skinned aspirants. The godly judgment of a bishop can be more safely trusted to select competent men than the uncertain ballot of even Methodist preachers. One can hardly tell which is most prominent in these "reasons:" the adroitness which covers up a direct charge under a supposed case, the "nightmare of rings," (those cruel and oppressive combinations of bishops and presiding elders lording it over poor preachers,) which haunts them like an apparition, or the logical consistency which makes these giants of oppression—these ecclesiastical *Anakim*, such incompetent pigmies—such "feeble folk" intellectually. The proposed panacea for all these imaginary ecclesiastical ills reminds one of a patent-medicine advertisement. It is a universal curative.

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Is there any thing out of joint in the ecclesiastical body, any carbuncle, old sore, "inward pain, or festering wound?" Take a dose of the "universal elixir of presiding elder election," and all will be righted. This "medicine" will make all bad "elders" good, foolish ones wise, and selfish ones generous and kind. It will give every preacher a first-class appointment and a good salary, and make all the people benevolent, generous, kind, loving, good, and happy. Just one good old English word expresses it all—*balderdash*. But there are many good and sufficient reasons, aside from those already given, why presiding elders should not be elected. This article, already too long, will allow us to mention but two.

First. The office of a presiding elder is largely judicial, and for this reason the incumbent ought not to be fettered by the obligations, nor exposed to the temptations, growing naturally out of an elective office. The best men in our country look upon our State judicial system in this light. The judges of our courts ought to be appointed instead of elected, and for the reasons named. To elect our presiding elders would open temptations for them to promise what ought not to be performed. It would be a bar in the way of their acting upon their honest convictions and better judgments in those peculiar cases which come before every bishop and his cabinet. A presiding elder ought to be placed above these temptations, and left unfettered by personal obligations.

Second. It will result in wire-pulling, canvassing for place, and all the evils of our political caucus system. If it be said, "This need not be," we answer, *It will be*. In the language of Dr. Goodwin, "This view of the question is not from theory, not from what ought to be or might be, but from what is." The workings of the elective system in the *Protestant Methodist* and *United Brethren Churches* prove our position true. The success of these Churches, compared with our own—in harmony, brotherly love, efficiency, and growth—with the same system of doctrine—and good and true men in them—warn us against the folly proposed. The multitude of our secular elections is one principal source of our political corruptions, and the chiefest danger to our political institutions. Let there be one place where caucus plotting and strife for place shall not enter. Let that place be the Church. We have enough elective

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offices already. Let us not make any more. It were better for us to "let well enough alone." The advice may be old, but it is good and wise. If it is unworthy of answer, because it has been urged against every reform in Church and State, it is at the same time worthy of veneration and consideration, for saving us from many evils which would otherwise have overwhelmed us. Thousands of men to-day, bankrupt and impoverished, wish they had heeded its admonition. If it has stood in the way of some real improvements and beneficial reforms, it has saved us from more that were not improvements and would not have been beneficial. Every proposed reform stands upon its own merits, and is not necessarily good because it is a reform. If the change in our Restrictive Rules on slavery, and the admission of laymen into our General Conference, was right, we are not, therefore, to conclude that every proposed change is equally wise.

Our Methodist Episcopal polity is now harmonious in all its parts. It works well as it is. Let us beware how we peril its efficiency for a doubtful improvement. The time may come when this, and even more radical changes, will be demanded. That time is not now, and may never be. Until it does come let us wait.

Art. V.—IS THE MODERN SUNDAY-SCHOOL METHOD A SUCCESS?

The true modern Sunday-school has undoubtedly this twofold object in view: *First*, The extension of the most thorough and abiding knowledge of the Holy Scriptures; *Second*, The subsequent use or influence of this knowledge in effecting the early conversion of those who acquire it. The scriptural knowledge imparted should evidently comprise not only the best attainable understanding of the substance, or the subject-matter, of the Bible, but the best appreciation, also, of its spirit and importance. The practical use or benefit of the same is the measure of conviction, or of wholesome and serious impression, which, under God, shall incline the heart to the Saviour. The first requisite must largely depend upon the form, or the aspect in which the word of the Lord is presented; the second

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upon the zeal, the emphasis, and the discreet fidelity with which its lessons are applied to the conscience. And since no measure of effort can wholly compensate for a faulty method of using it, our theme might properly resolve itself into the simple query, In what shape can the truths of revelation be best imparted to the members of our Sunday-schools? Through what form or embodiment of the divine word can the average mind be the most effectually imbued with its spirit?

The pertinence of this inquiry is nowise lessened in view of the different plans by which, from year to year, this end has been sought. There was the old, literal method of Bible study, in which portions of the sacred text were learned and recited *verbatim*. No mean part did that now well-nigh obsolete custom perform in the gracious work of spiritual culture. Some of us, perchance, owe more thanks to it than we realize for whatever of exact and definite scriptural knowledge we possess.

The Catechism, that stanch memorial of pious endeavor, is freshly remembered by not a few who in their life-journey have yet to leave the green fields, and the fresh dews, and the orient sunshine behind them. How drearily they seemed to grope among its dry and doctrinal formulas in their childhood. Yet not wholly in vain; for while they only stumbled in the darkness, and thumped their heads in bewilderment against the jutting crags of deep, hard mystery which they could not solve, they at least carried the scars about afterward. They vividly remembered where they were hit, and what it was that struck them, a result which can hardly be accredited to every system that we have known of. Some stalwart champions of the faith have learned to realize their indebtedness to this heroic discipline of their early years.

Then followed the form of catechetical instruction known as the modern question book. This was only a diluted catechism, the concentrated pulp and essence of the latter being reduced to suit the majority, who had proved unable or unwilling to receive the full strength. And if no higher standard of culture was apparent in consequence, there was certainly no lack of either abundance or variety in the means devised. The mass of question books that flooded the country was surprising. It seemed like a general deluge. There was no uniformity in their character, and their selection for use seemed wholly a

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matter of chance. The confusion thence arising would have served as a tolerable reproduction of original chaos. One class was as independent of another in this matter as if situated upon a different planet. Each had a book of its own, adopted without the least regard to the others. If two or more happened to hit upon the same choice, there was no thought of any agreement in the study of the lessons. It was not uncommon to see several different question books in the same class, one scholar being at work somewhere in the Old Testament, another somewhere in the New; still others, with disheartening frequency, nowhere in particular. Thus the unity of the class was destroyed, and with it all healthy rivalry in the study of the Bible. Much of the instruction was superficial in the extreme. A favorite mode of recitation was for the pupils, when questioned, to read the answers in order from the book, such conduct being to a large extent tolerated by the teachers. Whether or not this chaotic era of question books was any help to the Sunday-school, it is certain that a multitude of zealous and capable learners soon became disgusted with the working of such a method and discarded it altogether.

It was a natural reaction from this confused and faulty mode of Bible culture that finally produced the present uniform or International Series. This is an attempt to *unify* as well as to popularize the study of the Scriptures. It has many features of obvious excellence. The selections which form its scriptural basis are, in the main, judicious. They usually present a leading doctrinal sentiment in some graphic narrative or descriptive portion. They are so brief as to encourage the most careful study, so varied as to favor a continued interest, and so comprehensive as to bring some striking event or some cardinal principle to view in each. They are chosen in turn from both the Old Testament and the New, a fitting assertion of the great evangelical idea that there is a Gospel according to Moses as well as a Gospel according to Matthew. This is also pertinent in view of the popular skepticism, which gives a condescending nod of recognition to the words of Jesus, but treats the majestic thunder-tones of Sinai about as reverently as it would a last year's almanac.

The uniform feature of this system, which contemplates its ultimate universal adoption, is at least a point of interest in its

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favor. There is something grand in so vast a conception. It is thrilling to reflect that the little string of verses, so quietly studied and discussed of a Sunday in the vestry or the class room, may, before that Sunday is done, have also inspired the thoughts and warmed the hearts of uncounted myriads to the ends of the earth. It widens the range of our citizenship when our hearts thus throb in sympathy with so vast and so elect a multitude. And when the dissonant tongues of men shall encircle the earth with these harmonious echoes of the living word, the noblest chorus will be sounded that ever swelled upon the air since the morning stars sang together.

To increase the interest and the utility of this method many ingenious ways are provided. The religious papers teem with weekly notes and explanations. Suggestive hints and questions are published a year in advance upon all the lessons. There are outline charts, maps, and diagrams. There are "picture papers" and black-board exercises. There are stories told, historical facts quoted, and scientific principles adduced. There is seemingly every help which human need can suggest, or human skill supply. Surely with a system like this, presumably the best of its kind ever invented, with aids which the best of talent has been exerted to produce, it is reasonable to look for some encouraging fruits in return.

It is not enough to show a large, nor even an increased, attendance upon our Sunday-schools. That has long enough been the standing boast of the Church. With live hands and brains to ply the machinery, there was never any trouble, either with or without a system, in swelling the numerical lists. It is of little use to plead the good behavior and the seeming interest of the majority. Skillful workers are always able to bring this about whether they teach any thing useful or not. It will hardly suffice to claim that a tolerable smattering of Bible lore has been gained by many within a given time. A good story-teller of pleasant manners will lead along an average crowd of *gamins* from the street corners to that extent if he can only pin them long enough, and they need not study a word meanwhile. But if the modern Sunday-school method has proved an undoubted success, we may rationally expect a positive increase of sound Bible intelligence among the majority of those who have used it.

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Now, is the mass of our Sunday-school goers really growing stronger in the Scriptures? loving the word of God better? more ready to step from the class into the pew to hear it preached? Are even the professing Christians who attend school with the rest, able to trace the landmarks of their faith more clearly and to give better reasons of the hope that is within them?

The facts hardly warrant such a belief. The prevailing ignorance of the Bible, just where we ought the least to expect it, is the proverb of to-day. Teachers of all grades inform us how little interest for study they see; how few passable lessons are recited; how many pupils are constantly dropping out of school in their early "teens," or before, too ignorant to tell whether Joshua is a Bible character or not, whether the Gospel of John is in the New Testament or the Old, and it may almost be added, to distinguish the Decalogue from the Declaration of Independence. It is astonishing how few of the *religious* portion of the scholars, either old or young, ever allude to the Scripture,s or make any quotation therefrom in giving their experience. *There is a general and deplorable want of familiarity with the divine word.*

As to church going, that may almost be reckoned among the obsolete customs. It is a chronic lament of the age that so small a fraction of our Sunday-school membership is seen at public worship. A penal statute would certainly have failed to empty the pews as thoroughly of youth and of children as we now see them. One needs only to stand at a safe distance from any church door, at the close of an ordinary school session, to behold the swarms that rush out upon the sidewalk and disappear while the bell is ringing for the afternoon service. It would not be an irrational inference for one who was ignorant of this modern usage, that the measured toll which invited the worshiper to enter the courts of the Lord was a fire-alarm which had broken up the school in confusion. The facts which observant eyes may witness every Sabbath are no flattering comment upon the efficiency of the present modes of early religious training.

But who is to blame? At whose door shall we lay the burden of this remarkable ignorance and apathy concerning the word of God? It is a common fashion to brand the Sunday-

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school teachers with charges of incompetency and unfaithfulness. The superintendents and the pastors have also been treated to a liberal share of reproach for their short-comings in this connection. It would, indeed, be strange if many failures were not apparent in so vast an aggregate of persons undertaking these duties. Yet all that the Sunday-school is, or has ever accomplished, is, humanly speaking, due to the same class of helpers and of efforts that now keep it in existence. It has always been subject to the same kind of difficulties that now oppose it—the common lot of all systems requiring human aid in their administration. This fault can hardly be exceptional enough at present to account for the evil in question, especially since the most faithful and competent workers have, in great numbers, declared their inability, by the use of the modern method, to make any headway against it.

Much of the prevalent dearth of interest in Bible study has by some been ascribed to the lack of home religious training. This plea, however, is illogical, since the existence of the Sunday-school itself is due to this very cause. It was, under the providence of God, called into being expressly to correct this evil. Not a single duty is done in connection therewith that, of moral right and of divine requirement, does not belong to the parents at home. A proper enforcement of the Mosaic law, if possible, in this particular, would in a week render the Sunday-school, as an institution, as thoroughly useless as a medieval relic.

The lack of interest in Bible study has also been largely attributed to the unspiritual tendencies of modern thought and opinion especially fostered in turn, by the alarming prevalence of pernicious literature. There is undoubted force in this idea. Not to appreciate so grave a hinderance is to have played a very trifling part in any effort for the moral improvement of the community. The worldliness, the sensational taste and temperament, the irreverence, the positive skepticism of the age, are often reflected in the discussions of the Bible class, to the annoyance and the discouragement of the best teachers. Yet it is the rational boast of our Christian faith, that the Holy Spirit, acting through well-chosen means, is a constant overmatch for these tendencies. It is hardly consistent with sound theology, with a lively confidence in God, or

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with earnest and untiring effort, to give Satan credit for any such power to withstand the Divine work. In the general advancement of the Church, subject, as that is, to the same influence in its most developed and malignant form, the glorious record of revival intelligence for the last twelve months has been a steady witness of triumph. It is humiliating to give up beaten when these holy endeavors are only met by a less mature, and consequently a less formidable, opposition of the kind.

It would, therefore, seem, that while due importance should be ascribed to the several hinderances alluded to, the evil in question needs to be largely accounted for by some other explanation. So vast a concentration of talent and of effort ought surely, under God, to bring a more encouraging show of results, provided that the methods and the appliances in use are what they ought to be. And this leads directly to the question: If, in the present mode of Sunday-school teaching, as practically applied, there is not an inherent tendency to defeat its own object? These elaborate "helps" to the study of the Bible, this wealth of illustration, this variety of object-teaching, these endless pictorial embellishments, these vaunted wonders of the blackboard, these volumes of fact and of suggestion that accompany the weekly lessons — are we sure that they do not actually blind the eyes of the masses to the true purpose of Bible study? This is too serious a thing to be answered with a monosyllable, or dismissed with a simple wave of the hand. It is no more than courtesy to stop and consider if any valid reasons appear for a suspicion of this kind.

Now, we should first remember that an explanation, to be really useful and effective, requires some previous knowledge of the subject under consideration. Where nothing is known there is nothing to illustrate. These mental helps add no truth. They are only collateral; they merely elucidate and enforce the truth which the subject itself contains; and this, either wholly or in part, must be previously ascertained by the learner, or the effort to illustrate it fails. Our modern system constantly takes this previous knowledge for granted, or else it supposes a taste for study which practically amounts to the same thing; whereas the mass of pupils, of all ages, are either largely or totally ignorant of the Bible when their connection

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with the school begins, and equally barren of any studious inclinations. Hence the prime need of the teacher is, not to tell stories, nor to fumble over charts, nor to scrawl hieroglyphics upon a blackboard, but to impart or to require some actual knowledge of the subject-matter precisely as the Bible contains it. The habit of study must, if possible, be formed on the part of the scholar, or much of the effort used for his improvement will be wasted.

Second. The present mode of instruction, as very commonly practiced, tends to unfit and to disincline the average pupil for the effort required to master the living word. There are few scholars who do not prefer to be simply told that a thing is so, rather than use the needed exertion to ascertain the fact. It is easier to look at a picture, to watch the motions of a clever hand at the blackboard, to join in a running chat with the teacher, or to hear a lively speech, well spiced with entertaining stories, than to put on their own thinking-caps and to work out the results for themselves. And the longer we keep this up the worse it is. Being more and more accustomed to these modern devices for catching the ear and for pleasing the eye, no solid accumulation of Bible treasure being secured meanwhile, they become more and more averse to any serious thought or effort. It is already impossible, in many schools, to hold attention to the most instructive themes without a liberal seasoning of anecdotes or of odd and laughable sayings. Often the most popular talkers to the young are little more than retailers of cheap stories, with enough of very ordinary small-talk to string them together. But solid questions, of measureless interest, which Bible readers of moderate information ought readily to answer by quoting familiar passages, go begging around whole classes, without eliciting a word in reply.

Third. In such a mass of instructions, comments, and illustrations, with so slight a foundation of direct Bible knowledge laid to require them, only a small proportion is retained by the scholar after the recitation is ended. The most of it, however attentive the hearing, is forgotten about as soon as it is uttered. This follows in the nature of things. If too little interested in a subject to study it when ample time has been given, we are apt to care as little for any subsequent ex-

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planation of it; so what comes without effort is pretty sure to go in the same way. How true this is in practice may be convincingly found by questioning any average class upon the lesson of a week previous. If one in five shall answer correctly, or recall any explanation, or quote a single statement or illustration previously used in reference to it, then a new era must have dawned at a very recent period.

Fourth. It is a mistake of the present method to suppose that such extended helps are necessary to the mass of learners. The Bible, as to its practical influence upon men, needs no such profusion of comment and of exposition. An unlettered man, having received as a present from a friend a copy of Shakspeare, with notes, was subsequently asked how he liked the book. He said that he could understand the *reading* very well, and he hoped that after awhile *he should be able to understand the notes!* Now the "sincere milk of the word" does not require a great deal of watering nor fixing. The things most needful and profitable for the elementary instruction which is mainly the kind required in the Sunday-school are simple enough as a general thing, and the more literal and undiluted the form in which they are mastered the better. The stories of Jesus are full of the richest doctrine; they contain the meat and the marrow of all truth. They are poetic as the idyls of the golden ages; they are as fascinating as a fiction; they are more instructive than any science or history. Yet they are as easy for a child to understand as the stories in his primer. The principal thing required at first is the careful study which shall thoroughly impress their facts and their substance upon the mind. And a hundred other parts of the Bible have a similar fund of instruction equally suited to all classes. A more critical study of the sense will naturally follow, as the mind becomes gradually stored with the substance, and the spirit of inquiry is awakened. It is not always best to stop and explain even the hard passages that sometimes occur in the midst of the easiest portions. The squirrel, in laying up his store for the winter, does not stop and try the nutshells to see if they will crack easily. He piles them in, the hard and the soft together, while the golden haze of the autumn is on; he will whet his teeth at leisure upon the rugged butternuts and the tough shagbarks when the days have

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shortened, and the snows grown thick. Many a passage of Scripture, learned at first with little thought or care what it signified, has in later years recurred, with thrilling interest awakened to know its meaning. Thus have arisen some of the most refreshing and hallowed impressions of a life-time.

Fifth. The general plan of the present lesson course is not adapted to those who really stand the most in need of it. Its range is too extensive. It covers too broad an area for their untrained vision to traverse. Always suggestive of some deep, underlying truth, admirably suited to the few trained and studious minds in school, it shoots directly past the great majority. The weekly verses merely sketch a line of thought, requiring a grade of mental exercise for which hardly one in a dozen is qualified. They are wholly fragmentary; they are chosen at intervals, with extended portions omitted; they give only a glimpse of the general idea; they need to be as critically and as consecutively studied as a course of higher mathematics. It is an impossible task to interest the general run of pupils in a work so comprehensive and elaborate.

These are hard, stubborn difficulties, which have long tried the patience and baffled the skill of teachers. They inhere in the system; they are inseparable from its present structure and requirements. They have been fully attested by many experienced and faithful workers, who have given years of toil to the Sunday-school, and have mourned the inefficiency of their efforts. It will require a good many taunts of indolence and incompetency at their expense to alter the facts. The whole thing is operated on a wrong principle, and the fruit is daily seen in the popular ignorance and disrelish concerning the Bible.

Before the meaning of the Bible can be understood, or its spirit imbibed, it is evidently necessary to know what the Bible says. And what other method is so effectual at the start as to commit the language of the Bible to memory? In what other way can a person become really skilled in the handling of God's word? A precise quotation of Scripture does infinitely more to fix a point or to clinch an argument than any possible statement of its substance. One reason is, that the Bible language is so apt and forcible in itself, that, as a general thing, we can put none so good of our own in its place. Another reason is

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that the Bible, in spite of the popular skepticism, is actually held in very high reverence by the people at large. There is a sense of authority and of power, when it speaks, that most men feel, if they refuse to acknowledge it. An exact quotation, therefore, is, to a remarkable extent, an end of strife. Many a time has blatant infidelity been silenced by a timely shot from the armory of truth. It should be also remembered, that the devil was once put to flight in the same manner. Imagine him foiled and routed in the climax of the great temptation by a modern blackboard sketch or a taking story! A third reason is that a good command of Scripture language evinces a higher quality of mind and of intelligence than any other knowledge in equal degree. The crowd will admiringly quote the man, however illiterate otherwise, "who has got the whole Bible at his tongue's end." There are some localities in New England where the ability of a preacher is to-day rated by that standard, more than by all other tests combined. The gifts of oratory count for little, but if he can fire sharply and accurately from the batteries of God's word, he is at once voted *smart* by acclamation. And is not the critic "smart," too, who is able to invent a better rule of judgment?

Now the golden opportunity to begin this work of acquisition is none other than the period of childhood and of early youth. The extreme tenacity of the memory at that time insures a permanency of retention, which is commonly denied to later acquisitions. Passages from the Bible, learned at the mother's knee or in the infant class, shine forth in after life with surpassing vividness of recollection. It has been a pleasure to verify this truth, to some extent, in connection with the present subject. Special inquiries have been made of many old and middle-aged persons, who, with touching eagerness, saints and sinners alike, have told their experience in getting verses by heart. And they have almost invariably repeated, for illustration, the *first one* that they ever learned.

Another advantage is, that the style of the Scripture language is peculiarly suited to this early work of memorizing. It is very easy to learn. There is a nameless charm in the phraseology that readily fixes it in the young mind. Thus it naturally follows that the spirit of the language is more likely to make a lasting impression. Children are so highly suscept-

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ible to religious convictions, that a careful nurturing in the word of God from the start will increase, beyond all estimate, the likelihood of their early conversion. Considering, also, how much more tractable they are, as a rule, than older persons, how much easier to manage, in regard to their studies, in the Sunday-school, it seems hardly possible to begin this foundation-work too soon.

To correct, therefore, the gigantic evils already shown, and to render the grand mission of Bible teaching effective, more attention must be paid to first principles. This endless talk *about* the Bible must give place to a more direct and literal acquisition *of* the Bible. And to make the reform radical, let the process begin *at once* with the primary department. Let some easy and suitable portion of Scripture be selected, and given out in lessons of only two or three verses at the start, the same to be learned by each pupil in time for the next Sabbath. The amount may be increased from week to week, as the task becomes familiar and the memory gradually strengthened. To read the verses over to the class a few times when giving them out will render them partially familiar, and thus help the case materially. On the following Sunday let the passages so learned be carefully recited to the teacher, word for word, by each pupil in succession. On no account should this ever be omitted. The special business must now be *to learn the Bible*, and there is no other test of proficiency possible at so early an age; it is *absolutely that or nothing.* An occasional review of former lessons, with suitable questions upon the facts already learned, will help to rivet them in the mind, the same as in any other study. All needful explanation should, of course, be given by the teacher as the growing spirit of inquiry shall seem to demand it, but never as a regular part of the recitation. The same restriction should be laid upon all charts, outlines, blackboard sketches, and other illustrative exercises, except as the merest recreations, after the solid work of the session is done. They are wholly unnecessary at this stage of proceeding, and of very doubtful expediency in the long run.

As to the trite objection that this is only a wholesale, unreflective process of "cramming;" what if it is, provided the material accumulated be of the right kind? The squirrel

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does not "reflect" what he is laying up nuts for; but he obeys the commands of his instinct, and finds the nuts very handy in the winter. The child follows the teacher's counsel, with almost as little thought what he is doing it for, but he finds in after life what a priceless treasure he has gained. Said a high-school teacher of character and experience recently, "It is the educational humbug of the day that a scholar shall learn nothing unless he understands it." Cramming let it be, and the more of it the better, so long as the certain alternative lies between the Bible and Oliver Optic's stories!

The proper use of credits and of premiums will be found of excellent service in waking up ambition, provided it be so employed that all who try to do well shall have proportionate recognition. There is entire justice in the principle, and no more objection to it here than in secular schools of every grade, where it has been found a virtual necessity. The millennium is a little too far off yet to discard all incentives of the kind, especially since even the highest moral precepts of the Bible are commended to our obedience upon the same principle.

Much is gained by assigning to these young pupils a part in the various concerts, anniversaries, Christmas celebrations, and the like. It should be purely scriptural, and adapted to the occasion. The usual "readings" and recitations at such times are often thin and profitless enough to bring the whole concert system into contempt. But a connected portion of Scripture may be rendered with striking effect by little children, each reciting a verse or more in order. Nothing awakens their own interest more than this, and nothing ever holds a crowd in greater quietness. The fund of Bible knowledge that may thus be acquired in a single year would surprise one not familiar with the facts.

The general process here outlined will be essentially aided by the use of a suitable Catechism—not the ordinary compendium of doctrine under that name, but something easy and simple, expressly designed for the purpose. The "Easy Lesson Book," by Rev. Z. A. Mudge, of the New England Conference, is one of the best things of the kind in existence. It contains a virtual digest of the Scripture theology, and can be mastered without difficulty in a few months, even with the aid of oral teaching alone. This measure of knowledge would,

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of itself, be a precious attainment. But it will add a great deal of interest to future Bible study to have these principal landmarks of truth plainly sketched out in this way beforehand. A traveler upon an unfamiliar street, at midnight, is glad to see a row of lights glimmering along the way before him, though they may be a furlong apart, and the intermediate spaces dark as ever. It looks familiar and cheerful to him, and he presses on with lighter footsteps. Later progress in study is always quickened when anticipated by these glimpses of leading principles obtained in the impressible years of childhood. It is a significant fact, in this connection, that one of the leading Congregational Churches in Boston has introduced the "Old Assembly's Shorter Catechism" as the chief text-book in its Sunday-school.

Now these suggested measures of reform are very simple. Yet in principle they fully meet the difficulty. If the true object is to master the contents of the Bible, there is clearly no other process of doing it, or at least of beginning it, so effectually. And should these principles be applied, with reasonable patience and fidelity, to the infant department alone, five years would witness a virtual revolution in the *status* of the Sunday-school. The practical efficiency of the work would be increased tenfold. The quickened intelligence of the pupils thus trained, however young, would be immediately apparent, and the influence of their example wholesome from the start. And they would soon, and constantly thereafter, be graduating into the higher classes, and carrying the force of this improved training with them, to make it ultimately felt throughout the school. Two or three of such in a class of a dozen would give character and stimulus to the whole.

And this scheme is entirely practicable. Not the least difficulty exists that ordinary pains will not readily overcome. Little children can always be depended on. They are pliant, docile, confiding, full of enthusiasm; they will do with their might any thing reasonable, if within their power. They will learn songs, they will commit pieces, they will appear in all weathers promptly at the hour, they will sing or speak, unembarrassed, when hundreds are present. They never fail, and it is highly absurd to suppose that they will not as readily adjust themselves to this new line of procedure whenever the

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proper means are used. *They will do it. They have done it* in cases personally known to the writer, where experiments have been tried for months with special reference to this object.

With these primary conditions fulfilled, it is easy to forecast the certain tendencies of the future. But the work of improvement need not be confined to these limits. It may be applied, in some measure, to the advanced classes. Doubtless many of the older pupils, and possibly a majority, being unused to the discipline, and ignorant of the certain advantage, will decline to make the needful exertion. Yet some can be found in every school who, even to adult years, are ready to fall in with the plan. Such as commonly do the active work in dialogues, recitations, and the like, whenever a concert or an exhibition is held, will be sure to co-operate, with a little persuasion. The example of one or two such, to begin with, would be wholesome, and materially aid in creating a healthier state of things.

In cases where little of actual memorizing can be induced, pupils should by all means be encouraged to seek a knowledge of the *substance*. Few scholars, of eight or ten years old and upward, are unable with careful reading to master a brief lesson well enough to give a tolerable statement of its contents. This should always precede any questioning upon the sense. What does the Bible *say?* When that is answered there will be ample time to ask what it means, and a vastly better chance of finding out. As to the lazy or the stupid incorrigibles, who will never try to learn any thing, and will never answer a question, unless they have a chance to read the answer from a Bible or a lesson-leaf, the only way left is to pray for them, and then be as patient as possible.

The parts chosen for the lesson-text should undoubtedly be those which contain the largest proportion of spiritual meat, in the form best adapted to all classes. In the four Gospels, the consummate flower of all Scripture, the conditions of a proper choice are never wanting. Unquestionably the first work of Bible acquisition should there begin. Next to the recorded life and teachings of the Saviour, the Old Testament is prolific in treasures to enrich all minds and hearts. The stories of Adam and Eve, of Cain and Abel, of Joseph and his brethren,

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of Samuel, of David and Goliath, of Daniel, of the three Hebrews in the furnace, are of surpassing and unchangeable interest. The history of the Creation should sometime be the lesson of every scholar who can be persuaded to learn it. The Ten Commandments should no more be omitted from the list than the Bible itself should be omitted. The Psalms are wonderfully adapted to the same purpose, especially when used to supplement the teachings already indicated. Mr. Ruskin, in a beautiful tribute to his sainted mother, says that she required him, in his early childhood, to commit large portions of the New Testament *and of the Psalms* to memory. There are also parts of sacred prophecy that merit a high place upon the chosen list. The fifty-third chapter of Isaiah is a grand illustration, being well-nigh the Gospel itself in miniature.

The present purpose, however, scarcely requires any further enumeration of subjects. The line of study already indicated is rather suggestive than strictly definite. The principle involved represents the imperative need of the Sunday-school to-day. The details may be varied according to circumstances. The choice and the arrangement of topics, the selection of passages, the proper alternation of the Old Testament with the New, and similar questions, will be easily settled without hinderance to the work itself. The Church should prescribe and publish the order of study, the same as it publishes hymn books, catechisms, and doctrinal works; and this, either by its own authority, or by agreement with the other Churches, as in the case of the International Series. Thus the present advantages of uniformity would be equally realized, the official indorsement of the plan would insure its general adoption, while the hearty co-operation of ministers, superintendents, and other Sunday-school workers, would guarantee its success from the beginning.

It has been claimed that ample provision for memorizing Scripture is already afforded in the Uniform Series. There is a Golden Text every week, which expresses some truth germane to the subject, and is intended to be learned by heart. Also a portion of the lesson, embodying its most impressive fact or sentiment, is printed in more conspicuous type than the rest, and set apart for the same purpose. A glance, however, at the structure of the present system will discover how poorly

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contrived these arrangements are to answer the true end in view. The Bible selections, however fit and forcible in themselves, and suited to the maturer stages of advancement, are largely unfit for young pupils to memorize. They are frequently chosen from parts of the Bible that the most exacting literalist would never dream of assigning to that use, so long, at least, as a hundred other and better places had been omitted. They are also scattered and fragmentary to the last degree. They are separated by intervals of a chapter or more. They are abruptly severed from their connections, often dividing paragraphs, and sometimes even sentences, in two. Thus they give only glimpses of the sense, and rarely afford a complete statement of any important fact or principle. They are harder to learn and to remember, they are less interesting, and they fail to embody the knowledge that is really the most needed, under the circumstances. Even the grand series of lessons from the Gospel of John, which covered the latter half of 1875, while so admirable for sketching a course of advanced Bible study, was presented in such an array of disjointed slices and segments, that a beginner might learn the whole of it, and yet have little idea who Jesus was, or what he came into the world to do.

The Golden Texts are equally unsuitable. They have even less attraction for the mass of pupils. Each is entirely separate, isolated from every other, merely appended to a lesson as a sort of motto or moral reflection. Of themselves they follow no plan, they form no system, while their constant relation and allusions to other subjects not familiar to the majority do not relieve their dryness nor their obscurity a great deal. Were the whole series of selected verses, Golden Texts and all, mastered word for word, their unmethodical, piecemeal character would largely discount the value of the achievement. The mind would be lumbered with a mass of chips and of fragments, rather than carefully stored with an assorted variety of Scripture material. It would be an odd way of setting-up in the watch trade to shovel a cartload of movements, cases, crystals, and safety-chains into a miscellaneous heap on the floor. The larger the stock, the worse the confusion. Better far a dozen good time-pieces in perfect order, of styles to suit the market, ready for sale at a moment's notice. Even

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a few choice selections from the Bible, each complete in itself, giving a full, clear view of some grand topic, would be better than the whole Bible stowed away in a confused jumble.

It is natural to ask how long this elementary work of the memory in Bible study shall last. Such a question is pertinent, too; for with a growing knowledge of what the Scriptures *say*, will certainly come a growing desire to know what they *mean*. Some general idea of the sense will ordinarily follow the earliest efforts of a child to master the language, especially if aided by judicious hints from a good teacher. The more thorough and critical study of the text belongs, of course, to a period of riper reflection, when the use of the memory shall be a less mechanical effort. The time will eventually come when the best of scholars will deem it unnecessary to spend a great deal of time in that way. The question, however, will easily settle itself. There is little danger of overdoing such a preliminary work, for it is inconceivable that the mind can be too amply stored with the words of inspiration, any more than the world can be too full of light. It is perfectly safe to advise the continuance of this mode as long as practicable, and scholars habituated to so wholesome an exercise may usually be in no haste to abandon it. Then, too, as the habit becomes settled, the labor required will gradually diminish, till hardly more than a careful reading or two will be necessary to fix a lesson of moderate length in the mind. Not until at least the salient points of the Gospel story shall have been mastered, with enough of the Old Testament to "sample" it well, should this prime effort be allowed to slacken. With the infant departments brought speedily into line, as indicated, with a corresponding application of the same principle, so far as practicable, to the older classes, and with reasonable effort on the part of teachers to urge on the work, a familiarity with the Bible, quite unknown to the mass of modern pupils, will soon reward the endeavor. And it will be strange, indeed, if a taste for the study of sacred truth is not created, wholly impossible with the wretched surface-skimming of the present day. Then, as attention shall be gradually diverted to the more critical study and discussion of the themes presented in the Bible, there will have been a solid basis of material secured, which will lend unflagging interest to these later investigations.

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To provide for this want, an arrangement, not unlike the International Series, is needful, but simplified, to reach the majority better. There is no necessity, for ordinary uses, of so comprehensive and elaborate a plan. It will do for theologians and for thinkers; but the masses in the Sunday-school are not of such. Instead of a grand system of doctrinal philosophy, running along from year to year, some prominent topic should be chosen, and pursued from week to week until finished. Instead of little fragments of Bible text, hammered off here and there, once in a chapter or two, merely to illustrate a general plan, the lessons should follow the single topic, with nothing essential omitted to break their continuity. When finished, let another theme be taken up and followed in like manner. Thus would completer views be gained, and more vivid impressions wrought, than through the present system, even though less ground should seem to be traversed in doing it. The verses would also be easier to commit, if desired, because more consecutive; likewise more profitable and available, for the same reason. With the great cardinal subjects and leading characters of the Bible thus assigned, in portions of moderate length, for weekly study, it would be easy enough both to master all the essential facts and principles of each, and to gain a good, practical understanding of their sense.

And this involves not the least difficulty. The Uniform Series can, without the sacrifice of one essential quality, be readily adjusted to meet this requirement. The International Committee has only to shift a point or two in its course, and the thing is done. The essential idea of popular, uniform study need not be changed. The plan of suggestive questions requires no alteration. The arrangement of home readings, collateral topics, and the like, is well enough. Only let the general scope of the system be more carefully adapted to the wants and the capacities of the majority, who, by the improved elementary training already suggested, will soon come to require and to appreciate it. But let no sensible person ever dream of bridging over, with any abundance of story-telling, picture-drawing, or other cheap device now practiced, the wide, deep gulf between the ignorant masses and the solid intelligence required to work the present system. As well try to prepare them in that way to enjoy algebra or conic sections,

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before they have learned the multiplication table. Whoever tries to ignore the conditions of healthy progress in such a manner will find up-hill business before he gets through. There is no way to *talk* a great deal of accurate, available Bible knowledge into the head of one who has either neglected or refused to *study for it himself.*

It has been mildly objected to such a modification of the present system, that it would act as a hinderance to the forward scholars, who like to advance more rapidly. Well, so it might, especially if forward scholarship is merely reckoned by the ground gone over. But if the Sunday-school was not expressly created for the one in ten or so, who would study the Bible whether there was any school or not, the one in ten ought not to mind a little hinderance if the other nine could be quickened all the more. This, however, is a groundless fear. It is not proposed *to simplify the Bible*, nor to disregard one of its truths, nor to delay for a moment its legitimate study, but to *compact* and to simplify the method of searching it. The man who should hoe a single row in his field, then skip a dozen, intending to go back sometime and hoe another, would be likely to find himself the gainer, in the long run, by finishing as he went. And if any are too wise or too worthy to time their own studies somewhat to the moral needs of the multitude living in ignorance, there is little place for them among the workers for God. They have outlived their day, and had better pray to be translated at once to the region where human aid is no longer available.

Is the modern Sunday school method a success? As a guide to progressive study, as a help to careful reflection, its merits have been fully attested in the foregoing pages. To those largely familiar with the Scriptures, it is especially rich in suggestions. Whatever its defects, it has undoubtedly given a healthy impulse to the general interests of Bible culture. It has united the friends of the Sunday-school, and centralized their efforts. It has attracted and aided intelligent searchers of the divine word. It has quickened to new interest many who had ceased to improve their beginnings of knowledge. Others, unblessed with early acquirements, but exceptionally energetic, have caught its inspiration, and learned at last, by its help, to love the Scriptures. For these mature and self-

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reliant minds it is, in all likelihood, the best arrangement that ever existed. But as to the general mass of those who fill our Sunday-school classes, whose knowledge of the Bible is virtually limited to the instruction there received, it is a widespread, though unpalatable, conviction, *that it has, from the outset, been a practical failure.*

ART. VI.—THE DISRUPTION OF METHODISM.

The Disruption of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1844–1846. Comprising a Thirty Years' History of the Relations of the Two Methodisms. By EDWARD H. MEYERS, D.D. With an Introduction by Dr. SUMMERS. Nashville and Macon: A. H. Redford, Agent. 1875.

METHODISM was planted in America and nurtured faithfully by men of God who were in perfect accord with John Wesley's views on religious experience and Christian morality. American slavery was deemed "the vilest that ever saw the sun," as Mr. Wesley put it, and he struck at "the root of this complicated villainy" by saying, "I absolutely deny all slave-holding to be consistent with any degree of natural justice."

Therefore the attitude of the Methodist Episcopal Church was at the beginning positively and unqualifiedly antislavery. Prohibitory rules were adopted very early in its history. The Discipline in 1796 required all official members to emancipate their slaves; whoever bought or sold a slave was liable to expulsion, and a general system of agitation was inaugurated to eradicate "the enormous evil." And in 1800 traveling preachers who might become slave-owners were required to emancipate their slaves or forfeit ministerial character.

The General Conferences of 1796 and 1800 directed the publication of Coke and Asbury's notes on the Discipline, which denounced "the buying and selling of the souls and bodies of men" as a "complicated crime." With this platform on the subject of slavery the Methodist Episcopal Church entered the nineteenth century under the lead of Bishop Asbury, whose recorded prayer for twenty years had been, "O Lord, banish the infernal spirit of slavery from thy dear Zion!"

"The Attitude of the Original Methodist Episcopal Church toward Slavery," is the title of chapter one of the book under

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review. It does not contain any of the above facts, dismissing the subject very summarily with the remark that "it would be tedious and irrelevant to give a complete history of the forward and backward movements of the Church in legislating on slavery. Its attitude in 1844 is what now concerns us."

But the "original" Church was not organized in 1844, nor is the attitude of 1844 that of the original Church, and the promise of the caption is not fulfilled in the chapter. For the purpose of special pleading the stand-point chosen is doubtless preferable. It avoids the embarrassment of incongruous antecedents, and furnishes a plausible starting-point for the argument to be constructed. The truth of history, however, and the legitimacy of the conclusions arrived at, demand that the attitude of the Church at the beginning, the changes of attitude, and the forces at work in the South which revolutionized the platform of Methodism, should all be considered. For it came to pass in 1844 that "the South stood upon the accepted platform of the Church on the slavery question, the North took a new departure," as our author states the case.

The original attitude given, the changes of position claim brief notice. In 1804 slavery ceased to be designated, as before, a "crying" evil. Slave-selling was allowed anywhere if approved by a committee. In North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee, members were exempt from the rule against slave-selling. 1808. All that related to slave-holding by private members was stricken out of the Discipline. 1812. Annual Conferences were authorized to form their own regulations relative to buying and selling slaves. 1816. The expression, "more than ever convinced of the great evil of slavery," was changed to "as much as ever." 1820. The power given to the Annual Conferences to act against the slave traffic was withheld. 1824. The members were only required to teach their slaves to read, and allow them time to attend public worship. 1828. A slave-holder, Dr. W. Capers, was elected by the General Conference delegate to the British Conference. 1832. James O. Andrew was elected bishop, who said, in 1844, that at the time "no one asked me if I was a slave-holder, no one asked me my principles on the subject, and no one dared to ask a pledge of me, or it would have been met as it deserved." 1836. The General Conference by resolution disap-

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proved the conduct of two of its members for attending an antislavery prayer-meeting in Cincinnati, condemned modern abolitionism, and wholly disclaimed "any right, wish, or intention to interfere in the civil and political relation between master and slave, as it exists in the slave-holding States of this Union." 1840. It was declared by the General Conference "that, under the provisional exception of the general rule of the Church on the subject of slavery, the simple holding of slaves, or mere ownership of slave property in States and Territories where the laws do not admit of emancipation, and permit the liberated slave to enjoy freedom, constitutes no legal barrier to the election or ordination of ministers to the various grades of office known in the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church."

The forces at work to produce the changed attitude indicated above were wholly southern in their locality and character, and included the community outside, the membership of the Church, individual ministers, and the Annual Conferences in the Southern States. And their antagonism was early, and constant, and successful.

Bishop Asbury, in 1780, "spoke to some select friends about slave-keeping, but they could not bear it." In 1785 he says that he "found the minds of the people greatly agitated with our rules against slavery." And in 1798 he was "brought to conclude that slavery will exist in Virginia perhaps for ages." "It appears to me that we can never fully reform the people until we reform the preachers" How well this point was made about preachers will appear as we proceed.

Dr. Capers, in 1844, said of Coke and Asbury's pamphlet on slavery that "Scott never wrote or published a more violent incendiary and disloyal document. Some of the preachers would not circulate them. The excitement arose so high, and the feeling became so deep and general, that it became necessary to expurgate all that related to slavery from the copies of the Discipline that were sent to South Carolina." *

Rev. Gabriel Capers says of this pamphlet, that it "compelled the Legislature of South Carolina to pass a law authorizing any person to repair to Methodist meetings and disperse the negroes, whether assembled with or without permission

* Debate of 1844, reported by L. C. Matlack and L. Lee.

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from their owners. It continued in force and with the utmost propriety until the ministers of that denomination ceased to assail the institution of bondage, and ceased to expel their members for buying and selling slaves." *

Rev. S. Dunwody, of South Carolina, at the General Conference of 1844, said that "twenty-four years ago abolition was not heard of, and then (1820) the General Conference said that a slave-holder should hold no official station in the Church. My mind was then made up. I then saw that if it was admitted that slavery is a moral evil we should have no ground to stand upon. I brought Scripture to prove my views that it is not a moral evil in all cases."

Not only were southern communities and individual ministers at the South actively antagonizing the antislavery attitude and testimony of the Church, but Conferences were brought to take similar ground. The action of the General Conference of 1836 was pressed vehemently by southern ministers from Maryland, Missouri, Virginia, Alabama, South Carolina, and Mississippi, and that action was the first official disclaimer against antislavery agitation. It reversed the position of Methodism wholly, and was followed up by the Annual Conferences.

The Baltimore Conference (1837) declared the purchase or sale of a slave to be no crime, unless attended by circumstances of inhumanity and cruelty.

The Georgia Conference (1838) resolved "that slavery as it exists in the United States is not a moral evil."

The South Carolina Conference (1839) did likewise, Dr. Capers explaining that "if slavery were a moral evil the Church would be bound to take cognizance of it; but our affirmation is that it is not a matter for her jurisdiction, and, of course, not sinful." †

In harmony with such sentiments, leading ministers held slaves and freely spake of it in the public assemblies of the Church. The reviewer heard Dr. Capers refer to his slaves by way of illustration in a missionary speech in 1832. Mr. Crowder, of Virginia, in the General Conference of 1836, talked about the sale of some of his slaves, and of retaining others. Mr. Winans, of Mississippi, at the same Conference, declared

* Rev. D. De Vinne, 1844, "Zion's Herald."

† "Methodism and Slavery." Matlack.

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that he became a slave-holder on principle, and advocated the great advantage of "members, preachers, presiding elders, and even bishops, being slave-holders." *

The climax of antagonism to the original attitude of the Church toward slavery was reached by the action of the General Conference of 1840. A succession of changes under the management of southern men, extending over a period of forty years, had completely revolutionized the policy and reconstructed the platform of the Methodist Episcopal Church. And the complacency with which the author, on page 18, informs us that "the South sought for no change in the relations of the Church to slavery," is no more remarkable for its presumption, if applied to the year 1844, than it would be glaringly contradictory to the truth if affirmed of the previous forty years. If the quiet acceptance of a slave-holding bishop in 1844 would have been no change of relation to slavery, it would be because, through the seeking and strivings of a whole generation, all desired changes had been secured.

The events immediately preceding and attendant upon the session of the General Conference in 1844 were unprecedented in the history of the Church. The Wesleyan secession occurred the year previous, and this vigorous organization of antislavery Methodists was full of ambition and zeal, constantly on the alert to enlarge their borders, and increase their numbers by accessions from the "Old Church."

To prevent these results the Annual Conferences of the North and the body of the membership took the most vigorous measures for developing the antislavery sentiment of the Church. Our author misapprehends the condition of things when he says that "the movement was arrested; but two small, sickly conventions were held." Instead of that being the case, there were three very large and enthusiastic Conventions held in New England: At Boston, January 18, 1843; Hallowell, Me., February 22; and New Market, N. H., March 8 of the same year. And their declarations of views and purposes were designed to influence the approaching General Conference.

The first affirmed "that slaveholding is sin; that every slaveholder is a sinner, and ought not to be admitted to the pulpit or the communion; that the Methodist Episcopal

* "Methodism and Slavery." Matlack.

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Church is responsible for slavery in its pale; and that nothing short of a speedy and entire separation of slavery from the Church could satisfy the consciences of honest abolitionists, and therefore reformation or division is the only alternative." The second convention declared that, "from a careful collection of documentary evidence, with other well-attested facts, there are within the Methodist Episcopal Church two hundred traveling ministers, holding sixteen hundred slaves; about one thousand local preachers, holding ten thousand; about twenty-five thousand members, holding two hundred and seven thousand nine hundred and sixty-three more." The last of these conventions represented, as their conclusion of the whole matter, "that the only way to prevent an entire dissolution among us as a Church is an entire separation from the South;" and a plan was agreed upon for memorializing the General Conference to divide the Church north and south, or set off the New England Conferences by themselves."

When the General Conference assembled the elements of discord were not diminished by the fact that Bishop James O. Andrew admitted that he had been a slave-holder for several years. Why it should have been unknown so long, or why our author is so much offended at the one whom he supposes gave the first information of this fact, is not explained. But this fact became at once the great difficulty, being joined to the united support and defense of the bishop by almost the entire southern delegation.

Our author discusses extensively collateral issues respecting law, constitutional power, relations of the bishops, and the like, which are not essential to the facts we need to know, but rather serve to hide them. What concerns us, in canvassing the relations of the two Methodisms, is the action of the General Conference in the case of Bishop Andrew, and the action consequent thereon.

Preliminary and prophetic was the vote on the appeal of Rev. F. A. Harding *versus* the Baltimore Conference, which had suspended him from the ministry for refusing to manumit his slaves, but was sustained by one hundred and seventeen yeas to fifty-six nays in the General Conference.

The action in Bishop Andrew's case was, first, a report from the Committee on Episcopacy, giving his written statement of

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the facts. Then followed a resolution which "affectionately requested" him to resign his office, which was substituted by another, which declared, "That it is the sense of this General Conference that he desist from the exercise of his office so long as this impediment remains." The discussion continued ten days, when this resolution was adopted by one hundred and eleven yeas to sixty-nine nays.

A declaration was presented three days afterward from the southern and south-western Conferences, signed by fifty-two delegates, which referred to the "agitation of the subject of slavery in a portion of the Church, the frequent action on that subject by the General Conference, and especially the extra-judicial proceedings against Bishop Andrew," and stated that "a continuance of the jurisdiction of the General Conference over these Conferences is inconsistent with the success of the ministry in the slaveholding States." This impeachment of "jurisdiction" was followed the next day with a protest, which was more direct and indignant in its tone, and stigmatized the action of the Conference as "an attempt to degrade and punish; a lawless prosecution; an illegal arrest; an anomalous quasi-suspension, imperative and mandatory in form," and closed by saying, "The South cannot submit, and the absolute necessity of division is already dated."

The General Conference, however, in effect, if not by design, answered the cavils of the protest by resolutions providing "That Bishop Andrew's name stand in the Minutes, Hymn Book, and Discipline, as formerly; that the rule in relation to the support of a bishop and his family applies to Bishop Andrew; that whether in any, and if any, in what work, Bishop Andrew be employed, is to be determined by his own decision and action, in relation to the previous action of this Conference in his case." And a special committee reported a statement, which was adopted, declaring that "The action of the General Conference was neither judicial nor punitive. It neither achieves a deposition nor so much as a legal suspension. Bishop Andrew is still a bishop, and should he, against the expressed sense of the General Conference, proceed in the discharge of his functions, his official acts would be valid."

Notwithstanding the unqualified disclaimers of the Conference, the southern delegates moved on directly toward the

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disruption of jurisdiction suggested, and the "antedated division," named in their Declaration and Protest. Dr. Capers offered a proposition providing for the jurisdiction in partnership, which was, after brief consideration, withdrawn. Rev. J. B. M'Ferrin offered a resolution of instruction to the Committee of Nine, which had in their hands the southern declaration, "to devise a constitutional plan for division, mutual and friendly."

This committee, Dr. Paine, of Tennessee, chairman, presented a report, which very considerately and kindly said, "We esteem it the duty of this General Conference to meet the emergency with Christian kindness and the strictest equity." And a plan was presented by them for adoption, to be adhered to "in the event of a separation, a contingency to which the declaration asks attention as not improbable." This plan indicated a boundary line; provided for border conferences, stations, and societies choosing their position; recommended to the Annual Conferences a change of the sixth Restrictive Rule; provided contingently for the division of the stock and assets of the Book Concern; and resolved, "That all the property of the Methodist Episcopal Church in meeting-houses, parsonages, colleges, schools, conference funds, cemeteries, and of every kind within the limits of the southern organization, shall be forever free from any claim set up on the part of the Methodist Episcopal Church, so far as this resolution can be of force in the premises."

All these provisions were conditioned upon the occurrence of a state of things indicated thus: "Should the Annual Conferences in the slave-holding States find it necessary to unite in a distinct ecclesiastical organization." Dr. Paine, speaking for the South, said: "If found necessary to keep down faction and prosecute their ministry at home they should feel bound to separate—to carry out the provisions of this enactment—but not unless driven to it." "They should be one people until it was formally announced by a convention of the southern Churches that they had resolved to ask an organization according to the provisions of this report."

Such was the attitude and relation of the parties to this great question, when, at midnight, June 10, 1844, the General Conference adjourned *sine die*. So spake the conference of

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its willingness to meet the contingency, equitably and kindly. And so said they of the South, of their purposes and method of proceeding. No such scene had ever been witnessed as was exhibited in that highest tribunal of the Church. No such record of magnanimity, gentleness, and generous dealing finds a place in ecclesiastical history.

The morning after the adjournment—unexpectedly to all others—found the southern delegates in session, as a convention, in New York city. They proceeded to assume the initiative of separation, which prerogative had been specifically assigned to their Annual Conferences. A delegated convention was appointed to meet at Louisville, Ky., May 1, 1845, the ratio of representation was fixed, and an address was issued to the ministers and members of the southern States and Territories. This address declared that it was now evident "that the legislative, judicial, and administrative action of the General Conference, as now organized, will always be extremely hurtful, if not ruinous, to the southern portion of the Church." "And that, unless the South will submit to the dictation and interference of the North, there is no hope of any thing like union and harmony." Many other softer words were employed; but these brief quotations give the key-note of the movement, which precipitated the issue, and made separation a certainty. And thus the plan proposed by the General Conference and accepted by the southern delegates was virtually set aside within three days after its adoption. It exhibited, moreover, an impatience of restraint, although self-imposed, and a disregard of obligation, expressed or implied, which should modify our author's lavish and unqualified complaints against others of a want of good faith and covenant-keeping. But there is a common liability of encountering "beams" in our sharp look out for "motes," and we need to have charity. Judging from the many motes which he seems to see so clearly in northern eyes, he may have first cast the beam out of his own eye.

To illustrate this, and give the contrary view obtained from opposite stand-points, the author's observations upon the men and measures of the General Conference of 1844 may be cited. A few expressions will be sufficient. The New England Conference delegates are charged with a "conspiracy," which pre-

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vented union and harmony. Dr. Hamline's masterly argument is "as sophistical as it is eloquent." And his view of the supremacy of the General Conference, judicially, is "so monstrous a document, that it reduces that of the Star-chamber to a mere *bagatelle*." The resolution declaring the "sense" of the General Conference is "a tangled mass of ideas contradictory to law, interpolative of law, and violative of precedent under law." The aim of the northern delegates is stated thus: "They saw the result, and intended to force the South to depart." The caption of the sixth chapter is, "A Division of the Church declared Inevitable before the Finley Resolution was passed, and the Result was intended." Another chapter is headed, "The Perversions of Law by the General Conference of 1844." And the final result of its proceedings is said to be productive only of "bitter recollections of wrong doing left as a heritage to coming generations."

With such a view of the men and measures of the General Conference, the subsequent action of the South was quite in harmony. The Annual Conferences of the Southern States, below Delaware and Maryland, accepted the programme of the New York Convention, recognized its authority, and thereby virtually united with it in ignoring the plan adopted at the General Conference—by a majority so near to unanimity—which had generously provided for a deplored contingency. And that majority would have been very much less but for the hope many of them entertained, that the necessity for a separate organization might not be found to exist. One of that majority, who, since 1844, has been placed in the highest office of the Church, said to the reviewer recently that he and many others accepted the statement of the southern delegates, that this action of the Conference would be an "olive branch" with which they might be able to allay the excitement among their people and prevent disruption.

The events of the quadrennium following the General Conference of 1844 are now to be carefully traced.

The LOUISVILLE CONVENTION, May 17, 1875, by a vote of ninety-four to three, declared that "a separate ecclesiastical connection in the Southern States is an urgent necessity;" and that "the jurisdiction hitherto exercised" over the Annual Conferences represented therein was "entirely dissolved." A

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separate body was constituted, known as "The Methodist Episcopal Church, South."

Meanwhile the proposed *change of the sixth Restrictive Rule necessary to the property division* was being submitted to all the Annual Conferences. The whole number of votes cast was three thousand two hundred and five. Three fourths of these would be two thousand four hundred and four. The affirmative vote, however, was only two thousand one hundred and thirty-five, which lacked two hundred and sixty-nine votes of the number required. The negative vote was one thousand and seventy.

The opposition of more than one thousand traveling preachers was largely increased before the ensuing General Conference, as was manifest by the election of delegates thereto. Only forty-one who were members in 1844 were re-elected to the Conference of 1848, and of these, eleven had voted against the Plan. Various influences combined to effect this change of views and reconstruction of the General Conference. Opposition, upon conscientious and constitutional grounds, to the sanction given to the desire of the South for separation, very generally prevailed outside of the Conference of 1844. The unauthorized precipitation of the New York Convention of southern delegates was regarded as almost, if not actually, a repudiation of the Plan by those who had favored it. The *disregard of the boundary line by the South*, and the consequent strife and invasions of northern territory, were equally damaging to the Plan, and operated to destroy its integrity in the minds of yet others.

This last-named aggression assumed a grave character quite early. The Church South gave out in 1846 an official construction of the mode of determining the boundary line, which enlarged the territory indefinitely, by providing that the circuits on the border adhering, then—"They transfer the boundary line to the next tier adjoining, which thus become a line of border societies, and they may in time, by a similar action, transmit the border relation, and the provisional rights and privileges to those immediately beyond them."

The bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in 1847, therefore found it necessary to check encroachment upon their territory by restating the original import of the border ques-

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tion, and by naming also localities within three conferences of the North, which had been invaded, where they insist on maintaining jurisdiction. And the bishops of the Church South, by published letters and appeals, were as positive in claiming all the territory within all the slave-holding States and Territories, including portions of the Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Ohio, and Philadelphia Conferences.

The consequence was that the field of strife became indefinitely extended, and the excitement was pushed to the climax of mob violence, sometimes through the denunciation of northern preachers, by the preachers of the Church South, as "abolitionists, incendiaries, revolutionists, and traitors." Even the Southern Methodist press stigmatized the Methodist Episcopal Church as an "abolition Church," and declared its jurisdiction anywhere in the slave-holding States to be "an enormity that enlightened public sentiment cannot and will not tolerate."

The border-strife was originated in 1845. The Louisville Convention then provided that "any portion of an Annual Conference not represented in this convention" might elect delegates to the General Conference of 1846. This was succeeded by the exercise of jurisdiction within the limits of Annual Conferences not represented in the convention, nor recognized by the Plan. And then all this was fully indorsed by special action by the southern General Conference of 1846. The extent of the difficulties thus originated was given in detail by the bishops of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1848, and references furnished for sources of information respecting other instances of like character. And all these facts were known prior to the assembling of the Conference at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Add to the facts of a non-concurring vote of the Annual Conferences, and this southern disregard of boundary lines, the remarkable fact, further, that there stood at the door of the Pittsburgh General Conference commissioners from the Church, South, with authority "to adjust and settle all matters pertaining to the division of the Church property and funds, as provided for in the Plan of Separation," and we have a peculiar complication of matters. The southern commissioner had nothing to do with restoring the true line; he only came to

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claim money. The Conference had no power to grant the property, but had a full right to act upon the broken boundary.

The Conference wisely discriminated, and kindly expressed itself in the action upon the fraternal letter presented by Dr. Lovick Pierce, who represented the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and proposed to establish fraternal relations between the two bodies. "The Church South," he said, "sincerely desire that the two great bodies of Wesleyan Methodists, North and South, should maintain at all times a warm, confiding, and brotherly fraternal relation to each other."

Bishop Hedding, at the opening of the Conference, had expressed himself "deeply concerned because they had great questions before them—as great as they ever had—perhaps greater than they ever had." His solicitude was responded to the first day by the appointment of a committee of forty-six on the state of the Church, being two from each delegation. To this committee Dr. Pierce's letter was referred. It was replied to the second day afterward as follows:—

Whereas, There are serious questions and difficulties existing between the two bodies; therefore,

Resolved, That while we tender to the Rev. L. Pierce, D. D., all personal courtesies, and invite him to attend our sessions, this General Conference does not consider it proper, at present, to enter into fraternal relations with the Methodist Episcopal Church, South; provided that nothing in this resolution shall be so construed as to operate as a bar to any proposition from Dr. Pierce, or any other representative of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, toward the settlement of existing difficulties between that body and this.

The "existing difficulties" were, of course, the southern violation of the boundary line and faithless invasion of northern territories.

The following day Dr. Pierce was invited to a seat within the bar. He acknowledged the courtesy as extended to him on account of "private and personal merit," which considerations, he said, "I shall appreciate, and will reciprocate them with you in all the private walks of Christian and social life. But within the bar of the General Conference I can only be known in my official character."

The unofficial and purely Christian fraternity, which all really possessed, was spontaneously exhibited on the following

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Sabbath day, and reported in "The Daily Advocate" of May 9, 1848:—

> At the close of the sermon the venerable Bishop Hedding descended from the pulpit and affectionately invited Bishop Soule, who was in the congregation, to kneel with him at the sacramental table. All differences were forgotten, and we felt, indeed, that we were come in spirit "unto Mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem." Bishop Hedding gave vent to the deep emotions of his soul in expressions of heavenly joy. The first two tables were occupied by preachers, among whom we rejoiced to see Dr. Pierce, of Georgia.

Our author sees only offensive and trifling conduct in the treatment of Dr. Pierce. He affects an examination of reasons for his not being received, and looks up the expressions of two individuals, uttered outside of the Conference and after the close of its session, in which he finds only occasion to exclaim, "O for shame!" He also ignores the reason given by the Conference, and declares that "there were no difficulties known in any official way to the Petersburgh General Conference, unless as to the property question." And then he dismisses this matter in a single page of comments.

Upon the correctness of this declaration depends the justification of the Conference and the reliability of the author. The Conference affirms and he denies. What are the facts? Was it not known to the Petersburgh General Conference that questions and difficulties existed about the border territory and property? Had not that body canvassed and vindicated its own bishop's action in reference thereto? Was not the nonconcurrence of the Annual Conferences known unofficially before its session convened? And had not their unseemly haste at the New York Convention, and their partisan zeal and even violent activity afterward, given rise to questions involving the integrity of the Plan, which were matters of discussion by the press of both Churches? If part of these things was unknown "officially," did that cancel the fact that questions and difficulties existed between the two bodies?

The statement of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church was strictly true, and the facts afforded a legitimate reason for not receiving Dr. Pierce as a fraternal messenger from the Church South. While the declaration of the author of "Disruption" is evasive, if not a positive mis-

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statement of the facts, "serious questions and difficulties" existed, which were far too serious for trifling quillets from an outside view, and too difficult for a hasty solution by those having to grapple with them.

The GENERAL CONFERENCE OF 1848 was just now entering upon a consideration of these matters, which occupied almost the entire month of May, before satisfactory conclusions were reached. The report of the Committee on the State of the Churchwas discussed freely and adopted with great unanimity, a very few dissenting. In a vote of one hundred and forty-three, sometimes one dissented, and never more than sixteen, on any of the several Declarations.

The first Declaration merely stated a principle which scarcely differs from what all agreed to in 1844, "that there exists no power in the General Conference to effectuate, authorize, or sanction a division of the Church."

The second Declaration affirmed the inability of the right of Church membership, "unless guilty of the violation of its rules." A self-evident proposition this.

The third Declaration set forth the universal right of trial and appeal, declaring, also, that separation from the Church otherwise contravenes constitutional rights.

The fourth Declaration stated the character, contingency, and conditions of the provisional plan, with sundry contraventions thereof and the consequence. These points are embraced in EIGHT specific items.

1. The Plan was intended to meet a necessity which it was alleged might arise, and was given as a peace-offering, to secure harmony on our southern border.

2. A part of its regulations were made dependent upon the concurrence of three fourths of all the members of the Annual Conferences.

3. It was made dependent, also, upon the observance of certain provisions respecting a boundary, by the distinct ecclesiastical connection separating from us.

4. Without waiting for the occurrence of the anticipated necessity, action was taken in the premises by the Southern delegates.

5. The Annual Conferences have refused to concur with that part of the Plan submitted to them. Their votes officially received so testify.

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6. *The provisions respecting a boundary have been violated by the highest authorities of said connection, which separated from us*, and thereby the peace and harmony of many of the Societies of our southern border have been destroyed.

7. No obligation exists on the part of this Conference to observe the provisions of said Plan, in view of the facts and principles in these declarations.

8. Therefore the Plan is hereby declared null and void.

The argument in support of the conclusion reached was elaborated in a report afterward adopted. The points therein set forth, and the sequences following, rather than a reproduction of the argument, is sufficient in this review.

The original and exclusive responsibility for the thought of separate jurisdiction, and the necessity for a division of the Church, was found in the Southern Declaration and Protest. Official recognition of neither was obtained by the Southern delegates. Persisting in the declaration that the doings of the General Conference would produce a condition of things that might demand separation, they obtained a provisional plan, with which to meet the dreaded southern necessity. It was not, however, an unqualified consent to their separation, but conditional. That is, if the apprehended state of things in the South was really produced by the doings of the General Conference; and, if the concurrence of the Annual Conferences was secured, allowing the division of Book Concern and Chartered Fund; and, if the southern Annual Conferences should judge a separate organization necessary.

Corroborative of this, Dr. Paine's words were quoted. He said, "The separation would not be effected by the passage of these resolutions through the General Conference. They must pass the Annual Conferences, beginning at New York; and when they came round to the South, the preachers there would think, and deliberate, and feel the pulse of public sentiment and of the members of the Church, and act in the fear of God and with a single desire for his glory." And in reference to beginning this vote in 1845, Dr. Paine objected, that "thus two years would elapse before the South would know whether they had leave peacefully to separate." It was, therefore, begun at once without leave.

The order of procedure indicated and accepted was clearly

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this: Discover first the state of things produced at the South; await the action of the Annual Conferences; ascertain whether they had leave peacefully to separate; thoughtful and deliberate consultation by the preachers in the South; careful feeling of the pulse of public sentiment; and, finally, action in the fear of God, and with a single desire for his glory, on the part of the southern Annual Conferences. And such a procedure would be in harmony with the "Plan," as presented by the General Conference, and as accepted by the southern delegates.

But this course was not pursued. Instead of the Plan agreed upon, a new one was adopted. Ignoring the antecedent developments—the primary action of the Conferences—the consultation thereon—the careful pulse-feeling, and final God-fearing action—an immediate call for a convention was issued, and an appeal made which was designed and well adapted to precipitate inevitably what was regarded as only a probable contingency. Thus did the southern delegates in one day, after the General Conference adjourned, decide the question, which it was expected would be under consideration for one or two years. The language of their Appeal was severe and inflammatory in its allusions to "the majority," whose "proscription of the southern portion of the Church" and "oppressive jurisdiction" are characterized as "extremely hurtful, if not finally ruinous." And nothing remained for the South but submission to "the dictation and interference of the North," or separation, according to the argument of the Appeal.

The committee, whose argument in brief is here given, designate this action as "revolutionary," in contravention of the "Plan," "reducing it to a nullity by the violation of its first great and fundamental condition;" "and was AN ABANDONMENT OF THE PLAN PROPOSED BY THE GENERAL CONFERNCE." "And hence, that, for the reason above alleged, the Plan has been of no real force since the date of said call and address, namely, June 11, 1844." And so, too, thought the General Conference of 1848 by unanimously adopting the report.

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ART. VII.—THE HYMN BOOK OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

DURING the past few years much has been said and written concerning the adaptation of our standard Hymn Book to the wants of the Church, and at the last General Conference a committee reported substantially in favor of an immediate revision. The Conference, however, took no action on the subject. Since that time the interest in the question has greatly increased, and the denominational organs, both editorially and through their correspondents, have given it much attention. Meanwhile, the number of independent books, some very small and others quite large, some with music and others without, some compiled by local Churches for their own use, and others published for general circulation, have been introduced. The Book Concern itself has entered into competition with the standard Hymn Book, publishing the "Lesser Hymnal," professedly adapted both for public worship and social meetings. In this book constant reference is made to an independent book which had been widely circulated; so that a person going to a Methodist Episcopal Church is no longer certain what book to take with him, because he cannot be sure what he will find in use. It is plain, therefore, that the subject must receive serious attention at the next General Conference, and is worthy of careful examination.

Perhaps nothing is more obvious than the proposition, that to insure just views of a subject it is necessary to perceive clearly the primary end to be reached by the means or machinery under consideration. But it is a fact, observed by all who trace the origin and progress of opinions, that very few take the pains to unearth the root idea before attempting to form a judgment concerning adaptations. Hence the many give their opinions of parts without regard to the whole, or of adjustments considered entirely with respect to their own personal tastes and requirements. And from this arise the confusion and discord in the ideas expressed on many topics of great and general interest; and especially on this question of the nature and size of the standard hymn book required by the Church.

What is going on in the Methodist Episcopal Church has

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happened in every branch of Christendom, (except the Society of Friends, who do not use hymns,) and will continue to agitate the denominations at intervals until the end of time. But there is only one method whereby the Church can be harmonized or harmony approximated by evolving the sentiment of the majority; and that is, by elucidating the primary object or objects of an authorized collection of hymns. These having been apprehended by the Church, there will be a crystallizing of sentiment, *pro* or *con*, as to revision and its modes, and the result will determine action.

I. The Object of a Church Hymn Book.

The use of hymns by Christians is not confined to the great congregations on the Sabbath day. There are devotional meetings in the midst of the week—large prayer-meetings, class-meetings, inquiry meetings, special revival services, love-feasts, vigils, funeral obsequies, many semi-devotional assemblies in the interest of temperance, education, patriotism, benevolent institutions, etc. Besides these demands for appropriate hymns, singing is an important feature in family worship, and is, at present, the leading element in Sunday-school exercises, while a large part of devotional reading consists of hymns and brief religious poems. From such diverse materials it is not an easy matter to distill the definition which we seek. Yet it is clear that the purpose of hymns, and so of the hymn book, eliminated from incidental influences, is to enkindle, to stimulate, to guide, and to express religious feeling. Hence there must be hymns of praise, of thanksgiving, of aspiration, of penitence, of adoration, and of prayer. Nor should hymns of confession be altogether excluded. But the hymn cannot consist of exclamations, or rhythmical interjections. There must be a foundation of thought on which the structure rests, or rather every word in the hymn should be the expression of a thought. The plan of salvation must be described, not indeed technically or didactically, but in outline, for it is by these truths that the pious soul is quickened and directed. The Christian graces, "love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, meekness, faith," etc., may be delineated, and praise to God for his condescension in bestowing these "fruits of the Spirit," or prayer for their immediate communication, may blend with

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such descriptions. And there may be use for a few hortatory and admonitory hymns, which, though stigmatized as "preaching hymns," have produced, both in the reading and the singing, marked and salutary effects.

It is not necessary that every hymn should be confined to one emotion. Often praise, thanksgiving, aspiration, petition, and penitential confession are united in the same psalm, but usually one special state of feeling gives tone and color to the entire composition by which it is readily recognized and classified. But the social meetings of the Church admit, nay, even require a different style of hymns from that naturally employed in the more stately services of the sanctuary; and an intensity in song no less than in speech is begotten and demanded in a time of revival which would be incongruous with a period of quietness, while the Sabbath-school needs and *will* have something peculiarly its own. It would be an error to close this branch of the inquiry here; for the standard Hymn Book, next to the Bible, furnishes the greater part of the people with their religious and devotional reading. This has been the case, and unless we should lose our hold upon the common people, will continue to be true of the Methodist Episcopal Church for many generations. Hence the standard Hymn Book should contain considerable matter adapted to serve this important end. And it will be found extremely difficult, if not impossible, to make the utility of hymns in public worship the *sole* test of their fitness for a place in the Church Hymn Book. Some compositions not primarily and precisely meeting the requirements of public or social worship must be admitted, although what is absolutely contrary to the predominant spirit of the book should be rejected. It is also certain that the character of the hymns read and sung by a denomination greatly influences the imagination and the language of those who use them, furnishing much of their religious vocabulary, and stamping peculiar forms of expression upon them. How often in prayer and revival meetings are the exhortations, testimonies, and supplications made up almost wholly of passages of the Scriptures and parts of hymns. Not only are entire lines and verses of these "spiritual songs" quoted, but in the very body of extemporaneous prose speech, substantives followed by an adjective, and verbs conjoined with an adverb, just as they are

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found in the hymns, give a turn to an expression, the speaker being unaware of the help which he is deriving from the hymn book. The hymns of Methodism have contributed as much to the fluency and fullness of the language employed by its ministers and members as all other causes apart from the inward experience combined. Wherefore it is essential that the figures employed in hymns, and the language of which they consist, should be examined, and none which can deprave the imagination or debase the language of the Church admitted.

Again, the hymn book must be an embodiment of doctrine, in all particulars in which doctrine is connected with religious emotion. To contradict the teachings of the "Confessions of Faith" and the Catechisms in the hymns is an effectual way to change the sentiments of the people. The gradual disuse of the more pronounced Calvinistic hymns in the Calvinistic Churches is both an effect and a cause of the disfavor with which their more rigid tenets are now held by many of their people, and, in the judgment of the writer, it is among the potent causes of indifference to, and unbelief of, those predestinarian doctrines. If the hymns all celebrate free grace and human freedom, the preaching will either gradually become assimilated to the hymns or will fail to counterwork them. Hence, the doctrines taught in hymns to be used by the Church should be scrutinized. This is especially necessary, as poetry is of all the forms of speech most easily remembered. As the holy Catholic Church is now divided into sects, and as unnecessary divisions are undesirable, it is reasonable to suppose that every denomination has a spirit, as well as doctrines and usages, peculiar to itself, and the hymns which the people sing should naturally express that spirit. I do not mean that every hymn should be recognizable as of Presbyterian, or Methodist, or Episcopalian origin, but that the collection as a whole should express the spirit of the body for whose use it is designed.

II. The Standard Hymn Book Must Contain a Great Variety.

So far as the Sabbath-school is concerned, the fact must be recognized that it is impossible to furnish the kind and the quantity of hymns in the Church collection for which the present development of the institution calls; and if it were pos-

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sible, the frequent changes demanded could not be incorporated into the standard book. Also, it would be unnecessary and expensive to burden the schools with the entire compilation. Still, regard must be had to the wants of certain schools, and in the aggregate a large number, which have no Sabbath-school music and are dependent on the regular book. A small number of appropriate hymns must be provided, so that it will be possible to use the hymn book if nothing else is at hand. And as sermons are, or should be, often preached to children and schools in the regular service, it is important to have suitable hymns for such occasions.

In the department of prayer and class-meetings a great variety is needful. It is true that we are in the dispensation of "ditties," and that most of these cannot stand alone when printed without the music, being rather like well-dressed but deformed children, that look well enough when seated in a pretty carriage, but drop into a shapeless mass when unsupported; for, though most of these productions sound well when sung with spirit, they reveal their poverty when their words are weighed. It would not be wise to print such in the standard Hymn Book, but a great variety of the best compositions must be given, that this department may furnish substance and nourishing food to the growing children of God, while the multitudes amuse themselves with the "sound and fury signifying nothing," just now so popular. This remark is not directed against really meritorious pieces of recent origin, but against a class of so-called religious hymns which threaten to crowd out every thing elevating, and which bear the same relation to genuine hymns that the flimsiest novels do to instructive reading. The avidity with which these sensuous and crude effusions are called for is a melancholy symptom of the enfeebled intellectual and spiritual digestion of the Church. Paul complained that they called for meat when they needed milk. No such charge can lie against multitudes in our day who call not for meat, nor yet milk, but for water with a drop or two of flavoring extract.

For closet and family devotion special adaptations are necessary. When we estimate the number of the aged and the sick who are debarred from the house of God, it is at once apparent that there should be "many hymns and spiritual

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songs," in which they can "speak to themselves" and to God. Nor can the great congregation be expected to maintain a lively interest in a few hymns, if confined exclusively to them; but variety is as essential here as in the subjects and matter of sermons, or in the Scripture readings. It should be kept steadily in view that this book is not to be used by a select few of any class whatever. As "no prophecy of the Scripture is of any private interpretation," so no hymn of the general collection should be brought in to gratify a single individual or a "few minds of peculiar structure." But as human nature, considered intellectually and with regard to feeling and taste, appears under twelve, or perhaps thirteen, distinct types, there should be an abundant supply of every endurable quality, so that the principle of selection may not be too restricted in operation. There are many subjects to be presented, and accordingly there must be hymns appropriate to many themes and the most dissimilar occasions.

Still another demand for variety inheres in the fact that certain subjects have to be brought forward very frequently, however wearisome to the majority of the worshipers it may become. I mean repentance, and the motives to it; faith, and the supports and comforts of it; adoption and assurance, regeneration, and the evidences; sanctification, and the means and effects of it; the flight of time, the rest of the faithful, the doom of sinners, the chastenings of the Lord and his sustaining grace, as well as the cry of the soul for light. By this necessity the demand is created for many hymns, which, like a melody with skillful and natural variations, shall be the same, yet not the same. Is it not obvious that under these diverse and often conflicting requisitions no Procrustean standard can be adopted to determine the admissibility of hymns? Yet there are general principles. A hymn should be correct in its language and true in doctrine. It should be chaste in expression, not repelling the reverent from its use. It should be elevating in its tendency, and, whenever possible, hallowed by its associations.

The last-mentioned principle may require the admission of hymns, which, without these associations, could not claim a place. No revision committee could unite in excluding

"There is a fountain filled with blood,"

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yet the imagery from the time of the publication of the hymn has been justly condemned as elaborately sanguineous. In the Appendix to the American edition of Southey's "Life of Wesley" the following passage occurs:—

In one of John Wesley's translations from the German we trace the Moravian original in the line,

"*To dwell within thy wounds.*"

On the same grounds I have felt to object to that otherwise excellent hymn of Cowper's, beginning

"There is a fountain filled with *blood*,
Drawn from Immanuel's *veins*." *

But where a hymn has done as much good as this, the associations will carry it where, on critical grounds, it could never be admitted. There should be a decided preponderance of general hymns, such as are sung by all Christians over those of denominational origin and spirit, yet of these there must be a due proportion. Ancient hymns, and those composed by Christians of other communions, when of genuine merit should be introduced in considerable numbers, not, however, to the exclusion of those of what may be termed indigenous growth. Some religious poems, hardly capable of being sung, or perhaps not appropriate more than once in a life-time for public use, may be allowed for their extraordinary merit or for their history, such as,—

"Come, O thou Traveler unknown."

But the number of these must be limited and the selections carefully made.

III. The Question of Size.

The standard Hymn Book should not be so large as to be clumsy, or too expensive for general distribution; but it should be as large as *possible* under these restrictions. This is a necessary conclusion from what has been set forth. It must be remembered that, like the Bible, the Hymn Book comprises many books in one, that it is to be extensively and frequently used by persons of every variety of taste and degree of culture, and that frequent revision, a great evil and a burdensome expense,

* Note by American Editor.

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can be avoided only by an abundant variety. The older denominations as well as the newer have experimented on this question, and the results are instructive and should be practically controlling.

The Protestant Episcopal Hymnal contains	520
Psalms and Hymns, Reformed (Dutch) Church	802
Book of the Evangelical Lutheran Church	1,024
The Songs of the Sanctuary, the most popular Hymn and Tune Book ever published	1,342
The Plymouth Collection, besides 26 doxologies	1,374
The Baptist Praise Book, besides chants	1,311
The General Assembly, 14 doxologies	792
The Presbyterian Hymnal, 16 doxologies	972
Baptist Psalmist, 14 doxologies	1,296
Wesleyan Hymn Book in Wesley's time	540
Wesleyan Hymn Book since Wesley's time	769
Southern Methodist Hymn Book	1,063
Methodist Episcopal Hymn Book	1,148

Including the Episcopalians, who have no prayer-meeting in the ordinary sense of the phrase, the average is 1,035; excluding them, it is 1,088. When we remember that among the Methodists singing makes so great a part of every service, it is clear that we ought not to fall below the average. Reasoning both from the ends designed to be served, and the experience of the denominations, the conclusion is warranted that any thing less than 1,000 is too small, and when 1,200 is exceeded the book becomes too large. But there is a loud and persistent, though not a general, cry for a small hymn book. In some cases this arises from a want of thought similar to that of a man beginning a journey in this climate on a warm day in winter, who makes no provision for a great and sudden change. He wants but little to-day, but he will soon need something more and different. So some look at the question from the point of view of the prayer-meeting alone, others from that of the Sunday-school exclusively, others from that of the Church service only; and most forget all the private uses to which the book will be put by pious readers.

It has been said that not more than two or three hundred hymns are used in public worship. This generalization cannot be made from the habits of fifty or even a hundred ministers, or from the mere recollection or imperfect notes of men

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of what hymns they have employed in a long ministry. Many ministers move in ruts. The celebrated Dr. Beman, of Troy, used in a ministry of forty years less than one hundred and twenty-five hymns. This is a great evil, and was complained of by his parishioners. If nine tenths of the clergy employ only three hundred hymns, that is not a reason for restricting the remaining tenth to that number, or for so constructing the book as to compel the use of those hymns. Three hundred different passages of Scripture will include all that nine tenths of the ministers have ever read in public; but every one of them requires the entire range of the sacred text. The writer has employed more than six hundred and fifty of the hymns of the Methodist collection, and is still finding new and beautiful hymns that "never struck him so before."

The same remark holds with some force of hymns in difficult meters. Some of these hymns are historic, and should be printed where all the people can read them; others are valuable as magnificent embodiments of our doctrines, and others would be sung with delight by the people if it were not for the slavery under which first-rate and fifth-rate choirs keep both pastor and people. Now the slavery of a first rate choir is on this wise. The minister feels his inferiority, and so announces only what the choir like to sing. But the slavery of a fifth-rate choir is different, for they confess their inferiority, so that the minister must not announce any thing which they cannot sing. But when the minister previously apprises the chorister of the hymns to be sung, the first-rate choir can and should find a tune for it, and the fifth-rate choir should have, if necessary, two weeks' notice, and the congregation a little practice.

Careful observation has convinced the writer that an average city or village congregation, led by a good choir, organ, precentor, or cornet, can be safely trusted to sing respectably any one of a hundred and ten tunes. And these include tunes for L. M., C. M., and S. M., double and single; and the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 15th, 19th, 26th, and 27th particular meters. And there are very few hymns which these meters do not cover in the Methodist Hymn Book. We maintain, therefore, that the reasons assigned for a book containing less than a thousand hymns are not valid, and that the necessities of the case call for at least that number.

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IV. SHOULD THE METHODIST HYMN BOOK NOW BE REVISED?

In May, 1849, the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church addressed their flock on this subject, and continue to do so in every copy of the Hymn Book now published, as follows:—

"Although we reluctantly part with some of the familiar hymns of the old book, and though, perhaps, in the judgment of some, they have not, in every instance, been substituted by hymns of greater merit, yet we can confidently approve this Revised Copy. . . . We congratulate you, brethren, on having such a book as, from the number, variety, and adaptation of its hymns, will not require another revision for generations to come."

Only twenty-seven years will have elapsed at the assembling of the next General Conference since this episcopal indorsement was first put forth. The question is, Were the bishops in error? When the motion was made in the General Conference, in 1872, for a committee of revision, the writer of this article strenuously opposed it, and among his reasons for this course were the following: "The mind of the Church had not been sufficiently ascertained. And without the general wish of the people it would be unjust to destroy or diminish the value of the half million or more of dollars which, on the authority of the General Conference and the recommendation of the bishops, they have invested in hymn books not to need revision 'for generations to come.'" The matter was brought forward at a time when it could not receive due attention from the Conference. The publishing house at New York had passed through great difficulties, and a total change in its management was anticipated. Such an undertaking should be entered upon with the greatest caution. Precipitancy in urging a new book upon the people before the want was felt, or an immature and unsatisfactory result after the want should be felt, would be a greater evil than any which we now endure.

Some of these considerations have lost their force. Having closely watched the line of discussion for the past four years, I incline to the opinion that a powerful movement to revise the book will be made at the next General Conference. After much deliberation it seems to be that, if the demand should be very general—(otherwise not)—it should be conceded. The book is not much too large, though the price is. But there is a great deal of matter in the book which should

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not be there. At the risk of arousing defenders of every hymn criticiser, the writer would suggest that No. 74 has no merit but antiquity, and that No. 75 is not required by any of the conditions of a standard hymn book. The last line of the third verse in No. 104, as well as its general style, remove it from both public and private use. Is No. 139 needed, and is it not objectionable? How was No. 153 admitted, and who first called the second verse poetry? Was No. 250 merely put in to fill the vacant space at the bottom of the page? There are ten hymns on baptism, and eight of them refer specifically to infants. Hymn No. 258 teaches baptismal regeneration, and calls the infants "unconscious lepers!" No. 269 fills out the page with matter less edifying than pure white paper. Will No. 305 bear inspection from any point of view, except the soundness of its doctrine? Are the last two verses of No. 359 in the spirit of our preaching, or, as we believe, of the Gospel? Is the "humble sinner" to come with "perhaps" growing more doubtful upon his lips and in his heart? No. 361 seems ill adapted in style to those for whom, according to the classification, it is designed. I have often read No. 535, and wondered on just what ground it was admitted. While No. 560 is a proper representation of certain dialogues between Moses and Jehovah, as recorded in the Old Testament, is it in harmony with the spirit of the New Testament supplication? If we employ No. 643 we must address the Infinite thus:—

"Soon as the morn with roses
Bedecks the dewy east,
And when the sun reposes
Upon the ocean's breast;
Our voice in supplication
Jehovah, thou shalt hear."

I invite attention to No. 656, in some respects a grand birthday hymn, but defaced by these lines:—

"A clod of living earth,"

"Like Moses, to thyself convey,
And *kiss* my raptured soul away."

Is No. 691 true to nature in regard to the thought which it is designed to illustrate, and does it rise to the standard as a hymn

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celebrating Christian unity? No. 709 is too didactic and formal, and not sufficiently tender to express the welcome of the Church to those who are in the Scriptures called lambs of the flock. Will the heart of the bereaved hearer or reader be reached by No. 773? No. 873 cannot have been properly tested before being passed. No. 938, no doubt, charms some, but surely but very few, and probably has not been sung or committed to memory for religious purposes in thirty years. Considering where No. 1011 is placed, it seems redundant and vain. No. 1067 does not produce a solemn impression, being too brief for either singing or reading. It simply fills out page 640. Nos. 1087 and 1088 are on subjects too intimately connected with sorrow to be subjected to analysis here. It is sufficient to ask the thoughtful minister or layman to read them carefully, remembering the kind of melody to which hymns in that measure will naturally be sung.

I am aware that many of the hymns here criticised were written by Charles Wesley and by Montgomery. But we know that the poetic afflatus is as inconstant as the wind, and that the poet himself, even if he be a true poet, often disagrees with the rest of the world as to the merits of a particular effusion. For example, take one of Dr. Watts' hymns, the third verse of which is one of the finest he ever wrote. We omit the first two verses:—

"3 Our life contains a thousand springs,
And dies if one be gone;
Strange that a harp of thousand strings
Should keep in tune so long.

4 But 'tis our God supports our frame,
Our God who built us at the first;
Salvation to the Almighty Name
That reared us from the dust!

5 He spake, and straight our hearts and brains
With all their motions rose;
Let blood (said he) flow round the veins,
And round the veins it flows.

6 While we have breath to use our tongues
Our Maker we'll adore;
His Spirit fills our heaving lungs,
Or they would breathe no more.

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Not only are there many hymns which ought not to be in the collection, but in many instances the best hymns are wrongly classified and buried in the "Closet" or shut up to the "Family," so that the minister who employs them must seem to contradict the committee, the bishops, and the publishers. The supply of hymns of practical morality and religion, and of laboring for Christ or the salvation of souls, is inexcusably meager; and there are a few excellent hymns of recent origin which should be given to our people. But though all this is true, the book does contain more than six hundred admirable hymns, and we would do much better "to endure the evils we have than fly to those we know not of." Hence revision should not be attempted unless there is a general, almost universal, demand for it, alike among the ministry and the laity. And if there should appear such a demand, and revision should be attempted, it should be a work of years, not months; the whole subject should be examined and every principle settled.

V. Plan of Revision.

Several grave evils must be avoided, namely, that the revision shall be made by a local committee or by one controlling spirit. We can see the evil of this in the "Plymouth Collection," in many Church hymn books, to some extent in the Methodist Hymn Book, and in the "Lesser Hymnal," which last work reflects credit on its compilers, but every-where exhibits the marks of its local origin and the individual tastes of its editors. These peculiarities would not injure, but might be an advantage to a book simply offered for the use of those who might be pleased with it, but would certainly be detrimental to a hymn book designed to be the only standard hymn book of a numerous denomination.

Another evil to be sedulously guarded against is the admission of ephemeral pieces, however sweet and seductive. Where are the songs of this kind which were sung twenty years ago? A few of intrinsic merit are still sung, but the majority are not heard. It may be doubted whether hymns with choruses are ever suitable for admission into the standard Hymn Book. But whatever opinion may be held on that point, it is certain that where the body of the hymn is inferior in thought and ex-

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pression to the chorus, and the chorus itself consists of one line often repeated, the hymn is unsuited for any position in such a work as we are discussing. Yet compilers must not, by a general law of exclusion, prevent the discernment and use of compositions of superior merit. Hymns composed for the purpose of being introduced should be rejected without mercy. It would be easy to show that in almost every case such hymns are failures. Yet members of committees sometimes fancy themselves poets, or have friends whom they desire to bring forward, and hymns are palmed upon a helpless multitude whose devotions they obstruct rather than assist. The hasty repudiation of old hymns to make room for new, or to meet the caprice of one person, is an evil of which there is great danger.

The writer would now present the outline of a plan which will prevent these and all other evils, and as nearly as possible perfect the work of revision if it should be found necessary to attempt it.

1. The Committee of Revision should be large, consisting of at least fifteen members. Among these should be at least two of the "fathers," men of intelligence, experience, and undoubted piety, men who love and sing the hymns of the "days that are passed and gone." There should be at least two of what may be called the self-made ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church—now in the prime of life; not learned in the lore of the schools, but capable of using language correctly, perceiving shades of meaning, good singers and efficient workers in revivals. There should be several thoroughly educated men of decided literary tastes, and one or two who have given special attention to hymnology. Two or three practical men of fine education, one or more thoroughly understanding music if possible, should be added. If there were two living poets of high rank in the denomination, they might be admitted if it could not be avoided. But one such would either control the committee or destroy its unity. This question, however, is hardly practical in this generation. There should be a few laymen, and the selections of both ministers and laymen should be made from different parts of the Church.

2. The work should be subdivided, like that of the Bible Revision Committee: subcommittee on hymns introductory,

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another on God, a third on Christ, and so through the entire series. These committees should be charged with the duty of collecting suitable hymns on the topics assigned them. There should also be a committee on proportions, that is, to determine how many hymns should be admitted on the incarnation, the crucifixion, etc.

3. No hymn in the present collection should be rejected without a two-thirds vote of the whole committee against it, and none should be admitted to the new without a two-thirds vote in its favor.

Thus, and thus only, can we be protected from the twin evils of hasty rejection and hasty admission. Thus, and thus only, can we be sure of a book for the *whole Church* in which every variety of taste and every occasion can be provided for, which will have the stamp of no one mind, but will express the mind of the Church. If it be said that such a large committee will be cumbersome and expensive, we have only to say that the work is great and the evils to be avoided numerous and fatal, and there is, or should be, *no hurry;* though it remains to be proved whether Methodists can work at all if they do not hurry. Two or three half yearly meetings of a week, and a final meeting of a fortnight with the subcommittees busily engaged in the meantime, would in a few years give the Church a book which would be a help and an honor to it, and would not need to be "revised for generations to come." The publishing establishment of the Church would soon be reimbursed for the expense incurred in the preparation of such a standard hymn book by its great and immediate sale. And when a General Conference, composed of ministers and laymen, shall give such a book to the Church, its exclusive use in all the public services on the Sabbath, and as the pulpit hymn book, may with propriety be required of every minister. If we, as a Church, are ready for such a revision, let the next General Conference put the machinery in operation, but if not, let it be postponed, for no abortion will be endured by the people.

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Art. VIII.—OUR SUNDAY-SCHOOL LITERATURE.

We propose to treat this very important question in the most practical manner possible, because of the fact that it is daily increasing in significance in regard to the religious and moral training of our children. The war that is just now everywhere being waged against the Bible and moral and religious teaching in our common schools will virtually soon relegate all the school training in the matter of religion to our Sunday-schools or to the family. And because in the latter, in so many instances, religious precepts and teachings are entirely wanting, the child must depend for the culture of its higher and better nature solely on the school that it visits, and the advantages that it enjoys on the Sabbath day.

As the significance of the Sunday-school is therefore yearly increasing in our social, and even national life, so must increase in importance in the same ratio the responsibility of providing in these schools the means of supplementing the failures elsewhere. And this question is, therefore, now one that weighs heavily on every Christian heart. And we are sorry to say that in our own personal experience of a superintendency of some years in a Sunday-school, we have seldom known the question of its literature, or, in other words, its library, to be met in a thoughtful and intelligent manner. It is either a blind, overweening confidence that accepts every thing because it is in the library, or a wholesale distrust of the entire collection because some of the books are manifestly not worthy of their place. At a recent teachers' meeting, at which we were present, the librarian's report declared urgent the necessity of largely increasing the number of books, because some had been read by nearly all the school, and others were totally worn out. In the course of the discussion one of the male teachers, a man of more than ordinary intelligence, declared that it were better to throw the whole library into the fire instead of increasing the number of the books to demoralize the children; while the most thoughtful and intelligent teacher present said that he never read his child's books, but supposed them all proper because they had been selected by a competent committee for the school.

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Now the error is wholesale denunciation or wholesale acceptance, with very little true appreciation of the case. In the first place, the best of men differ as to what should be the ruling character of Sunday-school literature, and mostly come to their conclusions under the guidance of what they would have possible rather than of what is possible. It is a very easy thing to say that only such and such books should be admitted to the Sunday-school library, and to rule out all that do not treat of strictly moral and religious questions discussed in a serious and didactic style. But here, again, we would call attention to the practical workings of the case. A few months ago we happened to have at our command a large assortment of the very best Sunday-school publications of our own Book Concern. Taking advantage of the opportunity, we invited our two principal librarians to call and examine them with a view of selecting some for our own school. To our surprise, one book and another and another of the collection were laid aside as not desirable. Why not desirable? was our question. "Excellent books of their kind," was the reply; "but the children will not read them; and there is no use of putting them into the library." And this is not an uncommon objection to a book—"The children will not read it." The stern censor will reply, "They should be made to read it." But let him then undertake the task of literally making a child do any thing in a Sunday-school! In the first years of our Sunday-school labor we tried the system to our satisfaction, and it was sure to result in one or the other of the party going to the wall. If a child is to be *made* to do a thing in the strict sense of the term, it must perform that duty or leave the school. Now in the case of absolutely vile and incorrigible conduct in school, there is the remedy of expulsion from the school. But if this course is adopted, we are told, and perhaps justly, that the Sunday-school is the place where the wayward scholar should be kept and reclaimed, and not whence he should be expelled, and very few superintendents are justified by the Church in resorting to so stern a measure.

In short, the law of the Sunday-school is that of love and moral suasion; and when these cannot conquer, the battle against evil is lost. And this principle, we opine, is to be carried all through the Sunday-school work, and even into Sun-

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day-school literature. Not by any means that we are to admit a single improper book into the library, but that we, if possible, are to fill it with such books as shall be sure to convey useful information and moral and religious instruction in words and style so attractive that the young will instinctively feel, on opening them, that they have found friends and companions rather than stern and exacting teachers. Many of them may sadly need the latter, but the Sunday-school has no means of providing them; these have their place in the secular school or the well-regulated family.

Starting, then, from the proposition that the Sunday-school library must contain such books as the children can be induced to read, or indeed will gladly read, or none at all, we meet the question of possibility of compliance with this demand, while at the same time attaining our own desirable end of providing a literature that will instruct the mind, induce thought, cultivate the heart, and lay the broad foundation for a moral and religious life. Make the library do this, we say, or else abolish it. But do those who would adopt the latter as a cure reflect on the issue? Children will read, and ought to read. It is the greatest gift and mightiest engine of modern civilization that by the cunning art of types they may read. And so soon as they are able to do this they will read, yea, the most of them will consume by the hour, such books as have the art of attracting them; and in these days of manifold publication of all sorts of matter, from periodicals to magazines and books for all ages and classes, if they do not have suitable books they will be quite sure to obtain those which are unsuitable; for these are, alas! not only spread broadcast everywhere, but many of the most vicious and depraving are smuggled into our schools and households in the most surreptitious manner. The presence of these fiendish engines of moral destruction makes it absolutely necessary for us to provide, as far as possible, a counteracting literature; and the general means of dissemination to all is the Sunday-school, because a pure and harmless literature finds the doors of so many families closed either from poverty or indifference.

This responsible question, therefore, demands a categorical reply: Can we not, in this age of thought and mental ingenuity, so much of which is coupled with the best talent and purest purpose,

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supply such a literature for the Sunday-school as shall attain its end of reaching the children, while it at the same time imparts to them nothing that is simply a pastime, nothing that does not instruct the heart and tend to develop the noblest and purest elements of their nature, and eventually, if not directly, lead them to God? We believe it can be done, and that the Church fails to do its duty that does not exert its best and choicest efforts to that purpose. And here arises, in the first place, the question as to the leading characteristics of such a school of literature. There are many who would exclude all works of fiction and every product of the imagination, and this, we believe, would largely tend to set aside many of the most useful and desirable books. The imagination is one of the choicest powers of the human mind, and fiction a mode of conveying knowledge as old as the world. The child whose imagination is not allowed to roam at times in the realms of the fairy world, or feast on the thousand-and-one products of fancy, loses the purest means of cultivating the most delicate and sensitive portion of its nature, and is deprived of the freshest charm that can delight its tender years. As long as the child's reason is not developed, we have no right to demand that it shall be a reasoning being, and be treated simply to hard and angular facts. The story-telling instinct in children is so decidedly a portion of their nature, that the mother or the nurse who has not her favorite treat for the little ones has lost one of the most powerful attractions over their innocent natures; and we all know the popularity of the grandfather who has his tales with which to beguile the children who gather at his knees.

There is a period in the development of the infantile mind when the suppression of the imaginative faculties is equivalent to a check on the growth of reason, for they clearly advance for a time in harmony. If during this period, and this alone, they are cultivated in unison, this blending of the tender with the stern can alone produce the perfect work. But the imagination needs to be cultivated at the proper period, to be led into proper channels, and to cease, as a controlling power, as soon as reason has become strong enough to supplant it. Children under its influence appear to us sometimes in their innocence already as higher beings; and in proportion as with growing years we remain susceptible to its power, in that pro-

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portion do we retain the innocence of childhood. Imaginative works of fiction have their origin in the Orient, and many of the most beautiful figures adopted in our Saviour's teaching to his disciples partake of this element. The story, properly so called, has a sort of cosmopolitan character, because it seems natural to all races of men, and to all realms of nature. Men, animals, plants, and stones hold communion with each other, and we are thus able to draw a lesson from all that we see and hear. But just here lies the secret of usefulness, namely, that we can draw a moral from the story. And this is the great blemish of the tales of Grimm and Andersen, that they seldom convey a moral; and the crowning glory of Æsop and his imitators in later history, that no fable passes without a moral as beautiful and effective as the story is simple. The most lasting impressions that our own childish mind ever received, and those most likely to follow us to the grave, were conveyed by the homely pictures and ingenuous stories in Webster's spelling-book about the farmer who first threw grass at the boy in his apple-tree, and was finally compelled to throw stones; or about the milkmaid, with her milk-jug; or the cat and the meal-bag. In these we confess to have learned lessons that have followed us like faithful friends, simply because of the mode in which they were conveyed.

The trouble now is that we have abandoned the good old way, and have taken the imaginative from the realm of entertaining and instructive story, and carried it into the domain of the passions. These need no stimulation, and the Sunday-school book that in the least tends to this is rank poison, and should be excluded without mercy not only from the Sunday-school, but from every other place within the reach of childhood and youth. We have heard pious and intelligent parents declare that they must take their children away from a certain Sunday-school because of the character of the library, so many of the books being little or no better than novels, that lead their children to fancy this style of imaginative literature and to endure nothing else. And we fully justify them in their anxieties, but suggest that they in such cases might better appeal, book in hand, to the Sunday-school authorities, and by insisting on expurgation of the offensive books, do their share toward purification of the source. If the preacher and the intelligent laity of the Church

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were to take this matter in hand a great reform might be effected, and we would thus cure the abuse rather than abolish the means that are so useful and desirable in the premises when properly used.

The trouble about many who write for the Sunday-school is their tendency to introduce love stories in some way, and thus nourish and hasten the development of the emotional nature, which, in our hot-bed society, is brought out already too precociously. Let them avoid these premature and overstrained delineations or let them alone. We would condemn any book at first sight that devoted a page to this pernicious style of literature; it is but the first step to all the flashy trash and debauching literature of the dime novel, and in any way to cater to it is a terrible crime. In short, we would avoid every thing that is overstrained and unnatural, either excessively good or excessively bad, miraculously successful or fatally unsuccessful. If a boot black is to become a governor, it is quite possible to tell the story with our own marvelous social development in a way that is perfectly natural and probable, and to be teaching a valuable social and economical lesson at the same time. And the Sunday-school book that closes without making the reader see something good and useful in it, without adorning its tale with a moral or religious sequence, might better not be written. This must be ingeniously done sometimes with a view of concealing the art; the pupil must be attracted to the fold and not dragged into it. Let the child be told in the beginning that it is from a certain book to learn certain things, and it will regard the reading as a task; but lead it gently on with attractive story, and let the moral or religious truth be a clear revelation at the end, and its work is a labor of love from which it reaps lasting benefit.

Even abstruse knowledge may, in the hands of a master, be conveyed in this story-telling style; but it is then necessary carefully to avoid the double cliff of danger, first in tiring the young readers by stiffness or constraint of style, or of disgusting and tiring them by a too childish simplicity. There is a just medium between this Scylla and Charybdis that may convey scientific information while entertaining the reader. The French have of late years been very successful in this kind of literature, and are thus taking the early instruction of their chil-

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dren out of the hands of incompetent teachers or silly and ignorant nurses, and relegating it to the mother. In this they are greatly aided by such charming authors as Jean Macé in his "Story of a Mouthful of Bread," and Stahl in his "Travels of Mademoiselle Lili, with a Homely Moral." "The History of a House" has come upon the youthful world of France almost like a revelation. It had hitherto seemed scarcely possible to induce the child to study the source and product of house-building in a scientific way, and now the book can scarcely be kept out of the hands of French children. The "History of a Fortress" is thus made to tell the whole story of French history from early days down to the fall of a fortress in the late war that had hitherto withstood all the assaults of enemies. But it also at the same time beguiles the child into the study of the military art, so dear to the French nature, and acquaints it with scientific theories and technical expressions apparently entirely without the range of childhood. Indeed, these books have a style and language so wonderfully pure and intelligible, in connection with a winning grace, that adults are reading them with increasing interest, and their wonderful success is making them rivals of the fashionable novel. Grimard's "Plant" is another book of the same kind, in which the difficult technical terms of botany are kept in the background, and the whole work is to the child, not an herbarium of dry plants, but a rich bed of living flowers. The love of nature is everywhere ingeniously combined with the thoroughness of the scholar.

We know it is thus possible to fight vice with its own weapons, and to deny to it the exclusive right of attractive vestments for its hidden stings, just as Wesley is said to have claimed for his pious and sanctifying hymns the melodies that were being used for base purposes. It is a common saying in France that the great fabulist, La Fontaine, has by his inimitable fables, with their genial and touching morals, done more toward refining and elevating the nation than all the biblical literature of the land. This is as creditable to La Fontaine as discreditable to Christian teachers, and we simply quote it to point our own moral, namely, that it is possible, by the adoption of the proper form and safeguards, to make our own Sunday-school literature a great blessing to the Church and the land.

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Now these premises lead us naturally to the inquiry, Have we adopted the best means to make our Sunday-school literature acceptable and useful, and have we the cunning workers in the field that this serious cause of juvenile instruction needs? And the experience of the past compels us to admit that we yet fall greatly short of the high aim that we ought to reach. In the first place, the whole system needs raising to a higher level. It is a crime to think that any thing will do for the Sunday-school, or that any one can labor for it. It is far too common for literary amateurs to try their hand on this work as practice for something of a higher grade, while the truth is that the Sunday-school needs and ought to have the best trained talent. Nay, more, it ought to have genius; nay, more, it ought to have, we say it reverently, it ought to have inspiration! As the poet is born, not made, so is the writer for children endowed with peculiar and God-given qualities that cannot be made to come at our bidding, and that may not be ignored when they come; for they are precious jewels intrusted to our keeping as the talents of Scripture story. As few persons are endowed with the power of successfully speaking to children so as to attract and hold their attention, thus are but very few so gifted that their pen talks with winning words. Either capacity is a power so rare that it should be held in high estimation instead of being pushed, as it so often is, into the background, or relegated to inferior workers.

Consecrated toilers alone should be admitted into this hierarchy, and the test to a large extent should be the children themselves. They better than we can tell who attracts their attention and chains their feelings. Experienced judges in the work, and especially in the practical work of the Sunday-school, may be the first arbiters who shall decide as to the fitness of certain books; but the plain proverb that declares the test of pudding to be in the eating is peculiarly applicable here. If an author does not soon succeed with the chosen audience, it is better, far better, to withdraw than to continue to waste time and money in multiplying books that the children cannot be hired to read. We often sympathize with them when they glance over a Sunday-school book just received, and in sorrow or disgust lay it down with the uncomplimentary assurance that they would not read it for a dollar; for generally, on running over its pages, we are inclined to say that ten dol-

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lars would not tempt us to undertake the task. And why? Simply because so many books are so mongrel in their nature —neither fish nor flesh—written for children by those who cannot even write for adults, and with words, expressions, and style that tell so clearly that the author is simply the wolf trying to catch the little ones in sheep's clothing. Children can tell sooner than we, perhaps, when an author thus comes in stiff and ungainly disguise, and when, on the contrary, his works are the natural gushings of his heart. To the latter they yield instantly, to the former they are shy or indifferent.

A few weeks ago a lady stranger came to our school, and was introduced as a simple visitor having an interest in the Sunday-school work. We thought we saw a gift in her genial face and flashing eye, and ventured to invite her to go in and see the little ones of the infant department and say a few words to them. As she gently rose and looked around at them and said, with kindly eye and soft voice, "Children," every little form leaned forward, and every little eye was fastened on hers, as much as to say, "Here we are, madam; we know you are genuine at a glance." And thus the very first glance over the pages of a book tells a child its general character and gains its sympathy. The book is a pleasure or a task in a very few minutes, and, if the latter, it is soon laid aside. Tell the mother she ought to make the child read, and she will probably reply that she could not be hired to read it herself, because it is a failure. Now, alas! these failures are so frequent that many believe them to be the rule, and thus reject the books altogether.

Now the moral of this lesson is, that literary people, who, thoughtlessly and unbidden, rush into this arena, where angels should indeed fear to tread, should be kindly but positively ordered out. Many are so manifestly unfit for their task that it is patent to all but themselves, and yet they are allowed to publish books that are not and will not be read. A lady said to us a few days ago, on picking up a recently published Sunday-school book, "Why, can it be possible that this man is still writing books for the Sunday-school? When I was a little girl my Sunday-school teacher gave me one of his books, and it was so dreary that I threw it down in disappointment and disgust, and have never yet forgiven him or her for thus wrecking my childish hopes on taking it as a present." And many

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a child is thus weekly disgusted at the supposed treasure that it brings home from the library.

To these complaints we hear the frequent reply that it is very easy to find fault, and the ominous question, "Can you do any better?" We cannot, and we wish that all who cannot would be frank enough to say so, or fortunate enough to find friends to tell them so before they waste valuable time and do incalculable mischief. Our way would be to accept only books that evidently have the divine afflatus, and whose workers are gifted in their calling. These we would pay well, and thus make the calling acceptable to them, and so attractive as to secure them for this much-needed work. We believe there are plenty of good and willing workers in our land, if they were only attracted to the work and made to feel secure and, above all, respected in it. Incompetent workers we would reject without fear or favor, and, above all, would never publish a book simply because it would probably sell. Good works would sell fast enough, because the satisfaction with those commanding our confidence would cause a large demand. If parents, superintendents, and librarians were confident that they could safely order books for the children of certain firms, knowing that they would be unobjectionable, they would be overrun with orders. Such publishers would be considered benefactors of our race.

Now how is this great *desideratum* to be obtained? We would have connected with the Sunday-school department of our Book Concern, for instance, an advisory committee, all of large experience and successful labor in the Sunday-school work, under whose eye should pass every manuscript applying for recognition. We would have this committee consist of fathers and mothers, that all interests and instincts should be regarded in the first place, and that women should have a controlling voice in the second, for we would sooner trust to the Sunday-school sense of women in regard to what the children would and should read than to that of men. This committee ought to feel the responsibility of their position, and be reasonably rewarded for it, and, in common with the leaders of the Sunday-school department, be held responsible for their decisions to the Church. It would be far more easy to reject a book in such a body than when depending on a single individual,

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who could be appealed to and swayed more easily than a collective body. Harsh as it might sometimes seem, every book should be received absolutely on its own merits, regardless of the name or position of the author, and to this end we would suggest that the committee should not know the name of the author until the manuscript were accepted, and then only by breaking the seal of an accompanying letter. In short, we would introduce into this work a species of competitive examination that would settle a question absolutely on its own merits.

And in offering these suggestions, we freely acknowledge that it is quite easy to sit at one's desk and make all these arrangements, but that the practical working of the system is by no means so easy. This we grant. But we are compelled to say that until some such system is carried out, the Sunday-school will never have fitting books, nor parents and teachers confidence in what they buy. If our Sunday-school could know that by sending their orders to our Book Concern, for instance, for so many books of such a general character, they would be sure of receiving appropriate and desirable books in all respects, they would hail the fact with joy, and seldom obtain a book elsewhere. The practical workings of the system now are thuswise: The school resolves to obtain a hundred new volumes for the library, and a committee is appointed for that purpose, whose business it is to obtain suitable books. They soon have catalogues and offers from various sources, and generally close with parties that seem to offer them the best bargain and present the best looking lot of books. The supposition that the committee examine the books with any care is a myth—they can seldom see the books before they buy, unless these happen to be in a neighboring store, and if this be the case, they very seldom have time to do more than run over the leaves. And should they give days to anxious examination, we believe that not one school in a score has members in all respects fitted for the task. This work requires a little too much skill and experience to expect this, and more than is usually met within the school itself. But it ought to be found at head-quarters, and if the Sunday-school workers knew that it could be, they would hail the information with joy, and rejoice that so Christian and important a task had been well performed for them and the school.

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Now, with this platform laid down, we propose to examine in brief the present *status* of our Sunday-school work in connection with our own official publishing house, and the recent labors of the General Conference officers in special charge of that important work. And we are happy to say that we approach this portion of our task with pleasure and confidence, from the conviction that great advance has been made among us for the last few years, and that by the indefatigable labors of our gifted Sunday-school secretary and his efficient associate, the Sunday-school work and productions of the Methodist Episcopal Church have advanced to the front rank. When viewing the manifold improvements in Sunday-school appliances of all kinds, and the rapidly rising character of the labor and results in that field, we are proud and gratified to know, that whenever there is an advance movement our own secretary is in the front rank, enjoying the regards and confidence, and receiving the homage of the noble band of Sunday-school laborers of the evangelical Churches of the land.

The leading principles of Dr. Vincent's work have been to raise the Sunday-school to the level of the Church, as a part of its working machinery, without in any way encroaching on its legitimate domain. The Sunday-school is to supplement, not to supplant, the Church work, to make it broader, deeper, more thorough. And to this end the Sunday-school is being made a school for Bible study for all classes of the Church, young and old; a Bible-school in short. Thus the idea that the Sunday-school is for the children alone is being rapidly eradicated, and many of our schools contain Bible-classes for youth and adults in such numbers, that the stranger on entering the chief department is in doubt as to whether he has fallen on a Sunday school or a church. Now this is as it should be; the school in its working capacity may be broad as the Church, nay, broader; for beginning with the child as early as it can walk to the school, it continues its labors through all the stages of life, down to the gray and tottering fathers and mothers in Israel. And this for the simple reason that intelligent Sunday-school study has now become practical Bible study in its broadest sense, and such study should never cease while the sincere Christian is yet on his earthly pilgrimage.

This exalted platform of Sunday-school aims, and needs,

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and duties, has necessitated a great advance all along the line of Sunday-school literature, of which the library has become so essential a part; and in the endeavor to offer the means of moral and religious culture to adults as well as to youth and children, the issues of our department have of late years been much more than formerly adapted to the older pupils. This work has so much increased, that it is rapidly approaching a classification which ought, in our judgment, to crystallize into form as soon as possible. Sunday-school publications should be distributed into three distinct divisions: for the children, the youth, and the adults; and thus there should be in each school a child's library, a juvenile and an adult library, the latter for the teachers and the adult Bible-classes. This system will give a far more extensive range to books and authors, for some workers will be adapted to one branch of the work, and some to another. And when our publishing house issues, as it now does, books with this intent, it should be the constant effort of librarians to make this classification in their arrangement and insist on it in the school. This, in our own experience, has for some reason been a difficult matter to put into practice. Tell a librarian that he must make the distinction of books according to grade of classes, and he will raise objections, the responsibility of which he places on the scholars by affirming that the little ones will not take the small books if they can help it, and that the larger scholars frequently prefer the books written more especially for the small children. But here is a case where common sense and authority can and should control. Let the classes of the school be enrolled on the librarian's books according to these divisions, and the books distributed to them with direct reference to this fact and aim. Besides the manifest consistency of this system, there is yet this advantage to be gained—it practically gives to the school the advantage of having three libraries. The child exhausts the first, and on rising in grade takes up the second as a new one; and when this is finished, finds again a fresh set in the highest order of books. Without some such system, the scholars will be led through the whole range, or be permitted to roam at large through the whole field, to its own disadvantage and final dissatisfaction. And again, with this system our publishing interests can have a wide range of subjects on its lists, with every diversity for

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all ages and classes, and they can all find a fitting and desirable place in the Sunday-school collection, and thus from the outset be assured a place in the public eye while they are making themselves known by their intrinsic merits. For a new book from a new author is like a stranger that needs to make his way into the community: if he belongs to a class he can appeal to it, and claim a place there, on the simple ground of fellowship, until he can make his way on his own deserts. When the name of an author has become known and popular, it is sufficient, and sometimes too much so, to insure a kind reception; for popular authors are thus tempted at times to cast bantlings on the world with very little merit or preparation, simply because they know that their reputation will insure a welcome to inferior visitors.

And now to approach the books for the Sunday-school bearing the *imprimatur* of our Book Concern, we find ourselves surrounded by a veritable multitude of applicants for attention and recognition—an actual library in themselves—and the most of them published during the last five or six years. As we look at their very tempting exteriors, and attractive adornings of gilt and muslin, we pronounce most of them beautiful and appropriate in dress, and some of them gorgeous in golden emblems almost to a fault. For these beautiful garments are promises of fine interiors to the child, that may sometimes have its hopes sadly blighted by the meager larder contained within the gilded closet. But it is well to make the books externally attractive to the child, it is well to have beauty and refinement every-where, and especially where it can attract and refine the expanding soul. As we look thoughtfully at this numerous company, we instinctively say to ourselves, O that we only knew that all these books were good simply because of their lineage, and of the fanciful monogram composed of the significant letters N. and P.! If it were so, how many harrowing doubts would be removed, and how much time would be spared to us and the whole community of book-reading Christians in our Church! Now we are happy to say, conscientiously, that we believe this to be the case about as much as we could reasonably expect with the imperfect development of our system in the matter of accepting books before they are sent to the press; we only wish it were wholly so, and believe the cause

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is in such good hands that we are rapidly approaching this much-to-be-desired goal.

Our trouble now is to do justice to all of these candidates for public favor; to name them simply, would be to take all the limits that this article can expect, much less to treat of their contents. About all that we can do, is to examine those that seem to us, in our very fallible judgment, to present the most worthy claims to their office, and to say whether they seem to us to reach the standard that we have assumed to lay down, frankly acknowledging that we, the critic, are, alas! too vulnerable to criticism, and quite too likely to do injustice to those we notice, as well as those which we are forced to pass over.

And first, to look after the little ones, as every Sunday-school man should, we notice a large collection of small books, published mainly in the form of series, and treating of many useful, natural subjects, something after the manner of object-teaching. Most of these are very well adapted to their purpose, though, sometimes, evidently too carelessly written, with an overstrained effort to use childish words rather than to put thoughts into attractive form for budding minds. It is a tempting and a common fault to use instruments that are too childish, and which, as such, become patent to the children, and induce them to resent them. It is the lively, bright, sparkling manner, rather than the nursery vocabulary, that will chain children's attention. With these constituents the teacher always has to meet with the desire of the child to seem large, and capable of doing and knowing as much as others; this is by no means to be gratified; but, on the other hand, the worst introduction of a book to this class of readers is the quality of seeming childish on its face. Again, we think some of the books needlessly small. The child resents this immediately. Give it its own choice of books, and it will be sure to carry off the largest ones in the library; firstly, because it looks large to do so; and secondly, because it thus insures the larger literary banquet to itself. In replenishing our own library we can hardly induce the librarian to accept small books, because the children do not like them, and will not take them if they can help it. Therefore, though we would not yield to this spirit, we would not, at the same time, needlessly expose ourselves

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to the trouble by making books that are more cover than any thing else.

Let the books be of fair size, so that the child would not feel hurt on receiving them, put them into the Child's Library, and give them only to the children's classes in the school proper—not to the infant department, which will be much better served by some of our admirable papers. Our principal objection to the "Little Blue Mantle Library," is the attenuated form of the books. They seem to be well written, the subjects are chosen from every-day life, indulging in scenes such as children often experience and are most attracted by, and the stories convey wholesome morals as they proceed or at their close. "The Aunty Lee Library" scarcely escapes the above criticism as to the size of the books; some of them are so small as to be, we think, objectionable, others are of fair size, and, as children's books, they are quite acceptable. The series known as the "Books for the Children's Hour," we rule in on the matter of size, and feel that they will receive a welcome from the little ones. The "Sunberry Dale Library" seems to be an excellent collection, except, perhaps, the book on "Common Wonders;" we doubt the practicability of talking to young children about oxygen and phlogiston! Some good things are said in the "Guilford-street Stories," though we question the judiciousness of introducing dialects into children's books. Not many of them will understand the "canny Scotch," or care to take the trouble to find it out. Nearly every thing that is unintelligible or forbidding at first glance they pass over quickly to arrive at what is up to their comprehension. And thus we merely mention the "Books About Boys," the "Daisy Books," the "Bertie and Amy Books," to recognize their existence, and with these give a hint of the extent to which the "Concern" supplies pabulum for the "lambs of the flock." And we leave this branch of the subject with the assurance that such work is nowhere better done than within our own borders.

The publications belonging to the library of second grade, the juvenile, or Youth's Library, presents a veritable embarrassment of riches, as the French say. We know not how many hundreds, for we are not of a statistical turn of mind, but they are sufficiently numerous certainly to stock most

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libraries, and sufficiently varied to suit all tastes. And they are of all grades; most of them, especially the later ones, are excellent; the standard has been rising in harmony with the recently broad development of the Sunday-school idea. Some few of them, we think, never can be popular; some never ought to be. We have tried to select a few for special reference with the same fear that we do some injustice by passing over them. The one that chance placed on the top of our pile bears the name of "God's Way." It is well and carefully written, in a pure, harmonious style, and well-chosen words, and shows how God teaches by his providence, when his loving-kindness fails to win our hearts. Next steps up "Life on the Circuit," a book for grown-up girls—encouraging those who have entered His service to let their light shine, to work lovingly in the path marked out for their feet, assured that His promised presence shall go with them ever and give them rest. An excellent book. Number three is the "Two Paths," a book for boys, which pictures the evils of intemperance, and shows how the slaves of King Alcohol lose manhood, honor, and finally their souls, in his service. Would that its lessons could be read and heeded by all our Sunday-school boys! "Hope Raymond" is by the same author, and equally good.

"Arctic Heroes," "North Pole Voyages," and some others in this line by the same author, are hard to classify; they were evidently intended for the Youth's Library, but they are hardly sprightly enough for it. They have no very bad qualities, but they have no strikingly good ones, which should be the aim of every Sunday-school book; like many of the historical and narrative books, they are negative rather than positive. One of their faults the author is not responsible for, they have too compact a page; solid reading frightens off many a Sunday-school scholar. Let the printer space well, break up the matter into frequent paragraphs, and make the page look open and inviting; give it a smiling rather than a serious face. "Every Inch a King" is a very timely book for the present International Sunday-School Lessons, and should be widely read. The writer gives the key to its appropriateness by the declaration that it was written at the suggestion and under the eye of Dr. Vincent. Our secretary looks a little farther ahead

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than most men, and sees the peculiar fitness of things with a rare common sense for one riding a hobby, if he will pardon this little touch of malice. "The Gems of India" is written with a view to interest our own women in their sisters of India, by giving sketches of some distinguished women of that missionary field, and thereby proving them well worthy of Christian sympathy. The story is well told, but in terms, we think, a little harsh, while the style is stiff. Let the words flow from the pen to suit the children, not be extracted from it; inspiration needs to season all such narratives to make them attractive to the young mind.

"How Marjorie Watched," "Little Foxes," and some others by the same author, are pleasantly and naturally written, and will be enjoyed by the young. In the latter the author has striven to show how even the little ones in their daily life may show their love to Jesus by watching the "Little Foxes" of selfishness, ill-temper, etc. "The Home Story Series" doubtless contains many good things, and is written in attractive style; but we are sorry that the first story that we happened to look at, on opening the book at random, is about a rich man meeting a shop-girl, following her, and going with her to and fro from her home. It ends in marriage. In our judgment this is not a suitable thing to lay before the young girls of the Sunday-school; it might lead silly and romantic girls to seek such meetings with strange men, and they learn enough of such lessons in the flash literature of the day. This story turns out well, of course, but how many of such enterprises might turn out the other way, and lead them to ruin! "Our King and Saviour" is a beautifully told story of our Lord's life on earth. It would be a capital thing for intelligent and enthusiastic Sunday-school teachers to study its chapters, endeavor to acquire their style, and repeat them at times to their classes. Many a child will study the life of Christ in these pages with avidity, that could not be induced to acquire it from the original source, because that would bear the appearance of a task. This will be a pleasure. The same author has just gladdened the hearts of his many friends by issuing a gorgeous book, inside and out, bearing the winning title of "Summer Days on the Hudson." The hundred illustrations, the letter-press, the text, are all magnificent. But will he pardon one so much his

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inferior in all that relates to Sunday-school work and experience for humbly asking how he could consent to mar such beauty by introducing, without any necessity to the real thread of the story, such scenes as those between two young people of sixteen with their arms around each other, and excusing it with the remark that they are "engaged!"

"The Royal Road to Fortune" is an extremely interesting and entertaining book for the young, showing how, by industry and faithfulness to Christian principles, one may rise from the lowest stations of life to fill positions of honor and trust. It may encourage many a struggling youth to take for his motto, "Not slothful in business, fervent in spirit, serving the Lord." We feel that the authoress of this and numerous other works for the young has found her proper place in the vineyard of the Lord, and one for which she is fitted by peculiar gifts. In the catalogue there are many books of an historical character, and we have looked over more of them than we dare take room to mention. Few of them come up to our standard of historical writing for the young, though many of them are good. As a general critique we would say that an effort is made to render history interesting not so much by clothing the narrative in attractive and magnetic style, as by imagining a company of young people to whom it is read, and then allowing them to interpolate their particular opinions of the case under discussion. In some instances a history like Bancroft's is taken by paragraphs, and relief from the general weight is found in permitting Susie or Willie to express opinions, many of which are very childish and unnatural. Now children see through this bait as well as any body, and know that this is merely thrown in to urge them on by a series of platitudes to read what otherwise would be considered too deep for them, and they are quite likely to resent it, and skip over expressions of opinions to which they can come quite as well as the fictitiously-invited company. Better by far rewrite the history for the children in such style and dress as will attract them without these too patent traps. Now such we find, to our own taste, in very rare perfection in the "Church History Series," of which "Glaucia" was the first. These are written in a style that has the afflatus which will attract children instantly, and are so interspersed with lively dialogue that belongs to the thread of the

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story that children do not tire of the task. We consider them unsurpassed in Sunday-school literature, and feel that they ought to be in every Sunday-school library. They would be eagerly read by the youth for whom they are written. And with this we reluctantly close our review of the volumes for the Youth's Library, having alluded to but a few of what we may term representative books.

The highest grade of library, that for teachers and adults, can have, of course, a very wide range, and many of the books of our Concern are among the finest and most desirable in the catalogue of pure and instructive modern literature. We stop for special notice at those intended to be aids to teachers in their work. Some of these are manuals, like Alden's; or "Peeps at our Sunday-Schools," like Taylor's. A very useful and desirable work for teachers is found in the "Normal Outline Series." The first is the "Outlines of Bible History," by Dr. J. F. Hurst; to be followed by an "Outline of Church History," and also a "History of Christian Doctrine." These, with the "Outlines of Christian Evidences," give a vast amount of the cream of the knowledge to be gleaned from these departments, and are admirably compact labor-saving machinery for the busy or inexperienced teacher. The "Illustrated Hand-book of Bible Manners and Customs," by the associate Sunday-school secretary, is a perfect *vade mecum* of Bible knowledge, and should be in the teacher's pocket as his own, rather than a book of the library. It is a thorough, painstaking, and exhaustive work, of a purely practical character, regarding every question in its line of treatment; a practical encyclopedia of Bible information outside of Bible history, a book to keep, and that will keep. As we step more into the realms of the weekly wants of the teacher, we find an excellent teacher's companion in the annual "Lesson Compend," containing the cream of all the notes in the various commentators that refer to the subjects chosen for the lessons of the year. This "Lesson Compend" is very compact, and very rich in excerpts, and supplies to the teacher and the student what they could only obtain of themselves with much labor and a large library of commentators. It needs great judgment of the fitness of things to rule its selections, and with the exercise of this it must continue to be a success. We simply glance over

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a series of manuals and guides for infant-class teachers, to give them recognition and a place in our *résumé* of the long series of publications of this character on the schedule of our publishing house.

And now we pass, with pleasure and pride, to the more active series of weekly and monthly issues for the weekly needs of the Sunday-school work. The "Sunday-School Journal," itself to a large extent the creation of the tireless secretary, is a marvel of success, it having reached a monthly issue of nearly one hundred and twenty thousand copies. It is the head and front of the International Series of Sunday-school Lessons, which is now so extended as to embrace almost the range of Christendom, for it is being introduced into foreign countries, and, we believe, at some of the missions. These uniform lessons are a great advance on the old system of teaching, and have introduced Heaven's first law into the Sunday-school, namely, order; for, until their introduction, much of the Sunday-school work in the schools proper was more like chaos than any thing else. That they are entirely free from objections no one would pretend; but they are yearly improving, as they are collecting the experience of all evangelical Sunday-school workers. One insufficiency in their practical working, according to our own experience, is the difficulty of making the same treatment of the lesson embrace all classes of the school. As they are arranged for the primary department in contradistinction with the juvenile, so, we think, it will be necessary to make a more special section for the advanced Bible-classes, so that these latter may have a still higher grade of questions and a deeper mode of investigation.

The "Journal" for the teachers is supplemented by the "Berean Lesson Leaves" for the scholars, which are issued literally by the million, and distributed monthly to the pupils, so that each one in the school may have the opportunity to study the lesson in advance, and be prepared for an intelligent examination of the subject for the day. To these are added the "Berean Question Book," having all the lessons for the year compactly arranged, and thus affording excellent aid to the teachers in their quarterly and annual reviews. And to these we may add the "Picture Lesson Paper" for the infant department, designed especially to give, in a simple form, the

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lessons for the month, with some illustrations of a nature to attract the eye of the little ones and assist in conveying to them the substance of the lessons. And then, for general circulation in the school, we find the Weekly "Sunday-School Advocate," an illustrated Sunday-school periodical peculiarly adapted to the work of conveying simple and fresh religious truths to all the younger scholars. The circulation of these is very large, and always increasing. To these we may add maps and charts, "Bible Roll," "Quarterly Illuminated Leaf Cluster," for the infant department, and a host of other auxiliaries to successful teaching, which simply form the wonder of those who are wise enough to visit, occasionally, the grand depot of them all at the Sunday-school head-quarters in the extensive basement of the publishing buildings in New York. This department bids fair to stand at the head of the guild in New York, and, we think, in the world; and we gladly notice a recognition of this fact by the appointment of its superintendent to the control and oversight of the Sunday-school Division at the Centennial Exposition.

A new and peculiar Sunday-school organ is now making its way to the front, and attracting general attention among teachers, bearing the name of "Normal Class," a monthly magazine for the discussion of Sunday-school topics, and especially for the purpose of aiding and encouraging the foundation of normal classes for the special instruction of Sunday-school teachers in their work. This idea we understand to be the creation of our Sunday-school secretary, and we know it to be one that deserves success. The great problem of the good Sunday-school is how to obtain competent teachers. Now it is simply impossible, and is likely to remain so, unless some very thorough measures are adopted to that end. The only thorough way is to have normal schools or institutes for their training. But as the entire work is voluntary, it is by no means easy to induce teachers to put themselves into regular training for it, and we consider, therefore, this problem the knottiest of the whole, and if Dr. Vincent solves it by his "Normal Class," and his direct and practical appeals and teachings, he will receive the grateful thanks of a multitude of workers outside of our own Church. The teachers of Brooklyn have just requested the publication of a series of

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normal class lectures recently delivered in that city by our secretary.

In short, we believe that the Sunday-school idea has grown marvelously in the hands of those who now control and develop it within our Church, and that we all owe them a debt of gratitude. That some errors, perhaps, are committed, and that some things are overdone, may probably be true; but we believe that not a few of the abuses now creeping into our Churches, and charged so freely to the Sunday-school, ought not to be laid at its door. It is no fault of the school if parents allow it to supplant the Church, for it by no means desires to do so, and all its teachings, and especially its most recent ones, are in a directly opposite direction. It is not to supplant the Church, even with the children, but to supplement it for all grades and ages of the Christian family; and it is the duty of parents and pastors to aid it in so doing that children and adults may be properly trained to listen to the teachings of the pulpit with intelligence as well as faith.

And in regard to the Sunday-school library, we would say, in closing, that we believe it is often unfairly used. It is a little too popular nowadays to give it a kick in passing that is entirely gratuitous. Very many are ready to cast slurs on it who know nothing about it, and whose instinct would make it much worse than it is if they had the control of it. A few days ago we happened to see a pseudo-witty announcement that the publishers of a flash story by a prominent individual in a recent notorious trial could supply no more for the general trade until the orders of Sunday-school librarians were all filled. Now all this is simply slander of a very base sort, and no Christian parent should encourage it. There are very many good books in these libraries as a rule, and the grade is continually improving, and will improve much faster if all parties concerned—parents, teachers, and pastors—will take an intelligent and kindly interest in them, and by their experience and advice help on the consummation of a most desirable work. The Sunday-school is rapidly becoming a great and indispensable necessity to our social organization, if we are not to become a godless people. Appearances now indicate that the last vestige of religious teaching must soon disappear from the secular school. In this case thousands of children will have no oppor-

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tunity to receive religious instruction except in the Sunday-school, for the families of many will be as destitute of it as the school. Hence the Sunday-school now needs the broadest and most generous treatment at the hands of Christians and philanthropists. By good books, good systems, and good teachers, it should be made as far as possible a school for consistent and consecutive religious culture, and we Methodists should be in the lead in introducing method and religious spirit into the whole work, with the view of securing an intelligent and scientific culture of Bible knowledge, and the attainment of religious truth. And we are very happy to give utterance to the conviction, that while working in fraternal harmony with all evangelical Christians, those to whom we have especially intrusted those great interests seem always to be first among their brethren; for which we are proud of them, and grateful to them. May God in his divine mercy protect and guide and preserve them in their noble work!

Art. IX.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

Baptist Quarterly, January, 1876. (Philadelphia.)—1. Angels. 2. The School and the Church. 3. Benedict and the Benedictines. 4. The New Nature of the Believer. 5. The Talmud. 6. The Unity of the Bible. 7. David Benedict.

Bibliotheca Sacra, and Theological Eclectic, January, 1876. (Andover.)—1. Modern Thought. 2. Cherubim. 3. Words in New Testament Greek borrowed from the Hebrew and Aramean. 4. The True Basis of Fellowship in Congregational Churches. 5. Relations of the Aryan and Semitic Languages. 6. On the Question of the Divine Institution of Sacrifice. 7. Review of the "Identification of Mount Pisgah."

Christian Quarterly, January, 1876. (Cincinnati.)—1. How to reach a Higher Spiritual Life. 2. The Ages of Nature and the Mosaic Account. 3. The Advance of Christianity in the First Centuries. 4. Modern Revivalism. 5. By what Name shall we be Called? 6. Is there a Personal Devil? 7. Evangelists, their Office and Work. 8. The Great Mistake of our Times. 9. Is the Reformation Complete?

Congregational Quarterly, January, 1876. (Boston.)—1. David Bacon. 2. Revivals and the Ordinary Working Condition of the Churches. 3. The Conferences at Bonn. 4. Giving as an Act of Worship. 5. Conviction of Sin. 6. Comparative Statistics. 7. Congregational Necrology.

New Englander, January, 1876. (New Haven.)—1. Count Rumford. 2. Mind in Nature. 3. Empirical Dissent from Mr. Spencer's Philosophy. 4. On the Terminology of the Periods of the English Language. 5. Christian Classics. 6. What is the Bible? 7. Lay-Preaching. 8. The German Gymnasium.

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NEW ENGLAND HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER, January, 1876. (Boston.) —1. Memoir of the Hon. Wm. A. Buckingham, LL.D. 2. Letter of William Penn, 1683. 3. Papers relating to the Acadians. 4. Letters of Edward Randolph, 1685. 5. Portraits and Busts in Possession of the American Antiquarian Society and other Associations in Worcester. 6. The Reverend Jesse Glover. 7. Descendants of Benjamin Hammond. 8. Descendants of Philip and John Langdon. 9. Ancient Wills—Mary Newmarch. 10. Passengers to America. 11. A Few Words additional relative to Col. John May and his Journeys to the Ohio country. 12. Early Settlers of West Springfield. 13. Births, Marriages, and deaths in Dartmouth. 14. A Letter of Col. Ethan Allen. 15. Church Records of the Rev. Hugh Adams, of Durham, N. H. 16. The Furness Pedigree. 17. Instructions for Emigrants from Essex County, Mass., to South Carolina, 1697. 18. The Willoughby Family of New England. 19. Abstracts of the Earliest Wills in the County of Suffolk. 20. Letters from the Gerrish Manuscripts. 21. Descendants of Reginald Fo(r)ster.

PRESBYTERIAN QUARTERLY AND PRINCETON REVIEW, January, 1876. (New York.) —1. The Auburn Declaration. 2. The Study of the Hebrew Language. 3. Jesus and the Resurrection. 4. Our Indians, and the Duty of the Presbyterian Church to them. 5. The Philosophy of Arthur Schopenhauer. 6. Perpetuity of the Sabbath. 7. Church Questions in Foreign Missions. 8. The Utrecht Psalter and the Athanasian Creed.

QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH, January, 1876, (Gettysburgh.)—1. The Work of the General Synod. 2. The Requisites of a Sermon. 3. Our Future Life. 4. A Question in Church Polity. 5. Newman on Justification. 6. Systematic Beneficence. 7. The Foundation of Moral Obligation.

UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY, January, 1876. (Boston.)—1. The Moral Sense. 2. The Bible. 3. The Nature and Office of Justice. 4. Personal Reminiscences of the War, with Special Reference to the Colored Troops. 5. The Giant Cities of Bashan. 6. Sacrificial Atonement. 7. Revivals and the Unchurched.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, January, 1876. (Boston.)—1. Religion in America, 1776–1876. 2. Politics in America, 1776–1876. 3. Abstract Science in America, 1776–1876. 4. Economic Science in America, 1776–1876. 5. Law in America, 1776–1876. 6. Education in America, 1776–1876.

The present is emphatically a centennial number, being reviews by different authors of our national progress in the various departments, namely, Religion, Politics, Science, Law, and Education.

We are especially interested with the article on Religion, by J. L. Diman, of course a Unitarian. Our space obliges us unwillingly to confine our treatment to an extract touching our own Church.

Mr. Lecky expresses the opinion that, "if in the sphere of religion the rationalistic doctrine of personal merit and demerit should ever completely supersede the theological doctrine of hereditary merit and demerit, the change will mainly be effected by the triumph of democratic principles in the sphere of politics;" and he might have drawn an illustration of his theory from the fact that the great religious revolt in this country from the exclusiveness of Calvinism was coincident with the great democratic revolt from the conservative politics of the founders of the Re-

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public. If a connection could be established between the two, it would be by no means the first instance of two movements essentially distinct, yet due, in some measure, to the same general causes. . . .

But by far the most important phase of this reaction is shown in the enormous growth of Methodism. It would argue a most superficial acquaintance with this great movement to define it as essentially a protest; but it is not the less true that in the religious history of this country Methodism represents a profound popular reaction. In this light the rise of this great and influential body must be viewed as the most signal religious fact which the past century presents. When their first conference met at Baltimore in 1784 they collected but sixty preachers, and it was reckoned that in the whole country they could muster but twenty more. Dr. Stiles did them no injustice when he spoke of them in his Election Sermon as "very inconsiderable." They were not only few in number, but poor and unknown; they worshiped in barns, in back streets, and beneath the canopy of heaven. By the census of 1870 they were credited with more than twenty-five thousand parish organizations, and a church property of seventy millions. Their own statistics for the past year give more than twenty-six thousand preachers, and a church property of more than eighty millions. The churches have increased at the rate of two for each secular day throughout the year. They are now by far the most numerous religious organization in the land, and with a zeal and confidence fully proportioned to their strength. A phenomenon so striking cannot be explained but from the operation of some powerful cause. The growth of Methodism may be attributed in part to its wonderful organization; yet it would seem that in this country the extremely autocratic character of that organization, while securing it extraordinary efficiency, could not have gained it popular favor. The vital power of Methodism must be sought, not in its form, but in its spirit. It is impossible to account for its rapid growth, save on the hypothesis that it met a great popular want. And it is equally impossible not to recognize the fact that this adaptation lay in the sharp contrast which it presented to the prevailing faith. The immense popular influence of Methodism lay in its bold appeal from "the theology of the intellect" to "the theology of the feelings." Calvinism, throughout all its camps, "lay intrenched in the outworks of the understanding;" but to souls sated with theological formulas, Methodism, with its direct intuitions of divine truth, came like springs of water in a dry and thirsty land. Wesley rejected all creeds but the simple symbol of the apostles; and if his American disciples departed from his example in adopting articles of faith, they conformed to his spirit in making these articles "a simple compendium of the Universal Church, excluding even the peculiar features of the Wesleyan theology." They insisted, always and every-where, that religious faith is not a logical conviction. Making their appeal at once to man's spiritual

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nature, laying no stress on nice theological distinctions, they naturally held knowledge of Greek and Latin in light esteem as a qualification for saving souls. Not one of the men who founded Methodism in America, with the single exception of Coke, had received a college education. Asbury, whose influence was incomparably greater than that of Coke, had never enjoyed this advantage. The great feature of early Methodism was its faith in immediate inspiration. Its leaders lived, like Loyola, in a world of ecstatic visions. Not only were they inwardly called of God, but sometimes, like Garrettson, they heard the audible voice of the Spirit. The religious Genius of New England had recognized in love the benign sum of all morality; but the doctrine which his followers had obscured with the metaphysics of the will, became with the Methodist a burning impulse. The Quaker had exalted the Inner Light, but what with the disciples of Fox had sunk into an inoffensive quietism, with the disciple of Wesley became the impulse to an unexampled effort. It was estimated that Asbury, during the forty-five years of his untiring ministry, rode a distance that would have taken him twelve times round the earth. When we read the story which one of the early missionaries of Methodism tells of himself; but a story which hundreds, doubtless, might have repeated, "I traversed the mountains and valleys, frequently on foot, with my knapsack on my back, guided by Indian paths in the wilderness where it was not expedient to take a horse; and I had often to wade through morasses half-leg deep in mud and water; frequently satisfying my hunger with a piece of bread and pork from my knapsack, quenching my thirst from a brook, and resting my weary limbs on the leaves of the trees," who does not seem to hear in these words the ring of the verses, "in journeyings often, in perils of water, in perils in the wilderness, in weariness and painfulness, in hunger and thirst;" and who can doubt that the causes which gave Methodism its early success were the same that first carried the Gospel to Damascus, to Antioch, to Corinth, and to Cesar's palace? As Methodism has exchanged weakness for strength, and poverty for wealth, its outward aspect has greatly altered; the plain meeting-house has become the highly decorated church; the unlettered preacher has learned to emulate the culture which he once held so cheap; colleges and theological schools have been generously endowed, and a powerful periodical press discusses with dignity and erudition doctrines which once struggled for utterance from burning tongues; yet neither learning nor culture were the weapons with which Methodism achieved its early triumphs, and which caused it, in the striking words carved on Philip Embury's tomb, "to beautify the earth with salvation."—Pp. 24–27.

The reactionary quality here so acutely discerned in our history by the liberal reviewer was real. The protest of Methodism against inborn guilt and predestinated damnation

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was a *leading* phase of its original character. Equally is its accord and sympathy with what is called, in a high and broad sense, "the great democratic revolt." This is a thought which has often occurred to our own mind, and we believe it susceptible of large development and important deductions. The reviewer seems unaware, however, that our Articles of Faith were received by us from Wesley's own hand, and from them we have not "departed." He makes us also far more untheological than we have ever been. Wesley, and Fletcher, and Clarke, and Bangs, and Fisk met the "nice distinctions" of their opponents with a logic as keen and a theology more profound.

English Reviews.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1876. (London.)—1. Recent Translations of the Greek Testament. 2. The Exploration of Palestine. 3. Leonardo da Vinci and his Works. 4. The New Methodist Hymn Book. 5. The Presbytery in the New Testament. 6. The Royal Visit to India. 7. Robinson's Mother of Jesus not the Papal Mary.

We give from the "London Quarterly Review" for October, 1875, a valuable notice of Darwin's book on "Insectivorous Plants." It may be well read in connection with our notice of Papillon's "Nature and Life."

Mr. Darwin has written no book of more real value and displaying more accurate research than this. The subject until very recently has been a most obscure one; but a most valuable series of facts has been discovered, pre-eminently by Mr. Darwin, but also by Dr. Mellichamp, Dr. Hooker, Mrs. Treat, and Dr. Bennett.

The distinction between plants and animals has never been held by Biologists to be very clear; but under the influence of research it has become gradually more cloudy, until now the last element of difference has melted away, for it can no longer be maintained that plants differ from animals in that the latter assimilate proteinaceous matter already organically prepared, while plants can produce protoplasm and maintain life from inorganic elements. It has recently been shown that animals of a lowly order belonging to the *Paramecea* can live, flourish, and rapidly multiply in a fluid composed only of mineral salts and tartrate of ammonia, and therefore, without the trace of albuminous or organic material; it is true that Professor Huxley believed he had discovered a slimy formless organism in the ooze of the Atlantic, which he named "Bathybius," the vitality and animal nature of which he affirmed;

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this, from its utter dissociation from vegetable life at the bottom of the ocean, was supposed to have the power—otherwise only possessed by plants—of elaborating organic compounds out of inorganic materials. But we have maintained more than once in this journal that the Bathybius of Huxley was simply an invital slime resulting from the dissolution of the myriads of minute forms constantly dying and sinking to the bottom, as Professor Huxley now admits. Under the pressure of facts furnished by the scientific men on board the "Challenger" he sees that it is hopeless longer to seek to retain Bathybius in the "animal series." But the fact remains that animals have lived on inorganic elements; and now Mr. Darwin gives us a wonderful series of experiments which demonstrate that plants can and do appropriate and digest for their nutrition animal forms and organized substances. There does not now remain a single feature by which a definition of "Animal" can be given which will not include the vegetable.

The greater part of the book is taken up with the behavior of a little plant known commonly as the Sun-dew, (*Drosera rotundifolia.*) It will be known to most readers that this plant grows in boggy soils, bearing from two to six leaves, which generally extend in a horizontal direction. The leaves are broader than long, and their whole surface is covered with gland-bearing filaments or "tentacles." These tentacles are long, and the glands at their extremities are surrounded by large drops of a clear viscid secretion, to which its name is due.

It has long been known that these leaves entrapped insects; but the reason of this was unknown, or merely guessed at. But by a series of researches extending over years, Mr. Darwin has discovered what he admirably details in this book, that the animals are taken by an apparatus specially prepared for that purpose: that the viscid fluid is a digestive fluid allied to pepsine in its action, and that by a process of true digestion the animals captured are assimilated to the building up of the structure of the plant. The process is remarkable. An insect alights, or creeps upon the glandular part of the leaf; something equivalent to sensation instantly ensues, the tentacles begin at once to curve over upon the imprisoned body, and the process of digestion begins; this may last from one to seven days, when the tentacles re-expand and are once more ready to perform their functions. At first, indeed, Mr. Darwin believed, what Mrs. Treat still maintains, that the plant had a capacity almost equal to the sense of *taste;* for while it would quickly curve its tentacles over a minute piece of beef or mutton or any animal substance, it was quite inoperative when a piece of chalk or glass or any inorganic substance was laid upon it. This, however, is now by our author modified. He affirms after repeated experiments that the effect of inorganic substances upon the action of the tentacles is far less powerful, and that they very shortly release it from their embrace, but they do possess the power of irritation.

One of the marvels of the whole process is the extreme sensi-

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tiveness of the glands, and the communication which immediately takes place from tentacle to tentacle. If the gland of only *one* be touched, each of the others (numbering sometimes over two hundred) is aroused to action, and invariably turns its gland upon the spot from whence the communication of sensation arose; while if *two* glands be irritated at the same time, all the tentacles near each will turn to it; thus there will be *two* centers of operation on one leaf; and the precision of the tentacles in directing themselves to the point of irritation is remarkable—indeed, the idea suggested is that of a lowly-organized animal of the class Actinozoa, seizing its prey. More surprising still is the intense susceptibility to irritation exhibited by the glands. Thus a small quantity of a perfectly impalpable powder shaken up in water will by its slow precipitation, if a leaf be inserted in it, cause the inflection of all the tentacles. A particle of thread weighing less than the eight thousandth of a grain, and even a particle of human hair weighing less than the seventy-eight thousandth of a grain, are sufficient to transmit a motor impulse to cause a tentacle to sweep through an angle of over one hundred and eighty degrees. And yet this minute particle is laid on the surface of a *dense fluid* through which the impression has to pass to the gland. Any one may discover for himself how far this sensitiveness surpasses that of some of the most sensitive parts of the human body: a piece of hair, for instance, the fiftieth of an inch—very much larger than the above—if laid on the tongue is perfectly unperceived. Indeed, Mrs. Treat affirms that a fly fastened half an inch away from the leaf of an American species (*D. filiformis*) caused the leaves to bend toward it and reach it in less than an hour and a half. This Mr. Darwin has not confirmed; but the delicate susceptibility of the plant to irritation is proved by him to be astonishing in a very high degree, and this is rendered the more wonderful by the fact that rain-drops falling heavily upon the leaves produce no effect whatever.

Another fact of great moment clearly established is that the glands *absorb* what the fluid digests, and great changes may be seen with the microscope to have taken place in the inclosed protoplasm; while further evidence of true physiological action is seen in the fact that the fluid on the glands which have not been subject to irritation is neutral to tests for acid, while after irritation the fluid has a distinctly acid reaction; and Professor Frankland finds propionic, acetic, and butyric acids indicated. Thus we have in a plant a distinct and perfect digestive process, and a motor apparatus specially for the seizure of prey.

What, however, exceeds in interest all the other facts in the volume is the result of Mr. Darwin's experiments with solutions of salts, acids, and poisons on the leaves. The series employed is very large, the results in every case being of the utmost interest, and a comparison of these must afford profitable and suggestive facts to a generation of philosophical physiologists. Our space will only permit us to examine the results following from the employ-

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ment of the salts of ammonia. Solutions were made so that it might be discovered what was the minutest quantity of the dissolved salt that would cause the inflection of the tentacles. It was found as a result that the *one twenty millionth of a grain* of the phosphate of ammonia had the effect, and as the salt contained thirty-five and thirty-three hundredth per cent. of water, the really efficient elements are reduced to *one thirty millionth* of a grain; yet this excited a distinct physiological action and led to a palpable motor impulse—every tentacle being inflected, and sometimes the blade of the leaf itself being curved. This is only one of an immense series of experiments with various solutions, all yielding similar remarkable results. Surely we have here evidence of the physiological susceptibility of organisms to drugs which should be highly suggestive to the medical profession. Since the days of Hahnemann we have heard a great deal of controversy on the physiological action of poisons and drugs, and especially when administered in minute quantities. It is not a question which belongs to any system of medicine, but one materially affecting the whole philosophy of therapeutics. If the thirty millionth of a grain of the *right drug* can produce so powerful a physiological effect upon the glands of *Drosera rotundifolia*, why may not similar physiological effects be produced on the organs of a horse or a man by approximately minute quantities? Surely it is a question for experiment. To found a system of medicine upon "infinitesimal doses" is simply absurd; but to ridicule or ignore the fact that minute quantities of drugs and poisons may have a powerful physiological effect on organs specially susceptible to their action, is, in the face of Mr. Darwin's facts, and, indeed, of many others, a more transcendent absurdity.

The remainder of the book is devoted to the consideration of similar powers possessed by other plants, all of which are full of the deepest interest. Especially is this the case with the plant of the genus *Utricularia* or Bladder-worts of our stagnant ponds and foul ditches. The fine needle-like leaves of this genus bear a number of bladder-like bodies of a minute size, at one end of these there is an opening armed with what appear like tentacles, and the whole appearance when slightly magnified is strangely near to some of the larger *entomostraca*, better known as "water-fleas," common to our ditches and ponds; at the entrance to the bladder there is a valve which can open only inward; by this means minute animals are able to enter but never to escape; and in these small sacs they die and decompose and nourish the plant. For it is a remarkable fact that there is no digestive fluid in the bladders, and no true digestion; it is merely nourishment by decomposition. So we have here two opposite means of securing the same result; in the *Drosera* perfect sensitiveness and power of digestion when an object comes to the leaf; in the *utricularia*, no digestive apparatus proper, but a perfect *trap* to lure and catch prey.—Pp. 256–260.

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BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, January, 1876. (London.)—1. Church History: Its Scope and Relations. 2. The Temperance Bible Commentary. 3. The Spirits in Prison and the Sons of God. 4. The Science of Religion and Christian Missions. 5. The Protestant Doctrine of Evangelical Perfection. 6. Ultramontanism in France. 7. Tischendorf and Tregelles as Editors of the Greek New Testament. 8. On the Name Jehovah (Jahve) and the Doctrine of Exodus iii, 14. 9. Soundness and Freedom in Theology.

This Review is the able and erudite organ of the Free Church of Scotland, the Church of Chalmers and Cunningham, and is, perhaps, the most trenchantly Calvinistic quarterly in Europe. We give the following book notice of a work by Edward White, entitled "Life in Christ," written in support of the doctrine of "conditional immortality," or annihilationism, on account of the unexpected semi-acceptance of that doctrine which the learned Calvinist expresses. This, together with a similar notice, which we give below, of the same work by the "British Quarterly," in addition to an extract on a similar topic given in our last number from that able organ of the English Independents, reveals to us the present eschatological views of the dissenting British denominations hitherto Calvinistic. The Independents will not endure the preaching of the doctrine of endless misery, and incline to the theory of an after-death probation. The Scotch Calvinists do not seem to reject the orthodox view, but do not object to annihilationism instead.

We may note that the former of these two developments is a revival of essential Origenism, which received the explicit condemnation of the Church. The doctrine of "conditional immortality" was taught by Athanasius, the great champion of Trinitarian orthodoxy, but, in spite of his great authority, it seems to have spontaneously died out.

This, though bearing the same title as a work published by the same author thirty years ago, is, he assures us, almost entirely new. It advocates the theory of the ultimate annihilation of the lost, in place of the common view of their eternal existence in misery, though it is not at all confined to that point, but treats in connection with it the whole subject of the nature of man in the light of science and of Scripture. The positions that he maintains are: that while science and philosophy afford a presumption that the soul of man survives the death of the body, they give no evidence of the eternal existence of all human souls; that Scripture teaches that man was created by God, consisting of body and soul capable of immortality, but not actually endowed with it; that the punishment threatened for disobedience was the extinction of the complex existence, while the reward of obedience

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would have been immortality; that the threatening, however, was not executed, because mercy interposed to offer that forfeited immortality, through the incarnation of the Redeemer; that through regeneration believers are united to Christ, and become partakers of endless life and blessedness in him; that bodily death is the original penalty of sin, inflicted in such a way as allow the continued life and blessedness of believers, and to secure the identity of unbelievers, who are to be raised for judgment at the last day; and that the second death, which is the punishment of rejection of the Gospel, consists in the final destruction, through sufferings more or less intense, of conscious life. These positions are illustrated and discussed in a very reverent and evangelical tone, and with considerable ability and a scholarly knowledge of Scripture, so that the successive chapters present the reader with much that is interesting and suggestive. *It is refreshing to find the question of eternal punishment treated in this comprehensive way*, with a view to its bearing on the general system of theology, and not, as it too often is, in an isolated manner, as if it could be decided without any regard to the general principles of Christianity. In this general aspect, *the chief thing that seems objectionable* in Mr. White's theory is, that he makes an essential distinction between the second death and the first, holding that the second death is the penalty only of rejection of the Gospel, not of disobedience to the law. This requires the assumption of a universal proclamation of the Gospel, and leads to the idea of an offer of salvation being made in the spirit-world to those who have not had it here; an *idea for which we can see no warrant* in Scripture. *As to the question of annihilation itself, it is not one of very great importance.* The theory advocated in this book *does not*, like that of universal restitution, *require us to alter the proper notion of punishment*, and regard it as disciplinary, and not retributive. It does not, therefore, infringe upon the great scriptural doctrines of the moral government of God and the sacrifice of Christ. Indeed, Mr. White's statements on the atonement and justification are very good and valuable. *Nor does his theory lead to such forced and unnatural interpretations of Scripture* as that of restitution needs. It is a question of altogether subordinate importance that is raised by it. Undoubtedly the theory of annihilation, if it could be established by satisfactory evidence, would remove some of the difficulties that must be felt in the doctrine of eternal punishment by those who are constrained to believe it, as well as those who reject it. The question is one of Scripture interpretation, and may be calmly discussed on that ground. Mr. White is, however, apt to attach too great importance to the relief which his view would give, and sometimes he seems to argue unfairly against the common belief, and to reason on principles that would carry him much further than he desires. Upon any view of this solemn subject at all consistent with Scripture, there are mental and moral difficulties in the face of which we can only fall back on our faith in the perfect justice and goodness of God; and it seems better, on the

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whole, at once and frankly to do that, than to attempt to remove all difficulties, and thus more fully than our present light will allow, to vindicate the ways of God to man.—Pp. 202, 203.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, January 1, 1875. (London.)—1. Herbert Spencer's Sociology. 2. Among the Prophets. 3. The Hindu Woman, Real and Ideal. 4. Servia. 5. The Stock Exchange and Foreign Loans. 6. Disestablishment in New England. 7. Political Questions in Italy.

From the very full notice of White's book on "Life in Christ," to which allusion is elsewhere made, we extract three passages:—

It ought then to be understood that Mr. White offers us in his closely-printed volume of nearly six hundred pages an entire scheme of biblical psychology and a system of Christian theology. The argument becomes an exposition of the whole doctrine of Scripture on the Nature of Man and the objects of the Divine Incarnation, as well as the conditions of Human Immortality. Let not our readers be repelled by this representation of the drift of the volume. The style and treatment are often vivacious, and even fascinating. The numberless topics are marshaled with consummate ease and arranged with artistic skill. The various links in the chain of argument are forged and riveted each in its right place, and though some of them burn with intensity and coruscate as they lie, they are often carved, and even decorated, with a masterly hand. Whether the author is right or wrong, and his ideas true or false, his logic is not only on fire, but it blazes and leaps with prophetic fervor, and is clearly the work of a great moral nature consciously to itself in harmony with the truth of things.

Mr. White does not sympathize with those who see no hint or hope of "future life" in the Old Testament. He finds these hints throughout the books, tracing them from Daniel back to Moses. Though "the death penalty" of the Theocracy meant, according to our author, death, and not "eternity of suffering," he does find therein both the future punishment of the wicked and the idea of resurrection. But he takes every passage which has been supposed to suggest *eternal* torment, and powerfully argues that in their obvious meaning they convey no such idea. Our author is, however, compelled to allow that the Pharisees at the time of Christ included in their *oral* tradition the doctrine of the "immortality of the soul;" and he claims to throw light on the relation between them and the Sadducees, and on the way in which our Lord answered their queries and mediated between them. He seems to us to fail in the right interpretation of this difficult question. He has not taken sufficient notice of the opposing tendencies of thought on this subject apart from tradition, as seen in the "Wisdom of Solomon," and of the Son of Sirach; nor does he refer sufficiently to the extent to which, in Philo and the Book of Henoch, the clear belief in the spirituality and continuity of the soul

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of man is evinced. From whatever source derived, whether from heathen philosophies or personal intuitions, our Lord appears to us to vindicate the doctrine of the *resurrection* by appealing to a more fundamental conception, namely, that of the survival of the soul, denied by the Sadducees, but without which it is almost impossible to think it. To prove that the dead *rise* our Lord drew from the language of God to Moses an indication of the continued "life" of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. As though he had said, You, Sadducees, ought not to repudiate the "anastasis," if from the sacred volume to which you appeal there is enough to sweep away your main materialistic objection to the idea of such "anastasis." . . .

The author then proceeds to the New Testament doctrine of the "second death," and though in the early chapters of the work Mr. White has stigmatized, by choice quotation, the terrible views of Jonathan Edwards and others, we think that his conception of the final doom of the impenitent after the almost boundless looking for of judgment, is almost more crushing and bewildering to conscience. He even reverts, with terrible earnestness, to the doctrine of physical burning—the newly constituted body being made capable of prolonged agony unto ultimate extinction in these electric flames. However, having reached this point, he enters very largely into the proof of the terminable nature of these burnings, and the ultimate annihilation of sin and death in this judgment of Almighty God.

This discussion is very powerful, but it would very largely apply to the annihilation of sinners in *Hades* and at death. Some of the great texts, like Matthew xxv, 46, are debated at much length, and very plausibly explained in harmony with the general theory. The author tries to show that the whole doctrine of endless suffering arose in the third century, when Christianity was inoculated by Alexandrine metaphysics; and the priesthood, in lawless and persecuting times, found it of immense service in overawing the impatient and rebellious.—Pp. 279, 281–284.

It will be seen from this last passage that the reviewer bases a hope of future restoration of all men on the immortality of the soul and the work of Christ.

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German Reviews.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Theological Essays and Reviews.) Edited by Dr. RIEHM and Dr. KÖSTLIN. 1876. Second Number.—*Essays:* 1. GRIMM, The Nationality of the Galatians of Asia Minor. 2. OHL, The Three Usual Questions at our Rite of Infant Baptism. 3. NÖSGEN, The Plan of the Author of the Third Gospel. *Thoughts and Remarks:* 1. MÖNCKEBERG, The Credibility of Luther's Sayings at Worms. 2. MULLER, Melanchthon's Autograph of the *Loci Communes* in the German Language. *Reviews:* 1. RITSCHL, The Christian Doctrine of Justification and Atonement, reviewed by SCHMIDT. 2. ROCHOLL, The Real Presence, etc., reviewed by HERRMANN. 3. RIEHM, The Messianic Prophecies, reviewed by the author himself.

The nationality of the Galatians of Asia Minor has long been a literary controversy between French and Germans. In this question the latter have, however, been far from being as unanimous as in the great war of 1870, and the attempt to annex the "old Galatians," to whom St. Paul addressed one of his epistles, to the German nationality, appears to be a complete failure. Here we have one of the prominent German theologians, Professor Grimm of Jena, who not only admits the Keltic origin of the Galatians, but adduces a wonderful array of facts to refute the arguments of his opponents. His proofs, indeed, appear to be unanswerable; and if the chances of reconquering Alsace and Lorraine should become, as it seems, more and more unfavorable, the French may find some consolation in the fact that their German opponents declare themselves beaten in the fight about the Galatians. Professor Grimm gives us some amusing details in the history of this controversy, and on the interest which German and French patriotism have taken in it. It is a notable fact that while at present no prominent German representative of classic philology or archæology, no "Keltist" or "Germanist," ever thinks of regarding these Galatians as Germans, a large number of distinguished German theologians persist in claiming them as compatriots. Among those who are foremost among the advocates of this theory are Hug, Olshausen, Baumgarten-Crusius, Rückert, Wieseler, and Hilgenfeld. Wieseler rejoices that "the Galatians are really the first German people to whom the Gospel was announced." Baumgarten-Crusius thinks that "from a national point of view these apostolical congregations are nearest to us Germans." Olshausen regards it as a very significant fact that it was "the German Luther who recognized in this epistle addressed to Germans the essence of the Gospel,

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and brought it to light." Meyer, though he regards only the third part of the Galatians as Germans, begins the Church history of Germany with the conversion of the Galatians. Another German theologian, Sieffert, regrets that impartial science cannot recognize those Galatians as Germans, since it would have been "so flattering for us to know the Apostle Paul to be the founder of our German Church, and to have among the writings of the New Testament an epistle to our German ancestors." He consoles himself with the consideration that Kelts and Germans were neighbors, and in prehistoric times constituted in Asia one people. "Strange religio-national illusion," says Professor Grimm, "because, even if those Galatians, who subsequently were absorbed by foreign nationalities and disappeared, had been Germans, no drop of their blood would flow in our veins. Strange appendix to a Church history of Germany which lacks every local as well as temporal continuity with the real Church history of our nation." On the French side, Charles Texier, in his essay, *Les Gaulois en Asie*, (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1841,) says, "We cannot recall without a feeling of national pride that the Gauls have left in this country imperishable reminiscences." Before entering upon the controversy itself, Professor Grimm takes occasion to state, that by the "Galatia" mentioned in the epistles of St. Paul (1 Cor. xvi, 1; Gal. i, 2) he understands the ancient territory of that name, which was also called *Gallogræcia*, and was bounded by Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, Lycaonia, Phrygia, and Bithynia, and not the Roman province of Galatia, which, besides Galatia proper, contained large portions of the neighboring provinces, especially of Lycaonia. This is the common opinion of the European theologians, and the only recent defenders of the opposite view are Rénan (in his work on Paul) and Hausrath, (*Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, vol. ii,) who contend that "the Churches of Galatia" to which the Pauline epistle was addressed must be looked for in the Lycaonian towns of Derbe, Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch, near Pissidia. After briefly refuting the arguments adduced in favor of this construction of the word Galatia, the author at length discusses the question whether the Galatians were Germans or Kelts. The principal points in his argumentation are as follows: 1. The Tectozagi, a tribe of Galatia, which has

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been claimed as being of the German nationality, were really Kelts, not Germans. 2. All the passages in ancient writers that refer to the nationality of the Galatians represent them as Gauls or Kelts. Strabo, who was a native of Amasea, in Pontus, not far from the borders of Galatia, shows himself well acquainted with the difference between Kelts and Germans, and expressly classifies the Galatians among the former. 3. The proper names of Galatian chieftains and towns seem to be of Keltic rather than German origin. The ending *orix*, which is found in so many proper names occurring in Cæsar, is also common in Galatian proper names. 4. The testimony of St. Jerome, that the Galatians spoke about the same language as the people in the neighborhood of Treves, cannot be adduced in favor of the German nationality of the Galatians, as it is highly probable that at the time of Jerome the language in the vicinity of Treves was Keltic. 5. Great stress had been laid by Wieseler on the fact that in Galatia justice was dispensed by the princes, as among the Germans, and not by the priests, (Druids,) as among the Gauls, and that this point constituted one of the chief differences between Germans and Gauls. Against this argument it is argued that the hierarchical institute of the Druids is only found in Great Britain and Gaul proper, but cannot be traced in other Keltic countries, and that its organism was too complex to be suited for the unsteady migrations which were undertaken for adventurous and plundering purposes, not for finding permanent settlements.

French Reviews.

REVUE CHRETIENNE. (Christian Review.) November, 1875.—1. PRESSENSÉ, Apologetic Studies. Second Series. The Supernatural in God. (Third Article.) 2. CADENE, The Correspondence of Lamartine. 3. HOLLARD, Augustin Cochin. 4. Pressensé, A Novel Interpretation of the Decisions of the Synod of the Reformed Church.

December, 1875.—1. H. S. Stanley's Funeral Sermons in Honor of Charles Kingsley. 2. MOURON, The New Social Philosophy. 3. MASSEBIEAU, Mathurin Cordier. 4. LICHTENBERGER, Review of German Affairs.

January, 1876.—1. BERSIER, A Vision of St. Paul. 2. MOURON, The New Social Philosophy. (Second Article.) 3. SABATIER, Father Hyacinthe. (First Article.) 4. SOREL, The Musical Drama. 5. FRANK PUAUX, The Future of Catholic Nations.

The *Revue Chretienne* has entered with the number of January, 1876, upon the twenty-third year of its publication. In

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announcing the new volume the editors say: "It is not necessary for the *Revue Chretienne* to publish a prospectus. Our principles are known. They are comprised in the old formula: the Gospel and Liberty. From this double stand-point it will review the movements of contemporaneous thought in the Church and in the world, always seeking not what is pleasing to cliques and to sects, but what is conformable to the great principles of Christian Liberalism." The Review will continue to be edited by Pressensé and Sabatier, who will alternate in writing the "monthly review of events." M. Lichtenberger will furnish every other month an article on the affairs of Germany. Among the articles which will appear in the course of the year 1876 we notice the following: Pressensé, "Apologetic Studies," "Christian Family Worship in the Second and Third Centuries," "The Revival Preaching of Pearsall Smith;" Sabatier, "Father Hyacinthe," (two articles;) Ernest Naville, "The Pedagogical Question;" Adrien E. Naville, "The Emperor Julian;" F. Bonifaz, "Ancient Protestant Preaching;" Bonnet, "Some Recollections of the Last Days of Augustin Thierry;" R. Reuss, "Savonarola."

The *Revue Chretienne* is generally regarded as the ablest exponent of French Protestantism; and as the foregoing list of articles indicates, it expects to discuss during the present year a number of interesting articles.

Art. X.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

THE OLD CATHOLICS.

The "German Mercury," the principal organ of the Old Catholics of Germany, in a review of the movement during the year 1875, states that most of the congregations and societies have considerably increased during the year. Two new societies have been organized in Prussia, five in Baden, and two in Hesse. Nowhere has the progress been so great as in the Grand Duchy of Baden. The Government of this country regulated the legal relations of the Old Catholics in 1874, by fully recognizing them as members of the Catholic Church, and securing to them a proportionate part of the Catholic Church property. In accordance with the provisions of the new law, the Old Catholics of Baden have received, in twenty-one places, the simultaneous use of a Catholic

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Church; in twelve places, one or two ecclesiastical benefices; and in three places the administration of the property of the Church. In Wurtemburg, the separation of the Old Catholics from the Roman Catholic Church has been delayed, in consequence of the conciliatory and compromising attitude of Bishop Hefele; but it is expected that this kingdom will soon furnish a considerable contingent to the number of Old Catholic congregations.

A great sensation has been caused among the Old Catholics by the publication of a new work by Professor Schulte, the lay-leader of the entire movement in favor of abolishing priestly celibacy. Motions for the introduction of this reform were made at the Old Catholic Synods of 1874 and 1875, but all the prominent members of the Synod, the laymen as well as the priests, deemed it expedient to take immediate action on the subject. Schulte promised to the advocates of the reform that he would thoroughly study the whole question from the stand-point of Church law, and as the fruit of these studies he has now published a work entitled, *Der Cölibatzwang und dessen Aufhebung*, ("Compulsory Celibacy and its Abolition.") Schulte is generally regarded as one of the most learned writers on all questions of Church law, and his new work is believed to be the best ever published on the subject. Bishop Reinkens and the professors of Old Catholic Theology at the University of Bonn are believed to be unfavorably disposed in regard to the immediate abolition of celibacy; but the feeling among the laity, and, it is believed, also among the clergy, is believed to be overwhelmingly in favor of it. Under these circumstances the action of the next Annual Synod is looked forward to with considerable interest.

In Austria the majority of the House of Deputies adopted the draft of a law which recognizes the Old Catholics, and fully regulates their legal relations; but the House of Lords refused to concur in this law. The Government, however, though it has done every thing that is within its power to prevent the spread of the reformatory movement, has declared that hereafter the Old Catholics of Austria, even if they do not want to separate explicitly from the Catholic Church, will no longer be prevented from organizing congregations, and that the validity of the marriages concluded by them will be recognized.

In Switzerland the Christian Catholic congregations were, in February, on the eve of an election of a bishop. As the Federal Constitution makes the establishment of new bishoprics dependent upon the consent of the Confederation, the Synodal Council of the Old Catholics has formally inquired of the Federal Council at Berne whether there is any objection on its part to the election of an Old Catholic bishop. As soon as the Federal Council has sanctioned the proposed step, the Synodal Council will meet at Olten to proceed to the election of a bishop.

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Art. XI.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

The number of German theological periodicals will receive this year a very valuable addition by the establishment of a "Journal for Church History," (*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte.*) It will be edited by Dr. Brieger, Professor of Church History at the University, and he will be assisted in his editorial labors by three of the most prominent theological writers of Germany, Dr. W. Gass, Dr. Hermann Reuter, and Dr. Albert Ritschl. Within its scope will be embraced the history of the Christian Church and the history of Christian doctrines, in their entire extent, inclusive of the history of Christian civilization, the archæology of Christian art, monumental theology, ecclesiastical geography, and statistics. The larger portion of its space will be devoted to scientific investigations, but it will also give essays; critical reviews, intended to show both the progress of the science of Church history and the gaps of investigation; short communications on new discoveries of manuscripts and monuments; statistical notes, etc. The editor announces that the new journal will also bring articles from the most prominent representatives of political history.

Another theological periodical has been recently established by Dr. Schürer, Professor of Theology at Leipzic. It is called *Theologische Literatur-Zeitung*, and, as its title indicates, intends to give a critical review of all new theological publications appearing in Germany. It will also give the contents of all the theological periodicals of Germany.

The number of papers professedly Roman Catholic, published in 1875, in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland, amounted to three hundred and sixty-eight. Of these, fifty-eight were published in foreign languages—Polish, Magyar, Czechic, French, Italian, etc., the remainder in German. Of those three hundred and sixty-eight organs of Roman Catholic belief, forty-four belonged to Switzerland, seventy-six to Austria and Hungary, and two hundred and forty-eight to Germany. It is interesting to compare these figures with the Roman Catholic population of the three countries, which, according to the latest official enumeration, was, in Switzerland, one million; in Austria and Hungary, twenty-three million; and in Germany, sixteen million. Thus there appeared in Switzerland one periodical for every twenty-three thousand Roman Catholics; in Austria, one for every three hundred thousand; and in Germany, one for every sixty-five thousand. Of the periodicals of Germany, one hundred and thirty-eight are published in Prussia, seventy-two in Bavaria, fourteen in Baden, ten in Wurtemburg, and the remainder in the minor States. Fully one half of all the three hundred and sixty-eight organs are political newspapers: among them are forty large-sized dailies. The largest circulation (sixty thousand) of any Roman Catholic paper is the *Alte und Neue Welt*, an illustrated monthly, pub-

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lished simultaneously in Einsiedeln, Switzerland, and in New York. Among the political newspapers, the *Neue Augsburger Zeitung*, with eleven thousand subscribers, takes the lead. The circulation of the literary papers is very small.

ART. XII.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

St. John the Author of the Fourth Gospel. By CHRISTOPH ERNST LUTHARDT, Professor of Theology at Leipzig, Author of "Apologetical Lectures on the Fundamental," etc. Revised, Translated, and the Literature much Enlarged, by CASPAR RENE GREGORY, Leipzig. 8vo., pp. 369. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1875. New York: Scribner, Welford, & Armstrong. Price, $3 75.

The problem of John's authorship, however little it has disturbed theological thought in this country, has produced a large library of discussion in Europe. The enumeration of the titles of books on the subject, from Evanson, the Englishman, to Luthardt, requires a hundred of these octavo pages. This is not so much from the fact that the authenticity and historical character is, in comparison with the other gospels, specially doubtful; but because the demonstration of its historic value is very decisive of the truth of the Christ history. Yet there are grave queries in the discussion. A glance at any Gospel Harmony reveals the fact that John runs a very independent career, his column being very apt to be full when the others are blank, and *vice versa*. With equal clearness his Jesus discourses in a far more transcendent and mystical strain than the synoptical Jesus. He banishes parables and demoniacs from his narrative. His miracles are few, and seem to serve very much as pegs on which to hang long and highly allegorical discourses. Jesus and the Baptist discourse very much in one style, and that the style of John himself. And, then, how can we suppose that works so diverse as the Gospel and the Apocalypse should come from the same pen? To all lovers of such discussion Luthardt's volume will be a very rich enjoyment.

Our author first states logically and historically the issue as it stands. He then gives the rich masses of existing testimony, first from within the Church, and then from without. Next, as John's Ephesian residence has been with desperate audacity questioned, he very conclusively settles that point. He next compares the Johannine with the Synoptical Gospels, and shows the perfect harmony amid variation between them. A very acute discussion of John's authorship of the Apocalypse essentially closes the book.

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We esteem the volume a very masterly defense of the traditional view of the Church. It is written with great erudition and logical force, and with a clear, direct conciseness very unusual in German theology.

We have more than once noticed the fact that the main battle of New Testament authenticity lies in the fifty years following the death of St. John, at close of first century. Adverse criticism maintains that the Gospels are not conclusively mentioned with their authors before the middle of the second century. It is the first half of the second century that must be lost or won. Now to bridge over this half century, from John to Irenæus, we have the following aids: 1. The very mention of the Gospels, or Epistles, as found at the middle of the second century, throws the evidence back into the first half. For the writers not only place the New Testament books in the supreme place of authority, but they assume that they have always had that place, and are in most instances unaware that the place had ever been disputed. Their testimony, therefore, truly covers the first half century. 2. This is powerfully confirmed by the versions of the canon made about the same time or earlier essentially agreeing, in languages so differing as the Latin and Syriac, and localities so distant as Rome, Africa, and Syria. Books so spontaneously and accordantly selected, with so little possible concert, must have a unique and undisputed authority back to the very beginning. 3. How that authority took form at the beginning we learn from the fact of their public reading, when first published, in the Sunday service of the Christian Churches, as appears both from the New Testament itself and the testimony of Justin Martyr, whose life covers the first half of the second century. 4. The succession of bishops. "The Church reading," says Luthardt, "and also the tradition, are connected with the institution of the episcopacy. Tertullian, for example, goes back to the episcopal succession for John's authorship of Revelation." "The order of bishops traced back to the beginning will stand for John as its author." 5. Quotations obviously from the New Testament to be found in the Apostolic Fathers. Thus we shall see, by a full expansion of this argument, that the first fifty years is bridged over with a conclusiveness rivaled by no other ancient documents.

Very few German critics dare attribute both the Gospel and the Apocalypse to the same John. Schleiermacher and his school conceded to John the Gospel and denied him the Apocalypse; while Baur and his school conceded Apocalypse and denied Gos-

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pel; and Keim and Scholten deny him both. On the grammatical, lexical, and theological argument Luthardt makes many very acute remarks. The apocalyptic violations of Greek grammar are plainly committed intentionally, as forcible solecisms. Many occult identities of style may be traced in both books, betraying the same author. And as to style, that of the Gospel is John's natural style, that of the Apocalypse is chosen and artificial. "The author was not accustomed to speak and to write thus, for men do not speak and write so for common things. The language of the writer of the Revelation is not a natural but an adopted form, conditioned less by the individuality of the writer than by the material, and by the apocalyptic genus of his prophetic discourse. He could speak and write otherwise."

Patrum Apostolicorum Opera. Textum ad fidem codicum et graecorum et latinorum adhibitis praestantissimis editionibus recensuerunt, commentario exegetico et historico illustraverunt, apparatu critico, versione latina passim correcta, prolegomenis indicibus instruxerunt O. de GEBHARDT, AD. HARNACK, TH. ZAHN. Editio post Dresselianam alteram tertia, Fasc I. Pp. 340. Leipzig. 1875.

This is the first part of what promises to be the *Editio Optima* of the Apostolic Fathers. The writings of these ancient fathers are not only interesting in themselves as relics of the early Christian Church, but are also of the first importance in the critical study of the New Testament. They serve as important witnesses in the settlement of the New Testament canon, and furnish a connecting link between the inspired Scriptures and the Christian Apologists of the second century. "The Apostolic Fathers," says Pressensé, "are not to be regarded as great writers, but as great historic characters. They preserved the treasure of evangelical doctrine, without themselves fully knowing all it contained. They accept the great principles laid down in the previous period by St. Paul and St. John. There is no collision of hostile parties, no stormy discussion is raised; but there are, nevertheless, very distinct shades of doctrine variously coloring the faith in Christ, which is held in common by all. On the one hand we have Pauline doctrine represented by Clement of Rome, Ignatius, and Polycarp. The teaching of Polycarp bears also the distinct impress of the spirit of St. John, whose immediate disciple he was. On the other hand, the idealistic symbolism of the Epistle to the Hebrews is carried to the verge of Gnosticism by the author of the Epistle of Barnabas. Lastly, Papias and the writer of the allegory of the Pastor revive, if not the views, at least the principles, of Judæo-Christianity."

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A good critical edition of the writings of these fathers is indispensable to the theological scholar. That of Cotelerius (2 vols., folio, Paris, 1672; Amsterdam, 1724) has a permanent interest and value peculiar to itself. Later useful editions are Russell's, (Lond., 1746,) Jacobson's, (Oxford, 1840,) and Hefele's, (Tubingen, 1855.) But all these were superseded by the second edition of A. R. M. Dressel, (Leipsic, 1863,) which contains the Greek text of the Shepherd of Hermas and of the Epistle of Barnabas from Tischendorf's famous *Codex Sinaiticus*. This edition of Dressel has been for some time exhausted, and is yet in great demand. Dressel's loss of sight, and the death of Tischendorf, who was to have assisted in supervising a new edition; the securing of new editors, and the time required for them to prepare their work, all explain why this revised and enlarged edition of a work in such great demand has not appeared till now.

Since the publication of the *Codex Sinaiticus*, in 1859, scholars have bestowed new and more thorough study upon the works of these ancient fathers. Volkmar, Hilgenfeld, and Müller have studied to establish the true text of the Epistle of Barnabas. Hilgenfeld has also critically revised the Greek text of the Shepherd of Hermas, and published an ancient Latin interpretation of the same, with a copious critical apparatus. Cureton, Petermann, Zahn, and others, have bestowed much critical labor upon the controverted Ignatian Epistles; and Tischendorf, Hilgenfeld, and Lightfoot have done the same for the Epistles of Clement. Donaldson, Holtzmann, Lipsius, and Weizsäcker have expounded the theology of the Apostolic Fathers. The editors of the present work propose to appropriate the fruits of these and other men's labors, and also to add to all largely out of the results of their own independent study. And yet, in grateful acknowledgment of the services of that distinguished scholar, they publish their work as the *third* edition of Dressel.

The work is to be issued in three divisions or *fasciculi*. The second is under the sole care of Zahn, who has made the Epistles of Ignatius a special study. The first and third are in charge of Gebhardt and Harnack; the one supervising the text and describing the *codices* and editions used, the other preparing the commentary, and discussing the dates and authorship of the several books. The first *fasciculus* contains the Epistle of Barnabas, and the Epistles of Clement of Rome, in Greek and Latin. Also an Appendix containing the Fragments of Papias, (partly in Greek, partly in Latin,) the remains of the ancient presbyters preserved

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in the writings of Irenæus, (mostly in Latin,) and the Epistle of Diognetus, in Greek. These are accompanied with ample *prolegomena* and notes, furnishing at once a complete critical apparatus of no small extent, an exegetical and historical commentary, with abundant citations from the ante-Nicene Fathers, and full indices of Greek words, and of all passages of the Old and New Testament quoted or referred to by the Apostolic Fathers. It is to be hoped the remaining parts will be as thoroughly done, and issued at no distant day. M. S. T.

St. Clement of Rome. The two Epistles to the Corinthians. A revised Text with Introduction and Notes. By J. B. LIGHTFOOT, D.D., Hulsean Professor of Divinity, and Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. 8vo., pp. 220. London and Cambridge: Macmillan & Co. 1869.

This volume is a part of an intended edition of the Apostolic Fathers in elegant Greek type, with rich and copious notes. Dr. Lightfoot is one of the most accomplished patristical and New Testament scholars in England. This is evinced by his splendid edition of Galatians, of Philippians and Colossians. His eminent mastery of the Apostolic Fathers has lately been nobly employed in refuting the very able attack upon the authenticity of the Gospels by the author of "Supernatural Religion," noticed in a late number of our Quarterly. His articles upon Papias, Polycarp, and Ignatius, in the "Contemporary Review," are the ablest we have read upon the subject. And we call the attention of those among us who are uttering unwise tirades against the earliest post-biblical literature of the Christian Church, that it is just in that field that the battle of the New Testament canon is to be fought. If the immediately post-apostolic leaders of Christian thought were simpletons and rogues, if their remains are of dubious authenticity and value, then the genuineness and authenticity of the Gospels are unsustainable, and must in all honesty be surrendered.

Earliest, and in some respects most valuable, is the first Epistle of Clement, said to be, by the earliest Church historians, Bishop of Rome. It was written as from the Church of Rome to the Church of Corinth. It seems to indicate that at that time Rome had a super-presbyterial bishop, and Corinth had none. Clement was contemporary with the later life of the Apostle John, and was worthy of an apostolic respect. The epistle was read in its turn in the Sunday service of the Church of Corinth. The only surviving copy was bound up at the end of a codex of the New Testa-

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ment books. His Greek is fair, yet tinged throughout with a strong biblical coloring. Its style is hortatory, and it was unquestionably, as suited to its time and purpose, a powerful exhortation to peace and holiness. But the fatal offense of Clement, which supposedly impeaches his intellect and places him among the "weak-headed," is his belief in the real existence in a far distant country of a bird called the phœnix, and his using it as an emblem of the resurrection. That is, he believed in the Zoology current in his day, and borrowed an illustration from it. Such an offense found in the writings of Plato would never have been quoted against Plato. Turretine is none the less held a standard in Calvinistic theology, because his great work contains a powerful chapter abolishing the antipodes. Wesley was not the less positively called "the greatest of theological statesmen," because he wrote a "Primitive Physic." Watson's "Institutes" is still great divinity, although it adopts Grenville Penn's cosmogony. Fletcher's "Appeal," outraging all the doctrines of geology, is not yet removed from our course of study. And we submit that these objections to Clement impeach no intellect unless it be that of the objector.

We give some extracts from Dr. Lightfoot's note on Clement's "Phœnix":—

The earliest mention of the phœnix is in Hesiod, (Tragm. 50 ed. Gaisf.,) who, however, speaks merely of its longevity. It is from Herodotus (ii, 73) that we first hear the marvelous story of the burial of the parent bird by the offspring, as it was told him by the Egyptian priests; but he adds cautiously by "telling things not credible to me." From the Greeks the story passed to the Romans. In B. C. 97 a learned senator, Manilius, (Plin., N. H., 10, 2,) discoursed at length on the phœnix, stating that the year in which he wrote was the two hundred and fifteenth since its last appearance. He was the first Roman who took up the subject. At the close of the reign of Tiberius—A. D. 36, according to Pliny (following Cornelius Valerianus) and Dion Cassius, (58, 27,) but A. D. 34, as Tacitus reports the date—the marvelous bird was said to reappear in Egypt. The truth of the statement, however, was questioned by some, as less than two hundred and fifty years had elapsed since the reign of the third Ptolemy when it was seen last. (Tac., Ann., 6, 28.) But the report called forth many learned disquisitions from *savants* in Egypt, both native and Greek.

The main feature of the account seems to have been very generally believed by the Romans. Thus Mela, (3, 8,) who seemed to have flourished in the reign of Claudius, repeats the marvelous story without any expression of misgiving. Pliny indeed declines to pronounce whether it is true or not, ("haud scio an fabulose;") but Tacitus says no doubt is entertained of the existence of such a bird, though the account is in some points uncertain or exaggerated. Again Ælian, (Hist. An., 6. 58,) who lived in Hadrian's reign, alleges the phœnix as an instance of the superiority of brute instinct over human reason, when a bird can thus reckon the time and discover the place without any guidance; and somewhere about the same time, or later, Celsus, (Origen c. Cels., 4, 78, 1, p. 576,) arguing against the Christians, brings it forward to show the greater piety of the lower animals as compared with man.

It thus appears that Clement is not more credulous than the most learned and intelligent heathen writers of the preceding and following generations.

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A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms. With a New Translation. By JAMES G. MURPHY, LL.D., T.C.D., Professor of Hebrew, Belfast, and Author of "Commentaries on Genesis, Exodus, and Leviticus." 8vo., pp. 694. Andover: W. F. Draper. New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1875. Price, $4.

We have noticed the former exegetical volumes of Dr. Murphy with high commendation, and the present publication well sustains his reputation. Fifty pages are devoted to the Introduction. Its topics include the Place, Titles, and Nature of the Psalms. On this last he is fresh and copious. A critical identification then follows of the various musical instruments named as accompaniments of the chant of the psalms. The author's themes and arrangement of the psalms form the subject of three fine chapters. Under the head of *themes* he maintains the usual Messianic applications with great acuteness and learning. The translations, with a skillful use of typography, give a striking clearness to the varying current of thought in the single psalm. Many a psalm familiar to the reader acquires new beauty as a sacred lyric from a freshened transparency of meaning.

An Address on Supposed Miracles. Delivered Monday, September 20, 1875, before the New York Preachers' Meeting of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By Rev. J. M. BUCKLEY. 12mo., pp. 54. New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1875.

It is not necessary to burden ourselves with a universal negative by affirming that no supernaturalisms take place at the present day. But it is demanded, both by Christianity and science, that any alleged supernaturalisms should stand the tests of a rigid and critical examination. This chapter of evidences has been amply discussed in such works as Douglas's "Criteria of Miracles," summarized in Paley. Mr. Buckley has, therefore, done a good work in bringing the tests to bear upon an actual case, and he has done it well. Such a discussion is valuable in clearing the moral atmosphere, and dividing off sincere, but dangerous, credulity from rational faith.

Bible Lands. Their Modern Customs and Manners. Illustrative of Scripture. By Rev. HENRY J. VAN LENNEP, D.D. With Maps and Wood-cuts. 8vo., pp. 832. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1875.

Dr. Van Lennep has spent near a life-time in the East, and is, therefore, eminently qualified to give us a picture of the Orient true to life. His volume is comprehensive in its extent, popular in style, and with its plentiful pictorial illustrations gives a vivid impress of the "Bible Lands." The objects and ways of the Orientals, reproducing as they do the realities of long centuries ago, are a wonderful commentary and confirmation of Scripture. All im-

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portant it is that they should all be gathered and placed on record; for that powerful missionary of change, the locomotive, is rapidly going forth to renew the face of the earth, and construct upon it the institutions of the new age.

Infant Baptism briefly Considered. By Rev. N. DOANE, of the Oregon Conference. 24mo., pp. 157. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock and Walden. 1875.

This little manual deserves circulation, both as placing infant baptism, as we think, on the right impregnable ground, and as conducive to the uniform adoption of the holy rite among our people. The ground is the justified condition of the child through Christ, whereby he is entitled to receive, according to our articles, "the outward sign of the inward grace." Just because every child born into the world has the "inward grace" through Christ, which by mere nature he cannot have, he is entitled to the "outward sign." When this doctrine—the doctrine of Fletcher, Fisk, and Olin—is properly understood and *felt*, our people will ever be earnest to consecrate their children to God in God's own appointed way.

A Chronological and Geographical Introduction to the Life of Christ. By CH. ED. CASPARI. From the original German work, revised by the Author. Illustrated with Additional Notes by MAURICE J. EVANS, B. A. With Map of the Scene of our Lord's Labors, and Plan of Jerusalem. 8vo., pp. 313. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1876. Special American Edition by Scribner, Welford, & Armstrong, New York. Price, $4 50.

The specialty of this Commentary is its entire devotion to the successive points of chronology and geography occurring in our Lord's life. The latest authorities are traced, and the discussions are conducted with thorough erudition and critical acuteness. The evidential results are very important. Accuracy in points of time and place are great proof of accuracy in points of fact. The gospel narrative is history, with historic dates and place, not myth hanging in the air.

Critical and Exegetical Hand-Book of the Epistles to the Philippians and Colossians. By HEINRICH AUGUST WILHELM MEYER, Th. D., Oberconsistorialrath, Hanover. Translated from the fourth edition of the German, by Rev. JOHN C. MOORE, B. A. The translation revised and edited by WILLIAM P. DICKINSON, D.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow. 8vo., pp. 483. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1875. American Edition, New York: Scribner, Welford, & Armstrong. Price, $3.

We have in former numbers of our Quarterly expressed our high estimate of this Commentary. We need only chronicle the rapid advance which brings out the present volume.

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Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

Heredity: a Psychological Study of its Phenomena, Laws, Causes, and Consequences. From the French of TH. RIBOT, Author of "Contemporary English Psychology." Pp. 393. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1875.

For the present prevalence of the word *heredity* we are indebted to Herbert Spencer; but the fact and the doctrine it designates are both as old, at least, as the record that Adam begat a son in his own likeness. Christian theology assumes the fact as a basis; and some sects in Christian theology have exaggerated its influence beyond the assertions of Scripture and intuitive common sense. Ribot's book is a very rich and readable collection of the "phenomena" and "consequences" of "heredity;" but it is a necessary failure so far as any well-framed statement of the "laws" and "causes" are concerned. It is a failure here, because to laws and causes in the matter science has not yet attained.

That child resembles parents to a very definite degree is, indeed, a law of all life, animal or vegetable. And this, in fact, furnishes basis for a definition of Life. The crystal, for instance, though produced by a formative power, is not the offspring of a parent and a line of ancestry. There are species, perpetuation, and laws of production; but there is no heredity. A living species is a successional secret society, a close corporation; and the secret conveyed adown the "true succession" is that certain *something* we call Life. By that *something* a formative power is possessed by which the offspring is hemmed within an outline form, out of which, in spite of Darwinism, we as yet believe no individual in the whole succession, unless a momentary monster, ever passes. And that is our doctrine of species.

Ribot easily shows that within the human species there are wonderful phenomena occurring of specially transmitted traits from ancestor to offspring. It is easily shown, for instance, that father and son are often wonderfully alike, and that whole families display family talents or disabilities. But the reverse fact is also equally patent. Whole families of children there are who resemble their parents and resemble each other no more than they resemble the average humanity around them. Take our line of Presidents, for example, and we shall find that, with the exception of the Adamses, every one is a true Melchisedec, the son of nobody and the father of nobody. We may fearlessly say, then, that thus far science has not caught the least glimpse of a law basing these uniformities and diversities.

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Diseases of Women; their Causes, Prevention, and Radical Cure. By GEORGE H. TAYLOR, M.D., Author of "Paralysis and other Affections of the Nerves." Geo. Maclean.

Dr. Taylor is a man of science, and writes with vigor and clearness. His book and his system are indorsed by the highest authorities in the profession. He is author of a system of iron mechanical appliances suitable for many diseases of both sexes. But the present volume is written for the feebler sex, with the humane purpose of explaining to them the peculiar nature and causes of their sufferings, and describing those newly discovered mechanical methods which they are able to apply to themselves in the absence of the full apparatus and in their own homes. The volume is eminently worthy of a broad circulation among the myriads of sufferers for the relief of whose sorrows it is benevolently written.

History, Biography, and Topography.

Nature and Life. Facts and Doctrines Relating to the Constitution of Matter, the New Dynamics, and the Philosophy of Nature. By FERNAND PAPILLON. Translated from the Second French Edition, by A. R. MACDONOUGH, Esq. 12mo., pp. 363. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1875.

Papillon is a Parisian physician and *savant*, and these essays were originally contributions to the "Revue des Deux Mondes." He is theistic in his views, if not Christian, and he commences with a protest against the divorce of philosophy from science, and the reduction of science to a mere experimentalism that denies all truth above the range of the five senses. He indignantly denounces the scientistic denunciation of metaphysics; and he denounces it not in the interest of morals but of science itself, whose best light and guide philosophy is. Most of his chapters analyze the relations of our various surrounding conditions to life; namely, the relations successively of light, of heat, of electricity, of odors, of animal grafts and regenerations, to life. The chapters are replete with interesting truths well told. But his fundamental purpose, not always kept in view, is to show how science is traveling toward the philosophy of Leibnitz, and to illustrate how that philosophy reconciles science with the great truths of spirit, immortality, and God. That philosophy is grounded in a fundamental view of *the essential constitution of matter.*

On the ultimate nature of matter we may notice three great theories: the Democritic, or *atomic* theory; the Berkleyan, or

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idealistic; and the Leibnitzian, or *dynamic.* The first affirms that the minutest element of matter is a *sui generis* hard atom. A big piece of matter is "hard matter;" and the smallest piece is an infinitesimal item of same "hard matter." Though usually the theory on which atheism is based, this is the ordinary theory of the present day. The idealistic theory affirms that all objects are mind-created: they are the divine thoughts and the human thoughts objectified. The *dynamic* theory affirms that matter is *force*, compacted, solid *force.* Motion is the force-solid changing place; the atom is simply an infinitesimal *force-center.* But Leibnitz also holds that the *force-center* is a *vital-center*, and that all force is in a greater or less degree *living.* This force center, inasmuch as it is sole and simple, Leibnitz calls (from the Greek *monos, alone* or *simple*) a *monad.* And perhaps the coming philosophical battle will be between the *atoms* and the *monads.* Science has heretofore stood on the side of the *atoms*, but is fast deserting over to the *monad* camp. Professor Youmans, a few years since, remarked that science is gradually coming to more spiritual views of matter. Professor Cooke, of Harvard, in his "New Chemistry," says that although he has been berated as a persistent atomist, yet he views the atomic theory as only a temporary staging, awaiting something better to come. Papillon thinks that "better" has lain in prophetic waiting for its future in the writings of Leibnitz, whose extraordinary intellect pointed the way in science for such men as Cuvier and Buffon, and clearly flung out anticipations which our present science is but verifying. Later than the present essays, Papillon has written an article entitled "Leibnitz, the Naturalist, Physiologist, and Physician," published in the "*Comptes rendus* of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, 1873."

The monads, then, the ultimate particles, or, rather, *points*, of which matter consists, are all vital forces. Our best-known type of force is our own vital will, and in this will of our own is the best representative for us of the vital monad force. The aggregates of monads form bodies, and it is by the collision of our will-force with the aggregated monad will-force, that external resistance, solidity, the so-called hard-matter, is revealed to us. And it is in the broadened collision of our perceptive power with these solid aggregates of force that our knowledge of external objects arises. There is simply an antagonism of forces. The grades of vitality in the monads are infinitely varied. The vitality of the lower forces is ordinarily sluggish and passive, but the ascending grades

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level up toward, without ever reaching, the pure and perfect infinite Monad, "whose center is every-where and whose circumference is nowhere." Hence the distinction between mind and matter is rather formal than essential, like the distinction between water and ice, though usually with a far less definite dividing point. Matter is thickened and gross mind, and the two shade gradually into each other. Between the intellect of the grown man, the instinct of the infant, and the blinder instinct of the forming embryo, there are differences which are but ascending vital grades. And the instincts of the embryo at its various stages lie in the parts and particles that have a *knowing how*, without knowing it, to put themselves into the right place and make the right movements in order to the organization of the embryonic whole. And then we may trace downward to the vegetable instinct that catches flies and swallows and digests them, or that winds in tendrils around a pole. Thence descend we to the instinct of the particles forming into a crystal, to say nothing of the powerful attractions and repulsions, the elective preferences, the marriages and divorces according to strictest law, of the chemical forces.

All force, then, is vital force; attesting its origin from the infinite Life. In its totality, it is the great divine volition forming all things; in-forming all things; basing all things. And the dullest individual monad has an infinite idea, a secret sympathy toward all other monads, in it, by which it stands in its own place and lot in relation to all others. Even though not conscious of itself, nor truly roundly intelligent, it shoots out a ray of instinctive knowing its relations to other things, and knows exactly what to do in the panorama of which it is a part. Hence monads harmonize into organic forms. And there is a "pre-established harmony" of the whole system of the universe, which is capable of no explanation but by assuming the all-comprehending Harmonizer.

Modern science has shown that our BODIES are largely systems of spheroid cells. "There is no such thing as a vital knot, a central fire of life, in animals. Animal bodies are collections of an infinity of infinitely small living creatures, and each one of these microscopic living points is its own life-center for itself. Each on its own account grows, produces heat, and displays those characteristic activities which depend upon its structure. Each one, by virtue of a pre-established harmony, meets all the rest in the ways that they require."

And the SOUL is equally structural and composite. "The thinking soul, as Leibnitz holds, is a dominant monad, a solitary monad.

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But, science seems not to authorize such an assertion. According to science, in its highest interpretation, the soul is a concurrent power of monads, all of them sentient and intelligent, but in different degrees, which accounts for the variations in degrees of feeling and of reason. In one living being there exists no monad expressing self, in another self is only very vaguely perceived, in another again it is conceived in its fullness. In one and the same living being the soul is evidently manifold, because it shows itself under distinct aspects, as affection, feeling, intellect, will. Thus, far from being single and indivisible, the soul consists of a combination of monads which are not all equally perfect, some being found occurring in the lowest animals, others being characteristic of man exclusively. An intricate system of primordial forces, a concordant action of energies without extension, expressing themselves in the anatomical elements of the gray matter of the brain. And radiating thence by its peculiar virtue into the infinity of things, the human soul is like Milton's gradually created lion, half lion and half mud, and still struggling, under the molding hand of the divine sculptor, to get free from chaos. Half spirit, half matter, our soul aspires to absolute purity: it is checked and fettered by the bonds of the body. The great mystery is to know how it releases itself from them when passing into eternity."

Next comes the solution of this problem of death and immortality. Let us suppose that our body, soul, and spirit are three organisms composed of monads of three generally different grades, which we may for ease of conception image as analogous to ice, water, and vapor, only less definitely distinct, and shading into each other. Brutes, consisting of body and soul, are dissolved into surrounding elements at death. In man, consisting of body, soul, and spirit, death is the ascending of the spirit, bearing the purest monads of soul with it, through the "vital ether," to the higher stratum of more pure and perfect monads.

We are not sure that all the above ideas will be found in either Leibnitz or Papillon; for we have endeavored to supplement the statements, which are somewhat incoherently made, so as to present it as a plausible whole. It may read as a philosophic dream, and yet it comes from one of the greatest human minds; it is singularly verified by the latest conclusions of science; and it claims to so interpret science as to nullify materialistic and atheistic conclusions. We are no longer puzzled with the intricate connections and mutual dependencies of matter and mind when we learn that the two are but purer and grosser forms of the same thing. If all force is

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primordially *vital force*, we need not be frightened if Professor Barker completes his rather abortive demonstration of "the correlation of physical and vital forces." Vital forces are, then, the base of all the changes, the essential thread of the correlated series. And if all force is vital force, what is that primordial nebula, out of which planets are made, but our first dim perception of the divine volitions in creation? And the unknown, yet well known, Absolute, who belts and binds and bases the whole into unity, is no unintelligible Unintelligence, no infinite Idiocy, but an infinite wisdom and Will.

The Chaldean Account of Genesis: containing the Description of the Creation, the Fall of Man, the Deluge, the Tower of Babel, the Times of the Patriarchs, and Nimrod: Babylonian Fables, and Legends of the Gods; from the Cuneiform Inscriptions. By GEORGE SMITH, of the Department of Oriental Antiquities, British Museum, author of "History of Assurbanipal," "Assyrian Discoveries," etc., etc. With Illustrations. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1876.

A little less than 700 years B. C. reigned Assurbanipal, king of Assyria. He was the Sardanapalus of the Greek historians, whose luxury and tragic end were celebrated in their records and dramatized in our day by the genius of Byron. But the remains show that his reign was an Augustan period in Assyrian literature; and it is his royal library, accumulated by himself and his predecessors at Nineveh, that George Smith has been pillaging for our edification in Assyrian and biblical lore. The leaves of this library were formed of fine clay, inscribed with a sharp bodkin while in a soft state, and then baked hard in a furnace. They have lain through centuries of conflagration, rain, chemical decomposition, and warlike pillage, and reappear in a very damaged condition. Fragments are successively found and conjecturally reset in place. The imperfect records deciphered and interpreted carry us back to the earliest period of our race. Yet they confess to being but copies of a Babylonian original, which is to be dated as far back as B. C. 2000, the age of Abraham. Thus the biblical history in its great outlines is traced back to the very spot where Moses indicates—to Babel, in the land of Shinar—where the first stand of the race was taken subsequent to the deluge.

Mr. Smith finds recorded upon the tablets in a style of rude poetry, somewhat akin to the rhythmic measure of the first chapter of Genesis, but with many fantastic and polytheistic variations and additions, the history of the creation, the fall, the deluge, the tower of Babel, and the reign of Nimrod. The Babylonian narrative of the creation is a blending of theogony with cosmogony; that is,

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the generation of the gods from the primordial protoplasm is mixed up with the formation of the world. The family of Abraham, therefore, when they went out from this land of the Chaldees, either took a copy of the primitive history from which polytheism, with its extravagances, was carefully expurgated, or else adown the line, from, perhaps, Adam to Abraham, as genealogically given in Genesis, the pure record was traditionally retained, which polytheism varied and disfigured with her childish vagaries. We see nothing that contradicts the latter supposition.

The following passage is suggestive as to the nature of the Mosaic days:—

The fragment of the first tablet of the Creation series showed that that was rather introductory, and dealt with the generation of the gods more than the creation of the universe, and the fact that the fifth tablet contains the Creation given in Genesis, under the fourth day, while a subsequent tablet, probably the seventh, gives the creation of the animals which, according to Genesis, took place on the sixth day, leads to the inference that the events of each of the days of Genesis were recorded on a separate tablet, and that the numbers of the tablets generally followed in the same order as the days of Creation in Genesis, thus:—

GENESIS, CHAP. I.

V. 1 & 2 agree with tablet 1.
V. 3 to 5 1st day probably with tablet 2.
V. 6 to 8 2d day probably with tablet 3.
V. 9 to 13 3d day probably with tablet 4.
V. 14 to 19 4th day agree with tablet 5.
V. 20 to 23 5th day probably with tablet 6.
V. 24 & 25 6th day probably with tablet 7.
V. 26 and following, 6th and 7th day, probably with tablet 8.

The tablet which I think to be the eighth appears to give the Creation and Fall of Man, and is followed by several other tablets giving apparently the war between the gods and the powers of evil; but all of these are very mutilated, and no number can be positively proved beyond the fifth tablet.—P. 72.

The following passages furnish an idea of the creation tablets:—

The fifth tablet commences with the statement that the previous creations were "delightful," or satisfactory, agreeing with the oft-repeated statement of Genesis, after each act of creative power, that "God saw that it was good." The only difference here is one of detail. It appears that the Chaldean record contains the review and expression of satisfaction at the head of each tablet, while the Hebrew has it at the close of each act.

We then come to the creation of the heavenly orbs, which are described in the inscription as arranged like animals, while the Bible says they were set as "lights in the firmament of heaven," and just as the book of Genesis says they were set for signs and seasons, for days and years, so the inscription describes that the stars were set in courses to point out the year. The twelve constellations or signs of the zodiac, and two other bands of constellations are mentioned, just as two sets of twelve stars each are mentioned by the Greeks, one north and one south of the zodiac. I have translated one of these names *nibir*, "wandering stars" or "planets," but this is not the usual word for planet, and there is a star called *Nibir* near the place where the sun crossed the boundary between the old and new years, and this was one of twelve supposed to be favorable to Babylonia. It is evident, from the opening of the inscription on the first tablet of the Chaldean astrology and astronomy, that the functions of the stars were according to the Babylonians to act

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not only as regulators of the seasons and the year, but to be also used as signs, as in Genesis i, 14, for in those ages it was generally believed that the heavenly bodies gave, by their appearance and positions, signs of events which were coming on the earth.

The passage given in the eighth line of the inscription, to the effect that the God who created the stars fixed places or habitations for Bel and Hea with himself in the heavens, points to the fact that Anu, god of the heavens, was considered to be the creator of the heavenly hosts; for it is he who shares with Bel and Hea the divisions of the face of the sky.

The ninth line of the tablet opens a curious view as to the philosophical beliefs of the early Babylonians. They evidently considered that the world was drawn together out of the waters, and rested or reposed upon a vast abyss of chaotic ocean which filled the space below the world. This dark infernal lake was shut in by gigantic gates and strong fastenings, which prevented the floods from overwhelming the world. When the deity decided to create the moon, he is represented as drawing aside the gates of this abyss, and creating a whirling motion like boiling in the dark ocean below; then, at his bidding, from this turmoil, arose the moon like a giant bubble, and, passing through the open gates, mounted on its destined way across the vaults of heaven.

The Babylonian account continues with the regulation of the motions of the moon to overshadow the night, to regulate and give light until the dawn of day. The phases of the moon are described: its commencing as a thin crescent at the evening on the first day of the month, and its gradually increasing and traveling farther into the night. After the moon the creation of the sun is recorded, its beauty and perfection are extolled, and the regularity of its orbit, which led to its being considered the type of a judge, and the regulator of the world.

The Babylonian account of the Creation gives the creation of the moon before that of the sun, in reverse order to that in Genesis, and evidently the Babylonians considered the moon the principal body, while the Book of Genesis makes the sun the greater light. Here it is evident that Genesis is truer to nature than the Chaldean text. . . .

The next tablet, the seventh in the series, is probably represented by a curious fragment, which I first found in one of the trenches at Kouyunjik, and recognized at once as a part of the description of the Creation.

This fragment is like some of the others, the upper portion of a tablet much broken, and only valuable from its generally clear meaning. The translation of this fragment is:—

1. When the gods in their assembly had created ....
2. were delightful the strong monsters ....
3. they caused to be living creatures ....
4. cattle of the field, beasts of the field, and creeping things of the field ....
5. they fixed for the living creatures ....
6. .... cattle and creeping things of the city they fixed ....
7. .... the assembly of the creeping things the whole which were created ....
8. .... which in the assembly of my family ....
9. .... and the god Nin-si-ku (the lord of noble face) caused to be two ....
10. .... the assembly of the creeping things he caused to go ....—Pp. 73–76.

The following account is given of the serpent:—

The fragmentary account of the Fall in the inscriptions mentions the dragon Tiamat, or the dragon of the sea, evidently in the same relation as the serpent, being concerned in bringing about the Fall. This dragon is called the dragon of tiamat or the sea; it is generally conceived of as a griffin, and is connected with the original chaos, the Thalatth of Berosus, the female principle which, according to both the inscriptions and Berosus, existed before the creation of the universe. This was the original spirit of chaos and disorder, a spirit opposed in principle to the gods, and, according to the Babylonians, self-existent and eternal, older even than the gods, for the birth or separation of the deities out of this chaos was the first step in the creation of the world.—P 87.

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The tablet in regard to the Tower of Babel is rather obscure and doubtful. But Mr. Smith is increasingly confident that the Izdubar of the tablets is identical with Nimrod. The letters which he reads as *Izdubar* are of doubtful import, and he believes that farther developments will even identify its syllables with the name *Nimrod.*

In regard to the deluge we gave full extracts in a former Quarterly; but the following passage seems specially interesting:—

38. I sent forth a dove and it left. The dove went and turned, and
39. a resting-place it did not find, and it returned.
40. I sent forth a swallow and it left. The swallow went and turned, and
41. a resting-place it did not find, and it returned.
42. I sent forth a raven and it left.
43. The raven went, and the decrease of the water it saw, and
44. it did eat, it swam, and wandered away, and did not return.
45. I sent the animals forth to the four winds, I poured out a libation,
46. I built an altar on the peak of the mountain,
47. by seven herbs I cut,
48. at the bottom of them I placed reeds, pines, and simgar.
49. The gods collected at its savor, the gods collected at its good savor;
50. the gods like flies over the sacrifice gathered.

An Appeal to the Records in Vindication of the Policy and Proceedings of the Methodist Episcopal Church in relation to the South; from, and being a Reply to, the Erroneous and Strange Doctrines taught by E. H. Myers, D.D., of the M. E. Church, South, in his "Disruption of the Methodist Episcopal Church." By SQUIRE FULLER, D.D. 12mo., pp. 400. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1876.

There had grown up in the minds and presses of the two Methodisms a tacit agreement of mutual amnesty, of fraternally letting "by-gones be by-gones." This "truce of God" was broken, not by us, not by Dr. Fuller, but by Dr. Myers's ill-omened book. It was in unjustifiable forgetfulness of this fact, namely, that we are but meeting aggression, that a Southern paper noticed our notice of his book with the shallow remark that, but for twelve disputatious men on each side, no quarrel would have followed after the passing of the *Plan of Separation.* The editor of our "Advocate" coolly quotes this shallowness with approval; a coolness all the more admirable from the fact that unquestionably the unanimous vote of the South would honor the editor's own name with the highest place on this list, as the St. Peter of this apostolic twelve. The shallowness of the remark consists partly in this, that it ignores the fact that the disruption of 1844 was but part of a great "irrepressible conflict" between slavery and freedom, by which one of these two incompatibilities must destroy the other. The tyrannical effort to force upon us a slave-holding bishop was but a part of the ge-

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neric effort of the slave-power to suppress all freedom under itself, as well of the white as of the black, North as well as South. And this battle between slave-power and freedom was part of the great war between wrong and right, between darkness and light, between Satan and Messiah, that is going on in our world. And the resplendent victory of right in this our antislavery battle is omen and symbol of the final victory, in which the Son of God shall bind Satan in chains and send him to hell. It is a sad thing for a good man to be on the night-side of this great antithesis. When he so finds himself, he should humble himself and change sides. To Dr. Myers, and every good man like circumstanced, therefore, we commend, not desperate defense of their iniquity, but penitence, silence, and sackcloth.

We have more than once warned our Southern brethren that, if they attempt to come to us with a bill of indictments, we could give them one worth a dozen of it. Our indictment against them is, not that they merely submitted to slavery as imposed by the slave-power, including the human auction block, the slave-whip, the penalty upon negro education, the nullification of the marriage contract, and the keeping of blood-hounds to chase the fleeing slave. It is that, after accepting slavery, they proclaimed its perpetuity and thus became unequivocally *pro-slavery;* that after proclaiming its perpetuity they proceeded with the desperate energy of years of strife to *force that despotism upon us of the North*, and so became its cruel propagandists. Senator Toombs proclaimed that he would yet call his slave-roll at the foot of Bunker Hill, and they cheered him and his co-conspirators onward. And there was an apparently easy and rapid route to that result. The same servile court that decided our property suit, and so is such a pet with Dr. M., and that gave the Dred Scott decision, was ready, but for the rising of national opposition, to give the third turn of the judicial screw, and decide that, slaves being property, no State laws could constitutionally abolish the slave owner's claim to his chattel; and that would have made us all slave States, and the slave-power would have been lord of the nation. At this consummation, through many a year of corruption, compromise-breaking, fillibuster, and war, slaveholders aimed. They meant that the day should come when the slave-gang should be driven from the Battery up Broadway, while we, with lips pale and silent, should gaze on the scene more deeply enslaved than the fettered negro. The action of Southern Methodism in crushing down our churchly antislavery legislation, in forcing upon us a slave-holding bishop, in forming a Southern Church, and then try-

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ing to extend that Church over the entire North, were all part of the same great diabolic conspiracy. From the time of the first mobbing of Bishop Coke for his antislaveryism down to the issue of Dr. Myers's accusatory book, Southern Methodism has, in her place, played second fiddle to the music of the slave-power, and furnished us a century of counts of indictment upon her course.

All these aggressions we wished to forget until we were told that such oblivion is "a farce," and old antecedents must be retraced. It seems not to have been dreamed by some Southern brethren that that was a game for two, in which the challenger might meet ignominious defeat. It seems to have been by them expected that it would be the part of Southrondom to read off its list of charges, and our part to sit and listen in silence and penitence. Dr. Fuller's timely publication, with its mastery of facts, its thorough analysis, and its fearless exposures, will amply convince perhaps even their persistent self-conceit that silence would have been wisdom. Every member of our next General Conference should carefully examine this book. Nor has it merely an ephemeral value. Like Elliott's "Great Secession," it is a repository of facts which needed careful storing for future discussion and history. The violence of the discussion will not, indeed, last another generation. When the unfortunate Bourbons who committed themselves to the slave-power and still adhere in sheer obstinacy to worshiping its ghost shall have disappeared, a later generation will be ashamed of their fathers' folly. How infinitely more honorable in history would the fame of Summers and Myers appear if, instead of their dogged adherence to the putrid corpse of dead slavery, they would acknowledge their great moral mistake, recognize the penal hand of Justice in the destruction of the slave-power, proclaim that the cause of freedom was the cause of truth and righteousness, and lead the age in doing right by the colored race. It is sad to be on the night-side of history; and the more obstinate their impenitence, the deeper the night-shade in which they are enshrouded.

For any offenses imputed to us by Southern Methodism we ask no forgiveness. For the many offenses by her committed against us she need ask no forgiveness of ours. "Let by-gones be by-gones." We impose no conditions, and we accept no conditions. We do not concur in their views of the past; we do not ask them to concur with ours. If the Church South brings a prescribed condition of fraternity we trust our General Conference will fully *accept the fraternity*, but reserve the so-called condition as a distinct and independent matter for separate consideration.

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The Thrones and Palaces of Babylon and Nineveh from Sea to Sea: a Thousand Miles on Horseback. By JOHN P. NEWMAN, D.D., Member of the London Society of Biblical Archæology. 8vo., pp. 455. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1876.

Dr. Newman was clearly right, we think, in assuming that of the great circle around the globe, no arc is more interesting than the line from Bombay to Iskenderoon. We might even shorten this line by clipping from each end. No spot on the surface of the globe possesses so thrilling an interest for the soul as the great square lying amid the four most ancient seas, cut by the Tigris and Euphrates. Here was the cradle of the human race, the beginning of history; here the Deluge, and Babel, and Babylon. The latest excavations and decypherments are gathering special interest to this area at the present time; and it has been to us a rich enjoyment to travel in imagination all the way with our friend, and see with his eyes and sympathize with his emotions amid these primeval scenes.

Starting from Bombay, he passes through Oman's dark sea, where Thomas Moore so mournfully buried his Araby's daughter. He draws a zigzag line through the Persian Gulf. He ascends the ancient river to where the Euphrates and Tigris fork off, and finds the true Eden in the fork. It is still surpassingly Edenic; an engraving presenting its picture in an idealizing haze forms the frontispiece, and he announces the unique fact that so well adjusted at this place is the apparatus that he could *send a telegram from the garden of Eden to any part of the civilized world!* He ascends the Tigris by steam. Bagdad, Babel, Babylon, Ctesiphon, and Nineveh are taken into his route and form topics of magnificent chapters. Readers to whom the cuneiform writing and the received records of the flood are inaccessible, will find them here pleasantly unfolded. Ascending northward and eastward, he comes across the tracks of Xenophon and his immortal ten thousand. He finds Abram's Ur in Orfah, and Job's Uz in Uznaoor. Looking down on the north-east corner of the Mediterranean, he feels the same rapture as thrilled the hearts of Xenophon's men when, from a mountain descrying the same sight, they shouted *thalatta! thalatta!*—the sea! the sea!—and felt, like him, as if they had got home. We may, at the close of the journey, appropriate what Cowper said of a more celebrated, but far briefer, expedition:—

> "And Newman, long live he;
> And when he next goes forth to ride
> May I be there to see."

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Literature.

Dedication and Inauguration of the Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. Nashville, Tenn.: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

In this grand inauguration of the Vanderbilt University, founded in Nashville by Cornelius Vanderbilt's donations, there were sermons or addresses by Bishops Doggett, Wightman, and McTyeire, by Governor Porter, by Doctors Deems and Lipscomb, Chancellor Garland, and Dr. Summers. These exercises are all of a high order, and the Vanderbilt commences a noble history, as we trust, on a lofty key. We notice with pleasure a recognition of Vanderbilt's donations as a token of kindly feeling between the two sections. There is no true northerner who does not rejoice at the direction and munificence of Vanderbilt's gifts. Success to the great enterprise!

We are specially interested in the theological announcements of Dr. Summers as professor in the Divinity department. In firm disregard of the modern disparagement of creeds, he declares his standards in no equivocal tone. The Twenty-five Articles, the three Creeds, (Apostles', Nicene, and Athanasian,) and the Catechism, (by Richard Watson,) are his canons. We hesitate as to the Athanasian Creed, as even Dr. S. excepts to its damnatory clauses. We can hardly consent to be laden with a creed which is so late in the Church's history, and which both the Protestant Episcopal Church and Wesley dropped out. We understand the Protestant Episcopal Church to offer communion with any denomination that accepts the three successional orders and the *two* primitive creeds.

Satan Chained. A Poem. By Professor N. DUNN, A. M., formerly Instructor in Chemistry and Natural Philosophy in Wilbraham Academy, Mass., afterward Principal of Hempstead Seminary, L. I., and latterly Lecturer in Rutgers' Female College, in the City of New York. 12mo.. pp. 313. New York: Published by subscription, and for the benefit of the Author. 1875.

It is a heroic attempt, in these days, to construct a poem which tempts comparison with Milton, and essays to trace the reparation of the ruin which Milton pictures. We cannot say that the writer equals Milton, but we can conscientiously say we think him scarce inferior to Pollok.

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Miscellaneous.

Fifth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of Virginia, 1875. Part II. Expository.

This Report furnishes a very encouraging view of the progress of education, both of the white and colored populations. The great advantage of *public* schools is shown. Model school-houses are presented and discussed, and the true policy of sustaining the school system is ably expounded. It is by this route alone that venerable Virginia can attain to a higher than her old prosperity. Every Christian and patriot in the North wishes her triumphant success.

The Gift of the Holy Ghost, according to the Teaching of Scripture. By JOHN MORGAN, D.D., Professor of Biblical Theology in the Oberlin Theological Seminary. With an Introduction by Rev. C. G. Finney, late President of Oberlin College. 16mo., pp. 173. Oberlin, Ohio: E. J. Goodrich.

The Footprints of the Creator; or, The Asterolepsis of Stromness. By HUGH MILLER. With a Memoir of the Author by Louis Agassiz. 12mo., pp. 337. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1875.

The Testimony of the Rocks; or, Geology in its Bearings on the two Theologies, Natural and Revealed. By HUGH MILLER, author of "The Old Red Sandstone," "Footprints of the Creator," etc., etc. 12mo., pp. 502. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

The Mind and Words of Jesus; Faithful Promiser; and Morning and Night Watches. By Rev. J. R. MACDUFF, D.D. 16mo., pp. 126. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1876.

The Story of the Apostles; or, The Acts explained to Children. By the author of "Peep of Day," etc. 12mo., pp. 226. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1876.

In the Vineyard. A Plea for Christian Work. By Rev. E. F. BURR. D.D., author of "Ecce Cœlum," "Pater Mundi," "Ad Fidem," etc., and Lecturer on the Scientific Evidences of Religion in Amherst College. 12mo., pp. 454. New York: T. Y. Crowell.

Encyclopædia Biblical. Vol. VI. Me—Ner. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Bible Word-Book. A Glossary of Scripture Terms which have changed their Popular Meaning, or are no longer in General Use. By WILLIAM SWINTON, author of "Harpers' Language Series," "Word-Book," "Word Analysis," etc. Edited by Prof. T. G. Conant, D.D. 16mo., pp. 106. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876.

The Gates of Praise, and other Original Hymns, Poems, and Fragments of Verse. By J. R. MACDUFF, D.D., Author of "Morning and Night Watches," "Memories of Bethany," etc., etc. 16mo., pp. 256. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1876.

Autobiography of Thomas Guthrie, D.D.; and Memoir by his Sons, Rev. David K. Guthrie and Charles J. Guthrie, M.A. In two volumes. 12mo., pp. 494. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1875.

A Comprehensive History of Methodism. In one volume. Embracing the Origin, Progress, and Present Spiritual, Educational, and Benevolent Status in all Lands. By JAMES PORTER, D.D., author of "Compendium of Methodism," "Winning Worker," "Chart of Life," etc. 12mo., pp. 593. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1876.

Through and Through the Tropics: Thirty Thousand Miles of Travel in Oceanica, Australasia, and India. By FRANK VINCENT, Jun., Author of "The Land of the White Elephant." 12mo., pp. 298. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876.

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Life and Labors of Duncan Matheson, Scottish Evangelist. By Rev. JOHN MACPHERSON. 12mo., pp. 392. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1876.

Forty Years in the Turkish Empire; or, Memoirs of Rev. William Goodell, D.D., late Missionary of the A. B. C. F. M. at Constantinople. By his Son-in-law, E. D. G. Prime, D.D. 12mo., pp. 489. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1876.

Analytical Processes; or, The Primary Principle of Philosophy. By WILLIAM I. GILL, A M., author of "Evolution and Progress." 12mo., pp. 483. New York: The Authors' Publishing Company. 1876.

Nurses for the Needy; or, Bible-women Nurses in the Homes of the London Poor. By L. N. R., author of "The Book and Its Story," "The Missing Link," "Life-Work," and "God's Message in Low London." 12mo., pp. 304. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1875.

Fetish in Theology; or, Doctrinalism Twin to Ritualism. By JOHN MILLER, Princeton, N. J., author of "Metaphysics," "Commentary on Proverbs," etc. Second edition, with Letters Introductory. 12mo., pp. 261. New York: Dodd & Mead. 1875.

Currency and Banking. By BONAMY PRICE, Professor of Political Economy in the University of Oxford. 16mo., pp. 176. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1876.

Robinson Crusoe's Money; or, The Remarkable Financial Fortunes and Misfortunes of a Remote Island Community. By DAVID A. WELLS, late U. S. Special Commissioner of Revenue. With Illustrations by Thomas Nast. 12mo., pp. 118. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876.

American Pioneers and Patriots. George Washington; or, Life in America One Hundred Years Ago. By JOHN S. C. ABBOTT. Illustrated. 12mo., pp. 360. New York: Dodd & Mead.

Reminiscences of Forts Sumter and Moultrie in 1860, 1861. By ABNER DOUBLEDAY, Brevet Major-General U. S. A. 12mo., pp. 177. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876.

Life of Lord Byron, and other Sketches. By EMILIO CASTELAR. Translated by Mrs. ARTHUR ARNOLD. 12mo., pp. 347. New York: Harper & Bros. 1876.

Christmas Stories. By CHARLES DICKENS. With Original Illustrations, by E. A. Abbey. 8vo., pp. 293. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876.

Why We Laugh. By SAMUEL S. COX, author of "Buckeye Abroad," "Eight Years in Congress," "Winter Sunbeams," etc. 12mo., pp. 387. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876.

The Rapids of Niagara. By the author of "The Wide, Wide World." 12mo., pp. 436. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1876.

The Devil's Chair. By EDWARD JENKINS, M.P., author of "Ginx's Baby," etc. 12mo., pp. 163. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876.

Bread and Oranges. By the author of "The Wide, Wide World." 12mo., pp. 434. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1876.

His Natural Life. A Novel. By MARCUS CLARKE. 12mo., pp. 176. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876.

The Curate in Charge. A Novel. By Mrs. OLIPHANT, author of "Chronicles of Carlingford," "Innocent," "For Love and Life," "Squire Arden," "The Story of Valentine and his Brother," etc. 12mo., pp. 76. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876.

Halves. A Novel. By JAMES PAYN, author of "Walter's Word," "One of the Family," "Cecil's Tryst," "Bred in the Bone," "Found Dead," "Won, Not Wooed," etc. 12mo., pp. 126. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876.

Victor and Vanquished. A Novel. By MARY CECIL HAY, author of "Old Myddelton's Money," "The Squire's Legacy," etc. 12mo, pp. 145. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876.

Pausanias the Spartan. An unfinished Historical Romance. By the late Lord LYTTON. Edited by his Son. 12mo., pp. 105. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876.

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Owen Gwynne's Great Work. A Novel. By the author of "The Story of Wandering Willie," "Conrad the Squire," etc. 12mo., pp. 119. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876.

Carter Quarterman. A Novel. By WILLIAM M. BAKER, author of "Inside," "The New Timothy," "Mose Evans," "A Good Year," etc. Illustrated by Elias F. Whitney. 12mo., pp. 158. New York: Harper & Brothers 1876.

SUNDAY-SCHOOL METHODS.

The article on "Modern Sunday-school Methods" we have admitted as being written by an expert; and were there time for an answer to it by another expert before the next General Conference, we should leave it without remark. Though personally disqualified from close personal examination, we feel bound, as it is, to express our dissent from nearly all its positions.

To the best of our powers of observing, an epoch of scripture study *has been produced* by the "methods" such as has never before existed in the Church, and that is "success." It may be far below an ideal standard, and below the standard by these methods yet attainable; but it seems to us to be far above any actual standard that has ever heretofore been reached. More scripture commentators are called into action, more commentary volumes are demanded by the market, and plainly more scripture study and positive scripture knowledge exist, than, so far as we know, at any former period.

As to the methods, we look upon them as the methods we should use, to a great degree, in secular instruction. To us, as a secular teacher of old standing, the man who would propose to abolish the use of blackboard, pictorial illustration, and maps, would be little likely to obtain an extended hearing. At the present day histories, travels, geographies, treatises on science, and commentaries, are going forth with ever-increasing amounts of cuts and maps. These produce immediate *knowledge* in the mind which no words can. They do this by creating a new interest and attention in the mind, by impressing the memory with a more realistic notion of actual things, and thus inducing a true method of thought and study. And against the supposition that in teaching to *children* that book which is itself history, travels, science, and all, we are to abandon these methods, we enter our *caveat.*

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METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JULY, 1876.

ART I.—OBADIAH.

THE book bearing the name of Obadiah (Hebrew, עֹבַדְיָה, that is, *servant of Jehovah;* Greek, LXX, Ὀβδιού *al.* Ἀβδιού) is the shortest in the Old Testament. In the Hebrew canon it stands *fourth* of the minor prophets—the *fifth* in the Greek.

For the determination of its *date*, the conclusion must be reached chiefly from the contents of the book itself. From these it appears almost certainly to have been written prior to the overwhelming ascendency of any one nation over Palestine, "Edom" and "the nations"—that is, the nations immediately contiguous, and among whom there is evidence of no very great inequality of power, are all that seem known to him. The sending forth of the embassy for the concentration of the forces of "the nations" is itself in proof that, singly, none of them were of sufficient strength to be considered equal to the task of destroying the Judean kingdom. This would seem certainly to place the writer before the interference of the Assyrians and Chaldeans to any very great extent in the affairs of Palestine. The Assyrians are first named in connection with the Israelites, B. C. 770, when Pul exacted tribute from Menahem. (2 Kings xv, 19.) Up to this time no strong impression of their great superiority over the other nations seems to have been prevalent, or Menahem could scarcely have had the hardihood, single-handed, to attack and seize the important city Tephsah or Thapsacus, commanding the ford of the Euphrates, since he could have had no hope of ultimate success.

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as against that power if he had possessed knowledge of its greatness and resources. (2 Kings xv, 16.) Even if the reading of the cuneiform inscription on the "Black Obelisk" * is verified, and tribute had been paid by Jehu to Shalmanuber, a century before this, there is no reason why that may not have been the temporary result of a transient raid, soon lost sight of as a matter to cause apprehension, especially as there is no trace of a subsequent continuance of the payment of such tribute. Evincing such lack of knowledge as to the power of the Assyrian monarchy, the conclusion stated seems necessary, that the prophecy must have been delivered prior to the conquest of the northern kingdom.

It has been said that this prophecy must have been delivered at a time of great distress, while the nation was smarting under some signal reverse. It is supposed to indicate that it appeared just after an overwhelming defeat of the forces of the Judean kingdom, and the capture of the city Jerusalem. But this, it is apprehended, will hardly be found to be an accurate statement. It is rather indicated that it was delivered at a time when special and extraordinary effort was being put forth by the Edomites to bring to bear upon the kingdom of Judah a force which would be sufficient utterly to destroy it. It is altogether probable that there were some peculiarities in the circumstances of the kingdom which invited or incited to such an effort, and the knowledge of their endeavor to seize upon this opportunity would have a natural tendency to bring up in review their former actions, especially the course which had been followed in former periods of distress. Old grievances would then reappear, and the bitter feelings of the past would revive with all the potency of new inflictions. Particularly does there seem revived the bitterness arising from the memory of a former humiliation by the invasion of the Jewish territories, the defeat of its armies, and the capture of its capital. (V. 11.) There is no charge that the Edomites were actively engaged in the invasion of its territories, nor yet that they assisted in conquering them. They seem to have in that instance acted the part merely of interested spectators, with all their sympathies on the side of the foes of the Judean kingdom. But when the conquest was completed, they seem to be charged

* Smith's "Biblical Dictionary," Art. *Assyria.*

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with having joined in the revelry of the victors, and with cowardly hate, and unmanly cruelty, to have harassed, seized, and surrendered the fugitives.

In the endeavor to fix upon the particular transaction to which reference is here made, it seems hardly possible to refer it to the invasion of Shishak, the Egyptian, (1 Kings xiv, 25,) since the Edomites were then in subjection to the Judean kingdom. Indeed, the incursion of Shishak does not appear to have materially affected the kingdom, otherwise than by the loss of treasure, and perhaps of somewhat of prestige; and down to the time of Jehoram the Edomites remained in subjection to the successors of Solomon. It was during the reign of Jehoram that the Edomites revolted from "under the dominion of Judah, and made themselves a king." (2 Chron. xxi, 8.) During the same reign, but subsequently to this revolt, "the Philistines and the Arabians" of the south "came up into Judah, and brake into it, and carried away all the substance that was found in the king's house;" in other words, defeated his "host" or armies, and spoiled the city Jerusalem. (2 Chron. xxi, 17.) The Edomites were in no condition to do much in the way of military assistance at that time. They had gained their independence so recently as scarcely to have been known in all probability as independent. Yet they were in just such circumstances as would naturally cause them to pursue the line of conduct which is charged upon them. Their long servitude would naturally debase as well as embitter, and the opportunity to harass and exult over the fallen fortunes of their former oppressor could hardly fail to be employed. If any stress may be laid upon the expressions "*strangers*" and "foreigners," as indicating two distinct peoples, then it might be considered as settled that reference is had to this invasion of these two distinct peoples, the Philistines and Arabians, as "strangers" and "foreigners," in contradistinction to the Israelites of the northern kingdom. And these terms expressly preclude our applying it to any invasion in which the kings of Israel were concerned. To throw it later, as late, say, as the invasion by the Philistines in the reigns of Ahaz, besides being incompatible with the suggestion of there being, at the age of the writer, but little known as to the greatness of the Assyrian power, when at the very time Israel was ready to

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be subjugated by Tiglath-Pilezer, and Ahaz was himself paying court to him, there seems no good reason for supposing that at that period, when the favor of the Assyrian monarch was assured to Judah, there would be offered any good chance for a successful combination against the Judean kingdom.

If, then, these conclusions are correct, the prophecy must have been written not earlier than B. C. 885 nor later than B. C. 742. It may assist in a nearer definition if we can find a period when the circumstances of Judah seemed especially to invite attack, or when there might appear to be a favorable time to form a combination against her "among the nations."

The brief reigns of Ahaziah, the successor of Jehoram, and of his mother, Athaliah, (B. C. 885–878,) are unmarked by any indications of disturbance by the neighboring nations. And there does not seem any special reason why that period should be chosen for any attack upon it. Its very defection from the religion of Judaism would bring it into greater harmony with "the nations," and thus lessen, humanly speaking, the reasons for such confederation. The reign of Joash, so long as the high-priest, Jehoiada, lived, seems equally free from all foreign interference, and offered no favorable opportunity for a successful invasion. The reign of his successor, Amaziah, was indeed characterized by a war against Edom, in which he was successful, and one against Israel, provoked by himself, in which he was defeated. The prosperous reigns of Uzziah, who led his forces victoriously into the countries of the Philistines and Arabs, and received tribute from the Ammonites, and the reign of Jotham, his son, presented no favorable opportunity or encouragement for any project for the subjugation of the kingdom. The succeeding reign of Ahaz, as we have said, was so closely connected with the Assyrian monarch as to render it even still less likely to meet the requirements of this prophecy. The closing years (B. C. 844–838) of the reign of Joash, however, would seem to present the opportunities for attempting a confederacy for the destruction of the Judean kingdom. Its disorganized state is indicated by the first measures which were taken by his son and successor, Amaziah, who immediately numbered the people, and reorganized its military forces. The invasion by the Syrians, the disorders and conspiracies which seemed to have distracted the land, and which finally

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terminated the life of Joash, would offer temptations which an active and enterprising enemy would find difficulty in resisting. That some offense had at this time bee ncommitted, seems evident from the subsequent actions of Amaziah. For how else can it be accounted for that immediately upon his accession to the throne, and the reorganization of the military, Amaziah should hire auxiliaries from Israel to join him, and straightway march against Edom? What can better account for the severity of the king than the discovery of a treacherous purpose to form a confederacy against it, and the attempt to take advantage of the disturbances of the kingdom to work its utter destruction? If these considerations seem sufficient to fix the date, they would point to the interval B. C. 844 to 838, and with this conclusion we rest the examination as to the chronological data.

In relation to the *person* who wrote the prophecy a few words may be hazarded. The name Obadiah in this form occurs but ten times elsewhere than in this prophecy. In the form עֹבַדְיָהוּ, Obadyahu, it occurs nine times, seven of these times in reference to Ahab's pious "governor" (1 Kings xviii, 3, 4, etc.) Of the entire number who are thus named two only belong to Judah, and one to Benjamin; the remainder, with the exception of three Levites, belong to the tribes of the northern kingdom. But the name does not occur at any time in the historical books so as to allow an identification with this prophet. The balance of probabilities, however, seems favorable to the idea of his having his residence, and having delivered his prophecy, within the territories of the king of Israel. It may now be noted that a prophet is named in the reign of Pekah, (B. C. 741,) as living in Samaria, who must have been held in the highest estimation. His influence was evidently very great, and his name and character widely known. Such, indeed, was the power which he exerted over the minds of the chiefs and people, that he was able, by his counsel and denunciation, to cause the return to Judah of the rich booty and captives taken from the unfortunate Ahaz. The name given in the Hebrew text is עוֹדֵד, (Oded.) In Josephus however, it is given as Obedas, (Ὀβηδας.) This is not the name which is given to the author of this prophecy, but the similarity, and the fact of such a variation as this, may suggest an

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inquiry as to whether this might not be the author of this book. There is a difficulty, but not an insuperable one, in the lapse of time from the date of Obadiah's prophecy, herein accepted, and the period of Oded's appearance. It would compel us to put his age (B. C. 741) at not younger than one hundred and twenty years, ten years greater than the venerable age to which Samuel reached, but an age, perhaps, not infrequent in those days of primitive simplicity. An instance in point is that of Jehoiada, high-priest under Joash, who died B. C. 844,* at the age of one hundred and thirty years. If this may be allowed, the reverence for age, characteristic of the period and nation, may account for Oded's (Obadiah's) great influence, and may have had its effect in causing the returning leaders of the victorious Israelites to surrender their trophies. The compassionate spirit, mingling with the most inflexible courage and sternness in denunciation which runs through the brief utterance of Oded, as recorded in 2 Chron. xxviii, 9, may also be found in this prophecy, so that there can hardly be any objection to the suggestion from internal considerations.

The book falls naturally into five parts:—

I. The revelation of Edom's attempt at a confederation of the nations against Judah, (verse 1.)

II. The denunciation of Jehovah's judgments and the reasons for it, (verses 2–11.)

III. The dehortation, (verses 12–16,) containing inseparably,
   1. A historic outline of calamities previously suffered by Israel.
   2. A prediction of similar but more terrible calamities to fall upon the kingdom of Judah.
   3. An implied charge as to the past, and a prediction as to the future of Edom's fiendish cruelty, and exultation over the calamities of Judah.

* The Dictionaries, (Art. Jehoiada,) following what seems to be a misprint in Calmet, all give B. C. 834 as the date of Jehoiada's death. But Joash died B. C. 838, and Zechariah, successor of Jehoiada, was killed B. C. 836. The advanced age of Jehoiada, at the time of his death, renders it probable that Jehoshabeath was his second wife, and that his successor, Zechariah, was his grandson—his father, Barachias, having died during the long incumbency of Jehoiada—thus identifying and justifying our Saviour's expression, "Zacharias, the son of Barachias." (Matt. xxiii, 35.)

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4. A dehortation from a continuance in this course as foreseen and predicted, grounded upon, 1.) The approaching judgments upon all the contiguous nations; 2.) The certainty of a terrible retribution upon Edom.

IV. The final victory and deliverance of the house of Jacob, (verses 17–21, a.)

V. The supremacy of Jehovah's kingdom, (verse 21, b.)

THE VISION OF OBADIAH.

1 Thus saith the Lord Jehovah concerning Edom·
(Yea) From Jehovah have we heard the message,
That an embassador had been sent among the nations,
(Crying) "Arise ye, and we also will arise against her in war."

2 Behold, little have I made thee among the nations,
Thou hast (deservedly) been greatly despised!
3 The pride of thine heart hath deceived thee
Dweller in the clefts of the rock,
His lofty habitation!
Saying in his heart
"Who shall cast me down?"

4 Though thou makest high as the eagle,
Even though among the stars thou settest thy nest,
From thence will I bring thee down, is Jehovah's (revealed) word!

5 If thieves come upon thee,—
If robbers by night,—
How art thou destroyed!—
Would they not steal sufficient for them?
If grape-gatherers come upon thee
Would they not leave gleanings?—
6 How are the things of Esau sought out;
His hidden treasures discovered!

7 As far as the border have all the men of thy covenant sent thee;
Have deceived thee,
Shall prevail against thee,
The men of .hy peace:
As thy bread shall they place a snare under thee,
—There is none understanding in him.

8 Is not in that day the word of Jehovah,
That "I will destroy the wise from out of Edom,
And understanding from the mount of Esau,
9 And thy heroes shall be dismayed, O Teman?
For each one shall be cut off from the mountain of Esau by slaughter."

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10 Because of thy violence toward thy brother Jacob, shame shall cover thee
And thou shalt be cut off forever.

11 In the day of thy standing over against,
In the day of strangers taking captive his host,
So that foreigners entered his gates,
And upon Jerusalem cast the lot,
Thou also wast as one of them.

12 Yet look not thou upon the day of thy brother,
In the day of his strange fate:
And exult not thou over the sons of Judah,
In the day of their destruction;
And enlarge not thy mouth,
In the day of their distress:
13 Enter not thou the gate of my people,
In the day of their misfortunes
And look not thou, even thou! upon his adversity,
In the day of his misfortunes;
And lay not thou hands upon his army,
In the day of his misfortunes;
14 And stand thou not in the forks of the way
To cut off his escape;
And deliver thou not up his survivors,
In the day of (his) distress;
15 For nigh is the day of Jehovah upon all the nations;
As thou hast done, and dost do, it shall be done unto thee,
Thy deed shall return upon thine own head!

16 For as ye have drunken upon my holy mountain,
All the nations shall drink continuously:
They shall swallow greedily,
And shall be as if they had not been!

17 But upon Mount Zion there shall be the escaped;
And it shall be a Holy place;
And the house of Jacob shall enjoy their possessions.
18 And the house of Jacob shall be a fire,
And the house of Joseph shall be a flame,
And the house of Esau shall be for stubble,
And shall kindle among them,
And shall consume them:
And there shall not be a survivor to the house of Esau:
For Jehovah hath spoken!
19 And they of the Negebh shall possess the mountains of Esau,
And they of the Shephelah (shall possess the land) of the Philistines;
(These same) shall possess the fields of Ephraim, and the fields of Samaria.
And Benjamin shall possess Gilead,
20 And the captives of this host of the children of Israel, which the Canaanites
(lead captive unto) Zarephath.
And the captives of Jerusalem which (were led captive) into Sepharad,
Shall possess the cities of the Negebh:

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21 And deliverers shall go up into Mount Zion,
To rule over Mount Esau.
And the kingdom shall be unto JEHOVAH!

1. "The vision" (חָזוֹן=*chazon*—that which through the revelation of God to him was as if seen by or) "of Obadiah." "Thus saith the Lord Jehovah concerning Edom," (as to what Edom had done, and as to what would result to Edom,) (yea) "from Jehovah have we heard" (a sudden change of construction as to person and number, as frequently among the prophets. (See Nord. Heb. Gr., § 768, 1, a.) It might, perhaps, be treated as a parallelism. More properly and strictly it has its application to the statement immediately following, and indicates that Jehovah has so ordered and overruled, that though attempted to be done covertly it had become matter of common rumor, well known and widely disseminated,) "that an embassador had been sent among the nations." (By whom? As the prophecy and rumor relate to Edom, its doings and their results, it seems most natural to understand the embassy to have been sent out by Edom to the surrounding peoples, who might be supposed to be in sympathy with the hostile spirit of the Edomites, and would, therefore, be glad of an opportunity to destroy the Israelitish nationality.) (Crying) "Arise ye, and we will arise against her in war." (An urgent invitation to a combination of their military power with Edom, to be hurled suddenly and with irresistible force against the common foe. Usually this has been attempted to be interpreted on the hypothesis that JEHOVAH had caused an embassy to be sent to the nations for the purpose of inciting them against Edom. But there seems no authority for this interpretation in the context. It certainly does not appear to be in harmony with the progress of the vision, and no record of any such confederacy against Edom as this would imply is found. But if such a confederacy was God's instrument in humbling Edom, it is difficult to account for the absence of further record of it, while the failure of the attempt by Edom may sufficiently account for no further mention being made of it. Moreover, עָלֶיהָ, "against HER," can hardly be grammatically construed to apply to the masculine noun Edom, since the feminine construction with that noun nowhere else occurs. Throughout this prophecy, when the reference is *indisputably to Edom*, the MASCULINE pronoun is used.

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The parallel passage in Jer. xlix, 14 cannot be used as against this, since though עָלֶיהָ might there be referred to the feminine noun, Bozrah, yet it is capable of the interpretation herein given in perfect harmony with its context. In Jeremiah xlix, after the expression in verse 14, "Gather ye together and come against her, and rise up to the battle," there must be supplied from verse 12, "Thou shalt not go unpunished;" the sentiment being, All in vain; this did not answer its intended purpose; thou shalt be desolate and waste; for, lo! I have made thee little, etc. In each case it must be understood that the prophets adduce this overt act of Edom, in endeavoring to form this confederacy against the Judean kingdom or Israel, as the crowning offense, and immediate occasion provocative of this denunciation of God's judgment upon the nation.)

2. "Behold, little have I made thee among the nations; thou hast deservedly been greatly despised!" (This embassy has not succeeded. Jehovah so interposed that Edom has been by its means greatly humiliated. His littleness has been shown up. Deserved contempt has been heaped upon him. Thus God often so overrules that the counsels and purposes of the wicked are turned against themselves.)

3. "The pride of thine heart hath deceived thee, dweller in the clefts of the rock, his lofty habitation! saying in his heart, 'Who shall cast me down?'" (Edom felt himself secure in the inaccessible, lofty rocky fastnesses among which he had fixed his capital, Sela or Petra. Such heights abounded in his territories. The remains of his chief city, Petra, even in their ruins, at this day strike the traveler with astonishment and admiration. Granting that its marvelous architectural ornamentation, and the skill displayed in its magnificent buildings or excavations, were the product of a later age, and of their Nebathean successors, it would seem to justify the expectation, that from its inaccessible position, its height commanding all the approaches, a people could dwell in security, and laugh at every attempt to dislodge or destroy them. This natural security and advantage only serve, however, to exhibit more clearly the power with which God moves to accomplish his purposes, and to punish and bring down those who dare to set him at defiance. Edom's sin of proud self-security went "before his destruction," his "haughty spirit before" his "fall;"

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—led, indeed, into the very course which precipitated his overthrow.)

4. "Though thou makest high as the eagle, even though among the stars thou settest thy nest, from thence will I bring thee down, is Jehovah's (revealed) word." (Above the nest of the eagle, beyond the stars, extends the dominion of Jehovah. Vain are all human expedients for security as against His power: and His sure word in the spirit of prophecy revealed his determination to humble and destroy, to make a marked example along the lines of human history of the proud dwellers in the rocky domains of Edom.)

5. "If thieves come upon thee,—if robbers by night,—How art thou destroyed. Would they not steal sufficient for them? If grape-gatherers come upon thee, would they not leave gleanings?"

6. "How are the things of Esau sought out; his hidden treasures discovered." (Usually men are satisfied with securing what is sufficient for their own wants. Even robbers seldom in that day took more than this. But nothing save the utter destruction of all that Edom possesses will fulfill the purposes of the judgment here denounced. The completeness of the desolation here foreseen by the prophet is indicated by the outburst of horror and amazement in the midst of his description, "How art thou destroyed!" Even grape-gatherers, when their express purpose is to gather in the entire vintage, will leave remnants, gleanings of the crop. But in this desolation, with superhuman persistency and determination, shall the land be overrun, such close scrutiny and inquiry shall be made that nothing shall escape. His hidden treasures shall be sought out, and shall become a prey to the spoilers. As against the *power* of God resistance is vain and human effort useless, so from the eye of Him who judgeth the earth nothing can be hidden, but in his own good time can be uncovered. The lesson is for all ages and people.)

7. "As far as the border have all the men of thy covenant sent thee; have deceived thee, shall prevail against thee, the men of thy peace: as thy bread shall they place a snare under thee." (As far as the border, etc.; that is, in the persons of their embassadors, mentioned verse 1. According to custom, they were escorted with all due (hollow) respect and ceremony to the

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borders of their several territories, and while they were put off with fair speeches and expressions which should keep up the appearance of faith and trueness to their former treaty obligations, there was no sincere purpose to enter into an armed confederation, or to make common cause with Edom for the destruction of the Hebrew state. Their specious words and courteous civilities served to deceive the Edomites, and to lull them into the expectation of final success by their help. But Jehovah now declares that these very nations, with whom they have hitherto been on terms of amity and peace, shall turn their forces against them and prevail. The introduction of "thy bread" is perplexing. The LXX omit "bread," and make the sentence to mean "they have set snares under thee." מְזוֹר (*mazor*) is rendered very variously. Fuerst renders, "Thy friends put nets under thee, and attention is given to them." Gesenius renders, "treachery, plot, falsehood." Keil, with our English version, makes it "wound," and translates, "They make thy bread a wound under thee." Kleinert renders, "As thy bread they lay for thee a snare." The rendering herein given is somewhat more literal, and makes the translation a future one, thus giving the full force to the tense of the verb, "As thy bread shall they place a snare under thee"—that is, they shall so deceitfully represent their course of treacherous procedure as to make the impression that that course will be the means of support to Edom; really laying snares for him, they shall seem to be doing it for his benefit. Edom, however, has not the discernment to detect the cheat, a foreseen fact which elicits the parenthetic outburst, "There is none understanding in him!" And the reason for this he now proceeds to give. The abrupt change of person may be attributed to the fact that the prophet, in this exclamation, is uttering his own (inspired) sentiment indeed, but not any words of *prophecy* actually directed to be uttered." Or it may, perhaps, be the outburst of amazed contempt.)

8. "Is not in that day" (that is, the day when these false nations shall thus act) "the word of Jehovah, that," (נְ="as follows," namely, I will, etc., the נְ being equivalent to our quotation marks, indicating that the writer is quoting the exact words of another, in this case, Jehovah,) "I will destroy the

* A somewhat different interpretation is embodied in our concluding remarks to the book.

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wise from out of Edom, and understanding from the mount of Esau."

9. "And thy heroes" (hitherto so bold) "shall be dismayed," (shall flee in terror,) "O Teman?" (the southern district of Idumea, (Amos i, 12,) so called from Teman, a son of Eliphaz, and grandson of Esau. (Gen. xxxvi, 11, 15.) The change to the direct address adds intensity and force to the expression. The mention of the extreme southern district may be intended especially to show that the entire extent of the Edomite kingdom was to be thus visited with judgment—the course of destruction being, perhaps, indicated as from extreme north to extreme south.) "For each one shall be cut off," (that is, each "wise one." Perhaps, as is often the case in times of public calamity, the distracted and infuriated people in their misery charge their misfortunes upon their leaders and counselors, and thus rejecting their counsel lead them to death. An Ahithophel may also, foreseeing his doom, anticipate it by suicide. The loss of the nation's trusted counselors may well fill with dismay its heroes. But not only shall the wise be cut off, but this shall be followed by the cutting off of the whole nation, as he now proceeds to predict.)

10. "Because of thy violence toward thy brother Jacob shame shall cover thee." (Hostility and envy were characteristic of Esau and the Edomites from the time when the birthright passed over to his twin brother, Jacob. (Gen. xxvii, 41.) Such dispositions were not apparent in Jacob and the Israelites. The wickedness of their characteristics, and of the conduct arising from them, is intensified by the fraternal relationship, and is made conspicuous by the long-continued forbearance of the chosen people. A friendly attitude and brotherly course of conduct was indeed enjoined in Israel's divinely instituted law, and this because of the "brotherhood." (Deut. ii, 4, 5; xxxiii, 7.) A fearful and righteous retribution is predicted) "and thou shalt be cut off forever" (as a nationality distinct from the peoples of the earth, utter destruction, the extermination, indeed, of its entire population) "by slaughter!" (a pregnant expression: cut off because of their violence in the slaughter of their brethren, and themselves being afterward retributively slaughtered by their enemies, thus "as they had done so should it be done to them.")

11. "In the day of thy standing over against," (that is, with

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hostile intent, see 2 Sam. xviii, 13,) "in the day of strangers taking captive his host," (by some rendered "*treasure:*" not well, since its connection with the verb, the almost universal rendering of which is "to take captive," determines that this word also must be taken, according to almost invariable usage, to mean "multitudes of human beings" usually "armies:" a meaning further confirmed by the results following this "capture" of the "host" of Jacob, namely,) "that foreigners entered his gates," (that is, in the capture of its defenders, the "host" outside, the city fell into the hands of the foreigners) "and upon Jerusalem cast the lot" (to determine, as was the common custom, the distribution of the spoils. The sin of Edom was in the fact that his sympathies were with the spoilers. He is not charged in this instance with aiding and abetting their spoliations with active military force. The charge is simply) "thou also wast as one of them!" referring, doubtless, to the capture of the city Jerusalem by the Philistines and Hamyritic Arabs. (2 Chron. xxi, 16, 17.)

Such had been Edom's course in the past. The prophet now proceeds with the future. He foresees the calamities which are to come upon Israel, and while he dehorts Edom from pursuing a course similar to the preceding he indicates very clearly that there will be no change, and therefore declares the consequences of his future cruelties. The passage is, therefore, to be considered *historic* with reference to the past, *predictive* as to the events of the future, the fulfillments of the predictions however foreseen, yet contingent upon the refusal to hearken to and obey the dehortation which it contains.

12. "Yet look not thou upon the day of thy brother" (that is, with malicious joy) "in the day of his strange fate; and exult not thou over the sons of Judah in the day of their destruction; and enlarge not thou thy mouth" (that is, vaunt not thyself proudly) "in the day of their distress."

13. "Enter not thou the gate of my people in the day of their misfortunes; and look not thou, even thou," (that is, gloat not upon, even thou. A brother of all men should be the last to gloat over the misfortunes of a brother. The close kindred claims compassion and sympathy. It adds greatly to the criminality and despicableness of him that acts in disregard of the claims of a common humanity,) "upon his

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adversity in the day of his misfortunes; and lay not thou hands upon his army in the day of his misfortunes:" (or, as some render it, "seize not thou his treasures"—but this is an unusual sense, and that given is the much more frequent use. The triplicate use of the word "misfortunes" indicates the great extremity of their calamities.)

14. "And stand thou not in the forks of the way" (at the point where the roads come together and, *vice versa*, the way divides) "to cut off his escape; and deliver thou not up his survivors" (that is, any who may have fallen into thy hands either by capture or by taking refuge with thee) "in the day of distress." (Instead of "yet look not thou upon," etc., verse 12 and following, our English version has "but thou shouldst not have looked," etc. But the almost universal judgment of the critics is that the grammatical construction of the Hebrew text is against this. With the literal rendering above given the sense is plain enough. The past is fixed and unchangeable. The possibilities of change belong to the future. With respect to events predicted, there must always be understood certain contingencies and possibilities resulting from the principles which are existent as universally applicable in the Divine government. Thus the destruction of Nineveh was a positive prediction, the fulfillment of which was to occur at a given fixed and determinate time. But the very proclamation of the prediction was intended as an overture on the part of Jehovah to let operate the principle that up to a certain stage of human procedure repentance and reformation on the part of the guilty may be the proper grounds for turning away the punishment denounced against them, and so in the very cry of Jonah, though not, perhaps, always expressed, there was understood this contingency. In like manner, the destruction of Jerusalem and of the Hebrew polity was predicted in the most positive terms; and yet there was always held out to them the promise that this should not occur if a proper repentance and humiliation—a complete turning to God—should take place. Hence to this they were always most earnestly exhorted. It was doubtless very greatly with the design of leaving no means untried to bring about that repentance that the predictions were made, the judgments denounced, and the vail of the future withdrawn, that the results might

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be fully understood by them. In the instance before us the prophet foresees the fearful calamities which were to come upon his own people. By the same prophetic foresight he understands that the spirit which actuated Edom in the recent events would, if it remained unchanged, result in the aggravation of the sufferings of Israel. Filled with anguish therefor, he breaks out into these words of earnest deprecating dehortation: "Look not thou," etc., etc. As if he had said, "Do not gloat over the misfortunes of a brother: you need not thus act. Your spirit may be changed. Your attitude toward him and toward Jehovah may, if you will it to be so, be wholly changed. Thus there may be to both an escape from the aggravation of divine wrath and judgment. Yet notwithstanding this possibility and the provision of mercy, the burden of prophecy is, that you will pursue the very course which you are here entreated not to follow." The passage, therefore, is to be looked upon as predictive, as well as deprecatory and dehortative or dissuasive.)

15. "For nigh is the day of Jehovah upon all the nations. As thou hast done and dost do" (for this force of kal pret. see Nord. H. G., § 964. 1, a,) "it shall be done unto thee. Thy deed shall return upon thine own head." (Thus the prophet returns to the direct prediction, and denounces fearful retribution for the cruelty to which (vs. 10–12) he had made previous reference, and for the acts of inhumanity which they would afterward perform.)

16. "For as" (this connects with what has been stated in verse 11) "ye have drunken upon my holy mountain," (for a brief period. It can hardly be considered as at all improbable that after the fall of Jerusalem, and during the brief period of its occupancy by the Philistines (strangers) and Arabs (foreigners), a portion of the Edomites may have joined in the festivities of the victors in Jerusalem,) "all the nations shall drink" (upon thy mountain) "continually." (All the nations that had joined in the former revelries upon MY mountain shall have similar carousals upon *thy* mountains "continually," that is, as long as the Edomites shall exist. They, therefore, shall be alike guilty. In consequence the day of the Lord shall also come upon them: and as final extermination shall be the lot of Edom, so also shall it be to "the nations." "They shall swallow greedily, and shall

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be as (if) they had not been." (They shall pass away. "The place which knew them shall know them no more forever." Job x, 19. It will be noted that the text does not say that the nations should *all* drink upon Zion. The address is to Edom. Yet that is not wholly precluded. But the address is, perhaps, best understood by the antithesis, something being clearly to be supplied to correspond with "my mountain:" that is, as you have had your carousals upon my mountain, they shall have their carousals upon your mountains, the sacred places of Edom; and that, while on the one hand they were the instruments impelled by their own greed and wickedness, but yet in the hands of Jehovah, bringing retribution upon Edom, they in turn should meet with a similar recompense or retribution. Notwithstanding the estrangement of Edom, it was not forgotten that he was of Abrahamic lineage through the son of the promise, and stood, therefore, in a somewhat different relation to Jehovah from that occupied by the other nations, Ishmael, perhaps, being excepted, and so, therefore, his destroyers met with a terrible destruction.)

In strong contrast with this final fate of the then existing nationalities, the prophet now brings out the later triumphs and ultimate deliverance of the chosen people. Zion shall be free. It shall be delivered from all its foes and oppressors. It shall be cleansed from all its filth and pollutions. The house of Israel shall regain its territories. It shall also regain its military power. Meantime "the nations shall have overrun and laid waste Edom until there shall be but little left." Then shall "Jacob" turn his military force against the Edomites, destroying what remained ("stubble") and completing the extinction of its nationality. Then shall this "house of Jacob" (namely, the united remnant of Israel—predominant among whom, and alone recognized, shall be the successors of the Judean kingdom, whose capital city shall be the central point of the consolidated dominion) come into the possession of the entire inheritance of Jacob's descendants, and there shall be but one supreme kingdom acknowledged, the kingdom of *Jehovah*. It may now be observed that the peculiar and somewhat ambiguous expression "house of Jacob," when evidently the predominant idea is that of the Judean kingdom, may be accounted for by the fact, and indeed be indicative of it,

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that this prophet was of the northern kingdom, to the inhabitants of whom the final supremacy of the southern kingdom would hardly be agreeable. At a later period the expression was frequently employed by Isaiah to designate the kingdom of Judah.

17. "But upon Mount Zion there shall be the escaped; and it shall be a holy place." (The Israelites shall not wholly perish: a remnant shall escape. It shall occupy Zion purified from its defilements, once more the holy place, the sanctuary of the Most High.) "And the house of Jacob" (may perhaps, as noted above, include the entire remnant of the descendants of Jacob; but the phraseology seems to be used as indirectly and inoffensively indicating the supremacy of the authorities established on Zion. The pre-eminence of these was rightly, indeed, connected with the name of Jacob, as being a necessary ultimate fulfillment of the dying patriarch's prediction as to Judah, that from him the scepter should not depart, and unto his Shiloh should the gatherings of the people be. Moreover, since the defection of the ten tribes Judah had been for the most part the only representative of the true theocratic Israel or chosen people)—"shall enjoy their possessions," (as perhaps never before, the land promised to their fathers.)

18. "And the house of Jacob" (the Judean kingdom) "shall be a fire, and the house of Joseph" (the northern kingdom) "shall be a flame." (Fire may exist without flame, but flame cannot be without fire—the flame inseparably from the fire—the two coalescing and acting together as one—for the one object. These expressions mark the vital consolidated power and active aggressive force of the escaped remnants. In all their history the posterity of Jacob have exhibited a marvelous power of endurance, energy, activity, and force. To exterminate them has been demonstrated utterly impossible, and as the ages pass along they multiply, and accumulate an influence which seems destined to establish them in positions of mastery and control. How different with the Edomites!) "And the house of Esau shall be for stubble," (a few survived the conquest of their country, and the laying waste their cities and territories by "the nations;" but they were utterly prostrated, devoid of spirit, like dry "stubble" left by the reapers in the fields, ready for destruction,) "and shall kindle among them, and shall consume them;" (the fire kindles, Judah scatters his

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forces among them; the flames (Joseph) consume them; the conjoint attacks of Jacob's posterity utterly destroy, either by slaughter or incorporation,) "and there shall not be a survivor [left] to the house of Esau," (to bear the name distinctively or to trace his lineage up to Esau.) "For Jehovah hath spoken!" (Only as yet is it prophecy. But the event is certain as if accomplished fact. The desolate wastes of Idumea and Arabia Petrea at this day attest the prophet's truth, and the inspiration of this word.)

It remains only in the completion of this vision that the prophet describe the reoccupation of their territories and the distribution of their heritage in the theocratic kingdom whose august and supreme chief ruler shall be Jehovah.

19. "And they of the Negebh shall possess the mountains of Esau," (the extreme south,) "and they of the Shephelah (shall possess the land) of the Philistines," (the west to the coast.) "(These same) shall possess the fields of Ephraim and the fields of Samaria," (the central parts of Palestine.) "And Benjamin shall possess Gilead," (the eastern part.) "The Negebh" seems here to be the name of a district of country south of the mountains of Judah. "On the north it was bounded by the Shephelah and the mountains of Judah. A line drawn from Wady Sheriah, eastward to Khuweilifeh, and then to Maon, and from thence south-east to the extremity of the Dead Sea, would mark its northern border. On the east it bordered on the Arabah as far south as the parallel of Kedesh. Its southern border did not reach either to the peninsula of Sinai, or to Egypt."—KITTO, *Cyclop.* The inhabitants of the Negebh were in vision, therefore, seen migrating in force, and taking possession of the mountains of Esau, which lay south and east of the Negebh. "The Shephelah was the native name of the tract of country lying between the highlands of Judea and the Mediterranean Sea to the south of Sharon."—KITTO, *Cyclop.* This word, usually translated in our English version "vale," "valley," "plain," "low country," etc., was not, however, restricted to this meaning, but was so applied as to include the hills inclosing the plains, as in this instance: the inhabitants of the country west should spread themselves over and master the country of the Philistines to the coast of the Mediterranean, and then north-westwardly and north-east-

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wardly to take possession of the allotment of Ephraim, "the fields of Samaria," the territories of the rulers of Samaria, which were probably since Jehu's time confined to the western side of Jordan. (2 Kings x, 32, 33.) Thus the inhabitants of the Shephelah, or western outskirts of Judah, were to possess the western and central parts of Palestine. *Gilead* lay beyond or east of Jordan; it was the allotment of Gad, and at its south-western extremity lay along the eastern bank of Jordan, partly opposite to Benjamin. Crossing over the Jordan, the Benjamites, the weaker members of the Judean kingdom, were to possess themselves of the formerly trans-Jordanic Israelitish territory.

It will have been observed that all these migrations have their starting point from within the limits of the Judean kingdom, and result in bringing the western, the central, and the eastern parts of what had been the kingdom of Israel, and the southern kingdom of Edom under the authority of the Davidic succession. By these migrations, moreover, the Shephelah and the Negebh were at least partially drained of their inhabitants, and thus made room for another people.

20. "And the captives of this host of the children of Israel," (what "host?" For answer, we can only with propriety refer to the captives) "which the Canaanites" (or Philistines in conjunction with "the Arabians, that were near unto Ethiopia," 2 Chron. xxi, 16) "led captive" (during the reign of Jehoram. These Philistines are denominated "Canaanites," from the general or common name of the country, of whose inhabitants they formed an important part. So the "host," or army, is said to be "of the children of Israel," although more strictly of the Judean kingdom, just as Jehoshaphat and Ahaz are called "kings of Israel" (2 Chron. xxi, 2; xxviii, 19) while strictly only "kings of Judah." The definite article (הַחַיִל) points directly to *the* "host" named in vs. 11, 13. These were led, some of them perhaps,) "unto Zarephath," (the supposed ancient name of the modern town of Sarafend, near Zidon.) "And the captives of Jerusalem" (could hardly be those taken by the Edomites in their revolt from Jehoram, who endeavored, without success, to reconquer them. The narrative of this attempt, and of the consequent battle at Zair, is in both the records (2 Kings viii, 20, etc.; and 2 Chron. xxi, 8, etc.) somewhat ambiguous; but it would seem that the Edomites had

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"compassed him in," in other words, had surrounded him, and that during the night Jehoram, by an unexpected attack, broke through the Edomite forces and escaped, but not without suffering; in the fight, however, inflicting upon his foes much damage and loss, especially and wisely disabling their chariots, and thus perhaps rendering pursuit less possible and less disastrous. What people "fled to their tents" is not clearly discernible; but the most probable meaning is that the Israelites made good their escape to their previous encampment, so that but few, if any, captives could be taken. It may be possible, but is nowhere so stated or charged, that Edom was concerned in the raid made in connection with the Philistines and is included under the general name of "the Arabians," which were near the Ethiopians, (Cushites,) at which time captives and spoil were taken from Jerusalem, even the king's children being slain by them. At a later period during the reign of Ahaz, and possibly contemporaneously with the closing years of this prophet, the Edomites engaged in a successful foray into the Judean territory. (2 Kings xvi, 7; 2 Chron. xxviii, 16.) From the passage in Kings it seems clear that about this time the kings of Syria, Israel, and Edom were confederates, and as a result of the war put Edom or Syria into permanent possession of Elath. (Edom, if the LXX read correctly their copy, but Syria if a ד has not erroneously been written for ר, a difference the same as in Deuel for Reuel.) But the earlier date of this prophecy precludes any connection with these later events, and the better way seems to require its reference to the Arabs as having taken the captives) "which were led captive unto Sepharad." (The verb "led captive" is suggested to complete the sentence, from the noun "captives." But where is Sepharad? As the other places named are found in the regions contiguous to the kingdom of Judah, it would seem that Sepharad ought similarly to be found. And as the corresponding name in the parallelism is found among the Philistines in the extreme north, this may reasonably be sought in the extreme south among their allies, the Arabs, who had succeeded in securing the captives. May not, after all, this be the same as Sephar or Dhafarzeyd, (Zafari,) and be found in the remote district of Arabia near the Red Sea? For this name the Septuagint reads "Ephrata," which various reading is only

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valuable as suggesting that the situation of the place was southward and in a fruitful land. (Arabia Felix?) Others (Chaldaic and Syriac) suppose Spain to be intended. Jerome gives as the Jewish rendering "Bosphorus"—which of the two of that name he does not indicate. De Sacy suggests "Sardis." Others, "Sparta." A late theory supposes it to be found among the names between Cappadocia and Ionia, in the cuneiform inscriptions written Ç'parda. But no one has been able clearly to substantiate any of these places as the Sepharad of the text, and it is, therefore, after all the researches of commentators and biblicists, an undiscovered place. The suggestion herein given seems most probable and harmonious with the historic fragments given us in Kings and Chronicles. Returning from the place of their captivity, wheresoever that may have been, they, in connection with those returning from Zarephath,) "shall possess the cities of the Negebh," (the cities of the most southern territories of Judah and Simeon, and the region lying contiguous thereto; the region, indeed, from whence they had been taken, and which had been depopulated in measure by the migrations noted in verse 19. Thus the previous lack shall be supplied, and prosperity again be given to the country.) "And deliverers" (that is, after this the heroes whose wisdom and valor had brought deliverance) "shall go up into Mount Zion" (to restore again to its former seat and sovereignty the kingdom that it may rule over its rightful territory, and also having conquered) "to rule over the mount of Esau," (exercising dominion, and executing justice and judgment according to the law of Zion, over the formerly antagonistic possessions of the Edomites. But this only subordinately.) "And the kingdom" (the real power and ruling authority by original and indefeasible jurisdiction) "shall be to Jehovah!" (to whom, as supreme over all, his august majesty duly and reverently recognized and obeyed, there shall be indeed ascribed all might, sovereignty, and dominion for evermore! "Beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him . . . that saith unto Zion, THY GOD REIGNETH."

A general view of this prophecy and of its fulfillment may now be presented. It will be remembered that the hostility of Edom was chiefly directed against the Judean kingdom. There was, of course, originally, enmity toward the entire posterity of

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Jacob. But after the defection of the Ten Tribes, various circumstances tended to modify this feeling; to weaken it toward the northern, and to intensify it toward the southern kingdom. Thus the tendency of Jeroboam and his successors to adopt the religion of the surrounding nations made them less distasteful to "the nations," as is evinced by their more frequently being found in alliance with them. The perpetual rivalry and antagonisms of the two kingdoms also diminished the likelihood that either would be able for any considerable period to do more than maintain jurisdiction over their own domain, if indeed they could do that. The Judean kingdom was moreover to the Edomites much the more dangerous, as being an adjoining territory. It had already held them in humiliating dependency, and had in more than one instance during their partial independence asserted claims to portions of country which were held by Edom. There were therefore continual fears and jealousies arising; and while the old feeling was so far modified toward the separated ten tribes as to make an alliance with them desirable, the intensity of their hostility toward Judah, added to fear and jealousy, made it a matter of the utmost importance that such an alliance should be turned to the destruction of this, their nearest, most dangerous, and enterprising rival. It will be seen, therefore, that the prophet brings out, as most distasteful to Edom, and the very opposite of its wishes and purposes, the fact that the final issue of all their conflicts will be the complete supremacy of Judah over not only Edom, but also Israel, in such sense as that Israel shall be absorbed by Judah, lose its separate existence, and be used to bring into subjection even Edom itself.

We have already seen that there is good ground for the statement that Edom had endeavored to form a strong combination of the nations against the kingdom of Judah, and that such effort had not so succeeded as to give to Edom any permanent advantage. In one instance only do they appear to have been the gainers by an alliance if the emended reading is correct, namely, when united with Syria and Israel. In that case, if Edom be the true reading, they were allowed to retain permanent possession of Elath on the Red Sea. From the evident persistent determination of the Edomites to accomplish the destruction of the kingdom of Judah, there is not the least im-

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probability in the assertion made, verse 12, of a vigorous effort at a particular time to unite all the other nations with themselves. The failure of the effort, under Jehovah, may, on the human side, be accounted for from its being apparent to the other nations that a restless and unprincipled neighbor, like Edom, was, to them, more dangerous than the kingdom of Judah could be; and that their true policy was that this kingdom should remain as a counterpoise to the Edomites. Moreover, the period was one of great unrest and anxious foreboding, arising out of the ambition of Egypt on the one hand, and the growing and menacing power of the Assyrians and Chaldeans on the other. The time was not a propitious one in which to expend resources in the interest of one ambitious or resentful petty nation, which might be needed in making common cause against a more powerful and dangerous enemy. Yet it was by no means politic to offend a nation situated as Edom was, and therefore the temporizing policy indicated in verse 7 is just what might be expected.

That there were jealousies and dissensions also among the nations surrounding Judea, so that no one of them fully trusted any other, seems clearly indicated in the slaughter of the Edomites by the Moabites and Ammonites while apparently in full accord with each other, and leagued together for the destruction of Jehoshaphat. It needed but the misunderstanding and confusion consequent upon the "ambushment" which Jehovah set, to excite into activity their latent suspicion of each other, and to so inflame them as to cause them to slaughter each other. (2 Chron. xx, 23.) (See also 2 Kings iii, 26, where Edom is opposed to Moab in perhaps unwilling co-operation with Judah. The Moabites seem to be especially enraged against the Edomites.) All these circumstances seem to point to the fact that duplicity must have characterized to a great extent the dealings of these nations one with the other. (Verse 7.) The historic statements in verses 10 and 11 need no further notice. The duplex historical references in verses 12–14, the one to the events described in verses 10 and 11 as the type, and the other to the antetypical events yet future, and now predicted in the successive destructions of Jerusalem—chiefly in that by the Chaldeans—are justified by the well-known facts of the history of that destruction found in Josephus and in holy writ. For the

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predictions found in verses 19 and 20 the historic fulfillments are difficult to identify. The fulfillments may have occurred in the then near future, in the movements which took place prior to the destruction of Jerusalem; "the nations" having enough to do in watching the menacing forces of the great empires, without retaining an element so dangerous, and, in the times of invasion, so difficult to manage, as a hostile people in unwilling captivity in their midst; and so there is nothing at all against probability in the fulfillment of this prediction, that the captives taken in that generation, should, even within a period not distant, return again and spread themselves over the depopulated territories of Israel, their former homes in Judea and the trans-Jordanic provinces. To such returns there seem to be references in the words of Nehemiah x, 26–28. If Sepharad be taken as in Southern Arabia, it can hardly be thought improbable that the captives there should take advantage of the invasion of the Nabatheans, (see note below,) with whom they may have become somewhat identified, and returning, enter and possess the cities of the Negebh at a period earlier than the second captivity.

That the Edomites continued their hostile and cruel course throughout their subsequent history is fully established by the references to them in the Psalms and the later prophetical writings. They manifested a wild, exultant joy as the Chaldeans swept over the country and razed to its very foundations the Jewish capital. The deportation of the inhabitants left room for a new population, and the Edomites availed themselves gladly of the opening thus made to spread themselves westward and northward, until they had put themselves in possession of Southern Judea.* In the after-ages, by the opening of new routes for commerce and the conquest of the country by the

* This migration, however, may have been the result of a necessity growing out of the invasion of the Edomite country by their former friends and allies, the Nabatheans, who at some time drove them out of "Mount Esau," and established a powerful and enterprising kingdom, having Petra for its capital. Thus, too, was taken from Edom the highway for the rich traffic between Arabia and Egypt, for the use of which its kings had perhaps been accustomed to exact a heavy tribute, and thus made it a great source of wealth—"its bread." This may suggest a possible different interpretation to verse 7. For, applying it to these Arabs, thus "prevailed against them" most emphatically "the men of their peace"—the men then at peace with them. Thus, too, this highway, yielding a rich revenue—"its bread"—was doubtless a chief object of desire on the part of

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Romans, the commercial enterprise and wealth of the inhabitants of the Edomite territories began to decline, and the final blow to their power was given by the fierce followers of Mohammed, who overran the country, ruined their cities, laid waste their lands, and so effected that the country became a desolation, and its inhabitants fell back into a barbaric nomad state. Verse 6.

Meantime the total destruction of the Edomites as a nation was accomplished. After suffering several disastrous defeats by John Hyrcanus, they were finally subdued by him B. C. 129, were compelled to submit to circumcision and the Mosaic ritual, and the last of them were subjugated by Alexander Jannæus. Simon the Gerasene devastated their land in a fearful manner, and the Edomites in Jerusalem were destroyed by the Romans. The few who yet remained were lost among the Arabs, so that the Edomitish people were "cut off forever," (verse 10,) and their very name disappeared from the earth. (See Keil on Obadiah.) The chief instruments in their final destruction were the Maccabean "deliverers," (verses 18–21,) who had established themselves upon "Mount Zion" and re-established the Judean kingdom, ruling as well the mountains of Esau as the original territorial allotments of the descendants of Jacob. This kingdom did not pass away until the "kingdom of God" was announced and began the manifestations of its might in the person of "the Deliverer," the Saviour, Jesus Christ, and demonstrably the sole "kingdom was to Jehovah."

Running through this entire prophecy is the one fact, predicted for all times, and to be the constant paradox of history, "that the children of Jacob shall not be utterly consumed, that a remnant should escape the calamities and overwhelming misfortunes which shall come upon their country." In the fulfillment of this prediction, a fulfillment perpetually before the eyes of all nations, there is the continual evidence of the great truth that all real power is in and from Jehovah, and that the kingdom is to him, and shall ultimately by all be ascribed to him, a truth which the followers of Jesus Messiah as heartily

the invaders, and they who paid the tribute may very properly be called "the men of" Edom's "bread." The familiarity with the country gained by their commercial expeditions enabled them to "set a snare under Edom"—to lay and execute their treacherous designs in the most effectual way for the seizure of the country.

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accept and as devoutly cherish as do the escaped remnant who yet await the coming of their Messiah Prince. "Majestic, comprehensive simplicity of prophecy! All time and eternity, the struggle of time and the rest of eternity, are summed up in these words, 'the kingdom shall be to Jehovah.' Zion and Edom retire from sight; both are comprehended in that one kingdom, and God *is all in all.* The strife is ended; not that ancient strife only between the evil and the good, the oppressor and the oppressed, the subduer and the subdued; but the whole strife and disobedience of the creature toward the Creator, man against his God. Blessed, peaceful kingdom! Even here in this valley of tears and of strife, where God rules the soul, freeing it from the tyranny of the world and Satan, and its own passions, inspiring it to know Himself, the Highest Truth, and to love Him who is Love, and to adore Him who is Infinite Majesty."—*Pusey.*

Basing his denunciations upon an event in the history of his people prior to the events which are fundamentally connected with the utterances of the other prophets of this section, and keeping in view throughout the real perpetuity of the chosen people and their continued national existence until *their* kingdom should be merged in the kingdom which would be professedly and pre-eminently the kingdom of Jehovah, and so recognized in its entire history, this prophet rightfully claims a place among the first in order; and as the seed of future prophetic utterances, a prime importance and attention which has not hitherto been accorded him. May the lessons of fraternal affection and the duties which grow out of it—the instructive but terrible example of destructive judgment for the violation of the obligation of brotherhood among nations—the exhibition of the tender care of Jehovah for his people even when erring, and the abundant manifestations of favor upon their return, not be lost upon reader or writer hereof; but may the blessedness of Jehovah's rule be matter of personal experience, as under his established and recognized kingdom we live, awaiting the hour when, indeed, the judgments upon the descendants of his ancient people shall be overpast, and upon Mount Zion the throne of Messiah the Saviour shall be established, never again to be displaced!

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Art. II.—AN EXTRAORDINARY CHARACTER.

Mary Somerville's name is familiar throughout the civilized world, and her remarkable life of scientific study and success has often been sketched as a demonstration of woman's capacity for the highest intellectual pursuits; but its significance can hardly be exhausted, and it can well bear repeated study as a phenomenon in the history of her sex.

The present century has made a new era in the intellectual life of woman. She has not failed in other periods to give proof of literary capacity, but the instances have, before the present age, been only occasional, and have, therefore, appeared to be exceptional. In our day women fairly throng the field of the lighter kinds of literary labor. In poetry and fiction their success is no longer disputable. In biography and history, also, they have been taking rank by the side of man. Occasional examples, like that of Mary Somerville, show that they may aspire to the highest attainments of the male intellect, to the loftiest regions of abstract science.

In several respects Mary Somerville's success should be an example, a provocation, to the intellectual ambition of her sex; for it is not attributable to extraordinary advantages, or even exceptional circumstances. Intellectually *she made herself*, by means which are within the reach of most women of the "middle class;" for, though of "gentle blood," practically she pertained to that class throughout her life.

She was born in Jedburgh, Scotland, December 26, 1780. Her father was a naval captain, and therefore absent from home most of his time. The family lived on a bare competence at Burnt Island, a small seaport town on the coast of Fife, immediately opposite to Edinburgh. Her mother had no special qualifications for the training of such an intellect as her child subsequently revealed. "My mother," she says, "taught me to read the Bible and to say my prayers, otherwise she allowed me to grow up a wild creature." When between eight and nine years old she knew not how to write, and "read very badly." She had amused herself somewhat with the "Arabian Nights," "Robinson Crusoe," and the "Pilgrim's Progress." Her father, returning from sea, and mortified at

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her little progress during his absence, put her to advanced reading, but with slight advantage. If she was not really afflicted with mental stupidity at this period of her life, she certainly showed no kind of mental precocity. The compulsory reading of a daily paper of the "Spectator" was such a task "that," she writes in her old age, "I have never since opened the book. 'Hume's History of England' was also a real penance to me. My father, at last, said to my mother, 'This kind of life will never do. Mary must at least know how to write and keep accounts.'" So at ten years of age she was sent to a boarding school, where it is a wonder that the small amount of intellect she seemed to have was not entirely stultified by the absurd discipline to which she was subjected. "The chief thing I had to do," she says, "was to learn by heart a page of Johnson's 'Dictionary,' not only to spell the words, give their parts of speech and meaning, but, as an exercise of memory, to remember their order of succession." On her return home, after a year of such training, she was reproached with having "cost so much money in vain." "My mother said she would have been contented if I had only learned to write well and keep accounts, which were all a woman was expected to know. I was like a wild animal escaped out of a cage." She complains of even an uncommonly defective memory: "I could remember neither names nor dates." Before she began to read algebra she had to restudy arithmetic, having forgotten much of it. "I never was expert at addition," she says, "for in summing up a long column of pounds, shillings, and pence in the family account-book, it seldom came out twice in the same way." In her later studies she, of course, used logarithms for the higher branches of science. Here was certainly no portentous sign of genius, nothing like that precocity which is usually supposed to presage a great intellectual career. An intellectual prodigy as a woman, she was apparently beneath mediocrity as a child. The fact affords a lesson which may well be remembered by parents who grieve over the supposed inferiority of their children.

It is a curious question, to say the least of it, how such a mind came at last to be awakened to higher aspirations and endeavors. It was not by parental remonstrances or compul-

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sory studies, nor by any spasmodic impulse from within or from without. It was entirely by a slow and spontaneous process. After her return from school she says, "My time at Burnt Island was heavy on my hands. I did not know what to do with myself." She spent hours on the sea-shore collecting shells—the beginning of her knowledge of natural history. Her sea-faring father had a passion for flowers, and brought home bulbs and seeds from other parts of the world. She soon shared his taste, and turned the garden of her home into a studio—the beginning of her knowledge of Botany, afterward appreciated and directed by Candolle and similar *savants*. She found a copy of Shakspeare, and the great master inspired her with a love of higher and more varied reading than she had hitherto cared for. There were two small globes in the house; they excited her curiosity, and she learned their use from the village school-master, an evening guest in the family. They were the beginning of the sublime studies which culminated in her immortal works, "The Mechanism of the Heavens," and the "Physical Geography." "My bedroom," she says, "had a window to the south, and a small closet near had one to the north. At these I spent many hours, studying the stars by the aid of the celestial globe." There was a piano in the house. She entertained herself with it until music became a passion with her, and, notwithstanding her poor memory, she could at last "play long pieces without the book." Nasmyth, the artist, opened a school at Edinburgh for ladies; she attended it, hardly as a student, more as a looker on or an amateur, but in time became an accomplished painter. She casually overheard Nasmyth say to a group of ladies, "You should study Euclid's Elements of Geometry, the foundation not only of perspective, but of astronomy and all mechanical science." Her curiosity was aroused by the prospect of such a range of inquiry, and she became the only woman in the world, said La Place, who understood his "Méchanique Céleste."

Thus gradually opened before her the splendid intellectual career in which at last she stood foremost of all the women of her age in scientific fame, the highest example, perhaps—certainly the highest recorded example—of feminine scholarship in the history of the world. But, we repeat, it was without the encouragements or aids which usually prompt youthful

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genius; it was in spite of severe discouragements. But her love of knowledge soon became an irrepressible passion. "I had," she writes, "to take part in the household affairs, and to make and mend my own clothes. I rose early, played on the piano, and painted, during the time I could spare in the daylight hours; but I sat up very late reading "Euclid." The servants, however, told my mother, "It is no wonder the stock of candles is soon exhausted, for Miss Mary sits up reading to a very late hour," whereupon an order was given to take away my candle as soon as I was in bed. I had, however, already gone through the first six books of "Euclid," and now I was thrown on my memory, which I exercised by beginning with the first book, and demonstrating in my mind a certain number of problems every night, till I could nearly go through the whole. My father came home for a short time, and, somehow or other, finding out what I was about, said to my mother, "Reg, we must put a stop to this, or we shall have Mary in a straight-jacket some of these days. There was X., who went raving mad about the longitude."

There was genuine heroism in these intellectual struggles of a young girl without sympathy, and without the ordinary facilities of study; and there is a touching pathos in her allusion to her surrounding disadvantages. She was trying, half-bewildered, to make out some consistent astronomical theory from Robinson's "Navigation"—her first book of the kind, casually picked up in her home. "As I persevered," she says, "in studying the book for a time, I certainly got a dim view of several subjects which were useful to me afterward. Unfortunately not one of our acquaintances or relations knew anything of science or natural history, nor, had they done so, should I have had courage to ask any of them a question, for I should have been laughed at. I was often very sad and forlorn, not a hand held out to help me." There was, nevertheless, an unseen, divine hand held out to her, as to all who thus struggle upward, and it lifted her at last not only to, but above, the stars to which her faltering studies aspired.

In the circle of her kindred she found but one generous mind which could sympathize with her. "I spent," she says, "four or five hours daily at the piano; and, for the sake of having something to do, I taught myself Latin enough, from

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such books as we had, to read Cesar's Commentaries. I went that summer on a visit to my aunt at Jedburgh, and, for the first time in my life, I met in my uncle, Dr. Somerville, with a friend who approved of my taste for knowledge. During long walks with him in the early mornings he was so kind that I had the courage to tell him I had been trying to learn Latin, but feared it was in vain; for my brother and other boys, superior to me in talent, and with every assistance, spent years in learning it. He assured me, on the contrary, that in ancient times many women—some of them of the highest rank in England—had been very elegant scholars, and that he would read Virgil with me if I would come to his study for an hour or two every morning before breakfast, which I gladly did. I never was happier in my life than during the months I spent at Jedburgh."

She was beautiful in person as well as in mind; "extremely pretty" in her young womanhood, with "a delicate beauty both of face and figure," and was called the "Rose of Jedburgh." She was, therefore, not without early suitors, and in 1804 was married to her cousin, Samuel Greig. They resided for some years in London, but she had few opportunities to avail herself of its advantages for her favorite studies. Her life was still a quiet, patient "struggle for knowledge under difficulties." She says, "I was alone the whole of the day, so I continued my mathematical and other pursuits, but under great disadvantages; for although my husband did not prevent me from studying, I met with no sympathy whatever from him, as he had a very low opinion of the capacity of my sex, and had neither knowledge of nor interest in science of any kind. I took lessons in French, and learned to speak it so as be be understood."

After three years of married life she returned, a widow with two children, to her parental home at Burnt Island, where she resumed her studies with more diligence than ever. Professor Wallace, of Edinburgh University, made her out a catalogue of books in the highest branches of Mathematics. The list was formidable, but she procured them and "mastered" them. They consisted of Francœur's "Pure Mathematics," and his "Elements of Mechanics;" La Croix's "Algebra," and his large work on the "Differential and Integral Calcu-

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lus," together with his treatise on "Finite Differences and Series;" Biot's "Analytical Geometry and Astronomy;" Poisson's "Treatise on Mechanics;" La Grange's "Theory of Analytical Functions;" Euler's "Algebra," and his "Isoperimetrical Problems" (in Latin;) Clairault's "Figure of the Earth;" Monge's "Application of Analysis to Geometry;" Callet's "Logarithms;" La Place's "Mécanique Céleste," and his "Analytical Theory of Probabilities." To how many women in the United States could such a list of books be offered without being considered a practical joke, or rather an ironical mockery of the conventional estimate of the capacity of the sex for high education? Could not the number be counted on one's fingers? Are there ten in all the new world? Are there fifty in all the world? Yet it was to the mother of a family, educating herself at home, that Wallace prescribed this course of study! "I was," she says, "thirty-three years of age when I bought this excellent little library. I could hardly believe that I possessed such a treasure when I looked back on the day that I first saw the mysterious word, Algebra, and the long course of years in which I had persevered almost without hope. It taught me never to despair. I had now the means, and pursued my studies with increased assiduity; concealment was no longer possible, nor was it attempted. I was considered eccentric and foolish, and my conduct was highly disapproved of by many, especially by some members of my family. As I was quite independent, I did not care for their criticism."

Her second marriage with her cousin, Dr. William Somerville, in 1812, opened a new life before her. He was a man of considerable learning, but gratefully recognized the superiority of his wife. Their domestic life, though attended by the usual household trials, and at one time by an entire loss of fortune through the treachery of a trusted friend, was a scene of closest mutual sympathy, of joint culture, and the purest happiness. One of their daughters says:—

> Nothing can be more erroneous than the statement, repeated in several obituary notices of my mother, that Mr. Greig (her first husband) aided her in her mathematical and other pursuits. Nearly the contrary was the case. Mr. Greig took no interest in science or literature, and possessed in full the prejudice against

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learned women which was common at that time. Only on her marriage with my father, my mother at last met with one who entirely sympathized with her, and warmly entered into all her ideas, encouraging her zeal for study to the utmost, and affording her every facility for it in his power. His love and admiration for her were unbounded; he frankly and willingly acknowledged her superiority to himself, and many of our friends can bear witness to the honest pride and gratification which he always testified in the fame and honors she attained.

Two facts are, then, apparent thus far in the intellectual history of this remarkable woman: first, that she had no precocious capacity for the success which distinguished her career; secondly, that she had not even the ordinary facilities and encouragements of such a career—that, down to the time of her second marriage, she prosecuted her studies in the usual domestic circumstances of her sex. Hers was, in fine, a rare, a splendid example of *self-education* in ordinary life—education up to the loftiest, most erudite, and most difficult attainments of science, without a school, without teachers, without one special domestic advantage for study. We know not where to find an equal example in all literary history. This quiet, yet sublime, walk of a modest, and even timid, woman (for such she was) in the common path of the commonplace duties of domestic life, and yet in the grandest career of knowledge, compassing the earth and scaling the heavens, is a marvel of the intellectual world—a demonstration of the spiritual greatness and immortal destination of the human soul.

A third fact is worthy of being emphasized, though it has been already pretty fully indicated, namely, that there was no scientific "hobbyism" in her pursuit of knowledge, no mere indulgence of a special intellectual proclivity, or display of a special mental capacity; but she aimed at complete self-culture and universal knowledge. Her collection of shells and minerals in childhood was the nucleus of a cabinet of conchology and mineralogy which became one of the principal articles of her domestic furniture in maturer life; and while the mathematics, the abstract sciences, were the chief field of her fame, she was a technical and an accomplished naturalist. It may well be doubted whether any woman of her age excelled her in this department alone. She was a thorough botanist. Geology

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came up as a science in her day; she began with it nearly at the beginning, kept pace with it down to her ninety-second year, and was one of the first sufferers of public obloquy for its new, misunderstood theory of creation. She was denounced, by name, from the pulpit of York Cathedral for opinions which are now accepted by all authoritative biblical critics. She not only "read up," but studied through the whole varied course of the physical and experimental sciences, down to the most minute and obscure subjects of molecular and microscopic inquiry. Faraday delighted to converse and correspond with her as an appreciative authority in his most recondite researches. La Place was proud to correspond with her as one of the very few minds, in all the intellectual world, who could even understand his treatise on the Celestial Mechanism; and her reproduction and simplification of that matchless work, in her "Mechanism of the Heavens," was itself, it is said, above the intellectual reach of all France, except a few (Poisson said twenty) mathematical scholars. Sir John Herschell read it with "the highest admiration." "What a pity," he exclaimed, "that La Place did not live to see this illustration of his great work!" Whewell, on receiving it, said: "When Mrs. Somerville shows herself in the field which we mathematicians have been laboring in all our lives, and puts us to shame, she ought not to be surprised if we move off to other grounds." Biot was appointed by the *Academie des Sciences*, of Paris, to draw up for it a report on the work. He pronounced it "an astonishing treatise;" and La Croix, Legendre, and the rest of the Parisian mathematicians, shared his "vivid and profound admiration." She was forthwith elected a member of most of the learned societies of Europe; and the Royal Society of London ordered her bust, from Chantrey, to be placed in their great hall. True to her womanhood, her chief joy, amid this universal outburst of applause, in which her kindred, who had hitherto ridiculed her, now enthusiastically joined, was in "the warmth with which Somerville," her husband, entered into her success. "It deeply affected me," she writes, "for not one in ten thousand would have rejoiced at it as he did."

Her "Physical Geography" displayed still more the diversity of her learning. Humboldt read it twice with delight. "It has charmed and instructed me," he wrote. "It showed that,

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to the great superiority" of its author "in the high region of mathematical analysis," she joined "variety of knowledge in all departments of physics and natural history." Her "Mechanism of the Heavens," and her "Connection of the Physical Sciences," were objects of Humboldt's "constant admiration." "I know," he said, "in no language a work on Physical Geography" that can be compared with hers. The author of "Cosmos" ought, more than any one else, to hail the "Physical Geography" of Mary Somerville. He expressed surprise at the correctness of her views of the "Geography of Plants and Animals." She "dominates in these regions, as in astronomy, meteorology, and magnetism."

This versatility of her knowledge, combined as it was with depth and accuracy, is among the wonders of her intellectual character. Her daughter says that—

> Although her favorite pursuit, and the one for which she had decidedly most aptitude, was mathematics, yet there were few subjects in which she did not take interest, whether in science or literature, philosophy or politics. She was passionately fond of poetry, her especial favorites being Shakspeare and Dante; and also the great Greek dramatists, whose tragedies she read fluently in the original, being a good classical scholar. She was very fond of music, and devoted much time to it in her youth; and she painted from nature with considerable taste. The latter was, perhaps, the recreation in which she most delighted, from the opportunity it afforded her of contemplating the wonderful beauty of the world, which was a never-failing source of intense enjoyment to her, whether she watched the changing effects of light and shade on her favorite Roman Campagna, or gazed enchanted on the gorgeous sunsets of the Bay of Naples, as she witnessed them from her much-loved Sorrento, where she passed the last summers of her life. All things fair were a joy to her. The flowers we brought her from our rambles, the sea-weeds, the wild birds she saw, all interested and pleased her. Every thing in nature spoke to her of that great God who created all things, the grand and sublimely beautiful, as well as the exquisite loveliness of minute objects. Above all, in the laws which science unvails step by step, she found ever renewed motives for the love and adoration of their Author and sustainer. This fervor of religious feeling accompanied her through life, and very early she shook off all that was dark and narrow in the creed of her first instructors for a purer and a happier faith.

A fourth fact, and one to be especially noted, is, that this high intellectual culture and labor (never, perhaps, equaled

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among women) in no wise interfered with her domestic life, or her duties as woman, wife, and mother. She had the good sense to guard her life not only against any perversion, but against any misconstruction in this respect. She affected no eccentricities, claimed no exemptions on the score of her intellectual supremacy, but was of the simplest, purest, finest womanly nature. She brought up a considerable family, and her children blessed her memory. Says one of them:—

It would be almost incredible how much my mother contrived to do in the course of the day. When my sister and I were small children, although busily engaged in writing for the press, she used to teach us for three hours every morning, besides managing her house carefully, reading the newspapers, (for she always was a keen and, I must add, a liberal politician,) and the most important new books on all subjects, grave and gay. In addition to all this, she freely visited and received her friends. She was, indeed, very fond of society, and did not look for transcendent talent in those with whom she associated, although no one appreciated it more when she found it. Gay and cheerful company was a pleasant relaxation after a hard day's work. My mother never introduced scientific or learned subjects into general conversation. When they were brought forward by others she talked simply and naturally about them, without the slightest pretension to superior knowledge. Finally, to complete the list of her accomplishments, I must add that she was a remarkably neat and skillful needlewoman. We still possess some elaborate specimens of her embroidery and lace work.

This symmetrical and truly beautiful life was not without the usual tests of suffering. She buried children and her two husbands, and at last survived nearly all her early friends. After losing her fortune she was dependent upon a Government pension, first of one thousand, later of fifteen hundred dollars a year, and, for economy, lived many years in Italy. But her intellectual and moral life held on, self-sustained, serene, even felicitous. Its noble habitudes and aims rendered it superior not only to defeat, but even to depression. She was a notable example of the sanative effects of continuous, but prudent, mental labor. She unconsciously expressed the secret of her whole intellectual history when she said, "I wrote because it was impossible for me to be idle." Work is a condition of happiness, and, to a great extent, of health. It is a law of nature. A naturally superior mind, at least, can

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never be happy without it, whatever blissful exemption vacant heads may have from the salutary necessity, the divine law. Great capability is always accompanied with an instinct for great work, and a consequent sense of distress in idleness. He that would learn the art of happy and healthy living must learn the art of wisely working, not of overwork, indeed, but equally not of underwork. A good medical authority (Dr. Wilks, of Guy's Hospital) has said :—

> The persons, with unstrung nerves, who apply to the doctor, are not the prime minister, the bishops, judges, and hard-working professional men, but merchants and stock-brokers, retired from business; Government clerks who work from ten to four; women whose domestic duties and bad servants are driving them to the grave; young ladies whose visits to the village school, or Sunday performance on the organ, is undermining their health; and so on. In short, in my experience I see more ailments arise from want of occupation than from overwork; and, taking the various kinds of nervous and dyspeptic ailments which we are constantly treating, I find at least six due to idleness to one from overwork.

The sense of achievement, especially of achieving something useful to others as well as to ourselves, is always an exhilarating, a health-giving consciousness. More effectually than any thing else it expels morbid self-consciousness, and misgivings about the value and results of life. To the thorough worker the so-called "mystery" of life is "an open secret." To him life is probation, and the most obvious condition of that probation is productive, beneficent labor. Most of the wretchedness of human life, at least among men of culture, arises from either the lack of enough to do, or from the misfortune of being wrongly placed in their sphere of activity. The fundamental principle of Goethe's theory of education, as developed in "Wilhelm Meister," that it must be conformed to the natural capabilities, and especially to the natural proclivities of the student, applies equally to his subsequent career; for the latter is a continuous process of self-education for good or evil. To have the heart on the side of one's labor is to undouble the probabilities of success, and to turn labor itself into pleasure.

Mary Somerville had no morbid sensitiveness; she maintained her whole nature in a tranquil, vigorous, wholesome tone by always having something to do. When more than

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eighty years old, with a fame that filled the civilized world, she proposed still another great work which would involve the most laborious details of study and research. It was a necessity of her being, one of those necessities which made her life beautiful and blessed. She says:—

I was now unoccupied, and felt the necessity of having something to do, desultory reading being insufficient to interest me; and as I had always considered the section on chemistry the weakest part of the "Connection of Physical Sciences," I resolved to write it anew. My daughters strongly opposed this, saying, "Why not write a new book?" They were right; it would have been lost time. So I followed their advice, though it was a formidable undertaking at my age, considering that the general character of science had greatly changed. By the improved state of the microscope, an invisible creation in the air, the earth, and the water, had been brought within the limits of human vision; the microscopic structure of plants and animals had been minutely studied, and, by synthesis, many substances had been formed of the elementary atoms similar to those produced by nature. Dr. Tyndall's experiments had proved the inconceivable minuteness of the atoms of matter. Mr. Gassiot and Professor Plücher had published their experiments on the stratification of the electric light; and that series of discoveries by scientific men abroad, but chiefly by our own philosophers at home, which had been in progress for a course of years, prepared the way for Bunsen and Kirchhof's marvelous consummation. Such was the field opened to me; but instead of being discouraged by its magnitude, I seemed to have resumed the perseverance and energy of my youth, and began to write with courage, though I did not think I should live to finish even the sketch which I had made. I was now an old woman, very deaf, and with shaking hands. I wrote regularly every morning from eight till twelve or one o'clock, before rising. I was not alone, for I had a mountain sparrow, a great pet, which sat, and, indeed, is sitting on my arm as I write these lines.

When eighty-nine years old she says:—

I have still the habit of studying in bed from eight in the morning till twelve or one o'clock; but I am solitary, for I have lost my little bird, who was my constant companion for eight years.

To a poetically inclined critic her sympathy with the brute creation must appear worthy of special notice as one of her finest traits, and as hardly to be expected in association with her abstract studies and severe mental habits. No mere lady-lounger of the *boudoir* was ever fonder of "pets" than this

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student of the most recondite problems of the universe. Her great soul did not disdain to recognize some affinity between itself and the "mountain sparrow" which sat upon her arm, ate from her lips, or watched, through her studious hours, her pen tracing mathematical diagrams which defined the highest mechanism of the heavens. She repeatedly alludes to it with genuine pathos. He says:—

It had both memory and intelligence, and such confidence in me as to sleep upon my arm while I was writing. My daughter, to whom it was much attached, coming into my room early, was alarmed at its not flying to meet her, as it generally did, and at last, after a long search, the poor little creature was found drowned in the jug.

She gathered almost an aviary of such "pets" about her, and their life seemed to enter into her own. She thus writes:—

We are fond of birds, and have several, all very tame. Our tame nightingales sing very beautifully, but, strange to say, not at night. We have also some solitary sparrows, which are, in fact, a variety of the thrush, (*Turdus Cyaneus*,) and some birds which we rescued from destruction in spring, when caught and ill used by the boys in the streets; besides, we have our dogs; all of which afford me amusement and interest.

In her numerous transitions about middle and southern Italy, she speaks of taking with her "our pet birds" as well as "our servants:"—

For I now have a beautiful long-tailed *paroquet*, called Smeraldo, who is my constant companion and is very familiar. And here I must mention how much I was pleased to hear that Mr. Herbert, M. P., has brought in a bill to protect land birds, which has been passed in Parliament; but I am grieved to find that the lark, which at heaven's gate sings, is thought unworthy of man's protection. Among the numerous plans for education of the young, let us hope that mercy may be taught as a part of religion.

It was a fine sentiment of humanity that led her thus to sympathize with the lower animals, who share so much our sufferings and so little our reliefs. Italy was, at this time, addicted to atrocious cruelty toward them. It was the only civilized land in Europe that had no law for their protection. For eight years attempts to provide such a law had been defeated. A new attempt was made with which Mrs. Somerville heartily co-operated, signing the petition and urging it

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upon the attention of the aristocratic women of the country. It was, indeed, more than a sentiment of humanity; it was a sentiment of religion that prompted her interest for these speechless sufferers. With Wesley, Swedenborg, and many other large-minded as well as large-hearted men, she believed in a future and compensative life for the brute creation—"the creature now made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of Him who hath subjected the same in hope," but which, "with the whole creation, groaneth and travaileth in pain together;" "because the creature itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God;" "for the earnest expectation of the creature waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God." It was not only the light, the mystic light, of these intimations of Revelation on the ultimate fate of the living world, that gave Mrs. Somerville sympathetic hope for the lower forms of life; her philosophy sanctioned these sublime utterances. When about to step into the invisible world she says, with deep pathos as well as philosophy:—

We are told of the infinite glories of that state, and I believe in them, though it is incomprehensible to us; but as I do comprehend, in some degree, at least, the exquisite loveliness of the visible world, I confess I shall be sorry to leave it. I shall regret the sky, the sea, with all the changes of their beautiful coloring; the earth, with its verdure and flowers; but far more shall I grieve to leave animals, who have followed our steps affectionately for years, without knowing for certainty their ultimate fate, though I firmly believe that the living principle is never extinguished. Since the atoms of matter are indestructible, as far as we know, it is difficult to believe that the spark which gives to their union life, memory, affection, intelligence, and fidelity, is evanescent. Every atom in the human frame, as well as in that of animals, undergoes a radical change by continual waste and renovation; the abode is changed, not its inhabitant. If animals have no future, the existence of many is most wretched; multitudes are starved, cruelly beaten, and loaded during life; many die under a barbarous vivisection. I cannot believe that any creature was created for uncompensated misery; it would be contrary to the attributes of God's mercy and justice. I am sincerely happy to find that I am not the only believer in the immortality of the lower animals.

It is delightful to trace along minutely so rare, so satisfactory a life, as it tends toward its long-deferred conclusion. When

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ninety-one years old she resumes her mathematical studies in some new books which had advanced to higher grounds in algebra, and especially in "quaternions." She writes:—

So now I got exactly what I wanted, and I am very busy for a few hours every morning; delighted to have an occupation so entirely to my mind. I thank God that my intellect is still unimpaired. During the rest of the day I have recourse to Shakspeare, Dante, and more modern light reading, besides the newspapers, which always interested me much. I have resumed my habit of working, and can count the threads of a fine canvas without spectacles. I receive every one who comes to see me, and often have the pleasure of a visit from old friends very unexpectedly. In the evening I read a novel, but my tragic days are over; I prefer a cheerful conversational novel to the sentimental ones. I have recently been reading Walter Scott's novels again, and enjoy the broad Scotch in them. I play a few games of Bézique with one of my daughters for honor and glory, and so our evenings pass pleasantly enough. It is our habit to be separately occupied during the morning, and spend the rest of the day together.

The next year she writes:—

I am now, in my ninety-second year, (1872,) still able to drive out for several hours. I am extremely deaf, and my memory of ordinary events, and especially of the names of people, is failing, but not for mathematical or scientific subjects. I am still able to read books on the higher algebra for four or five hours in the morning, and even to solve the problems. Sometimes I find them difficult, but my old obstinacy remains, for if I do not succeed today, I attack them again on the morrow. I also enjoy reading about all the new discoveries and theories in the scientific world and on all branches of science.

Her last record, in her last year, is worthy of her whole life:—

Though far advanced in years, I take as lively an interest as ever in passing events. The blue Peter has been long flying at my foremast, and now that I am in my ninety-second year I must soon expect the signal for sailing. It is a solemn voyage, but it does not disturb my tranquillity. Deeply sensible of my utter unworthiness, and profoundly grateful for the innumerable blessings I have received, I trust in the infinite mercy of my almighty Creator. I have every reason to be thankful that my intellect is still unimpaired; and although my strength is weakness, my daughters support my tottering steps, and, by incessant care and help, make the infirmities of age so light to me that *I am perfectly happy.*

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This enviable happiness, and also this notable longevity, could probably never have been attained but by such persistent, *practical* life—the habitude of *working on*, which is, in the best sense, *living on*. At the very least this was true in respect to the continued integrity of her mental faculties and her enjoyment of life. She enjoyed life in extreme age, because it was filled up with befitting occupation; she kept her faculties in their integrity, because she kept them in habitual exercise. Labor had become a luxury to her, as it does to all faithful workers. She kept it up to the day of her death, and her death itself was enviable. "My mother," writes her daughter, "died in sleep on the morning of the 29th November, 1872."

The final testimony of her biographer is that her

Old age was a thoroughly happy one. She often said that not even in the joyous spring of life had she been more truly happy. Serene and cheerful, full of life and activity, and as far as her physical strength permitted, she had none of the infirmities of age, except difficulty in hearing, which prevented her from joining in general conversation. She had always been near-sighted, but could read small print with the greatest ease without glasses, even by lamplight. To the last her intellect remained perfectly unclouded; her affection for those she loved, and her sympathy for all living beings, as fervent as ever; nor did her ardent desire for and belief in the ultimate religious and moral improvement of mankind diminish. She always retained her habit of study; and that pursuit in which she had attained such excellence, and which was the most congenial to her—mathematics—delighted and amused her to the end. Her last occupations, continued to the actual day of her death, were the revision and completion of a treatise which she had written years before, on the "Theory of Differences," (with diagrams exquisitely drawn,) and the study of a book on Quaternions. Though too religious to fear death, she dreaded outliving her intellectual powers; and it was with intense delight that she pursued her intricate calculations after her ninetieth and ninety-first years, and repeatedly told me how she rejoiced to find that she had the same readiness and facility in comprehending and developing these extremely difficult *formulæ* which she possessed when young. Often, also, she said how grateful she was to the almighty Father who had allowed her to retain her faculties unimpaired to so great an age. God was, indeed, loving and merciful to her; not only did he spare her this calamity, but also the weary trial of long-continued illness. In health of body and vigor of mind, having lived far beyond the usual span of human life, he called her to himself. For her, death lost all its terrors. Her pure spirit passed away so gently that

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those around her scarcely perceived when she left them. It was the beautiful and painless close of a noble and a happy life.

Such was one of the most noteworthy lives in the history of the human race. It is not too much to say so. Its rare length alone would entitle it to be so regarded; its rarer happiness, in old age; its still rarer success in the highest culture; the yet rarer fact of this success by a woman, render it altogether unique and admirable. But its most noteworthy fact, because most instructive and consolatory to us all, is that it was achieved, as we have shown, in the ordinary circumstances, amid the unneglected ordinary duties of our common life.

That all minds, of average capacity, can equal her success it would be presumptuous to affirm; but if not equal, yet similar success is within the reach of all who have the resolution to be equally diligent and persistent. Mary Somerville judged herself very frankly, and she never claimed any thing like genius; she claimed nothing more than an unusual degree of "perseverance." If there was any element of what is called genius in her mental constitution, it must have been of a mathematical character. There are scattered through her writings occasional indications of that insight, that prescient perception of truth, which is usually esteemed genius, but which may, in most cases, be the result of persistent inquiry and through mental discipline. One of the sublimest achievements of science in our age is an illustration of her prophetic faculty in this respect. In 1846 the learned world was startled by the simultaneous announcement, from Adams, of England, and Leverrier, of France, of the demonstration, by mere mathematical calculation, of the existence, size, position in space, and the periodic time, of a hitherto unseen planet, rolling around our system, 3,000,000,000 of miles from the sun. The telescopes of Europe were pointed to the designated place, and the declaration of the two mathematicians was confirmed. Four years before this discovery Mary Somerville had given, in her "Connection of the Physical Sciences," this ever memorable sentence: "If after the lapse of years the tables formed from a combination of numerous observations should be still inadequate to represent the motions of Uranus, the discrepancies may reveal the existence, nay, even the mass and orbit, of a body placed beyond the sphere of vision." This suggestion led one of the

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mathematicians at least, (Adams,) perhaps both of them, to calculate the orbit of Neptune. But though this prediction looks like an intimation of genius, Mary Somerville never believed she possessed any such innate power in even the mathematics. In her early studies she complains of unusual difficulties and defects in the simplest calculations. She overcame them only by persevering industry. If she had genius in mathematics, yet it will hardly be claimed for her in other respects; but she was an accomplished naturalist, linguist, *littérateur*, musician, and painter. Her attainments, aside from her knowledge of the abstract sciences, were such as few of her sex have equaled, but they were the results of persistent labor. In these, at least, she is an example for all aspiring minds—a resplendent demonstration of what woman, as well as man, may achieve in self-culture in even the ordinary circumstances of life. None of us should close the review of such a career without an exhilarating sense of the possibilities of his own life, or without the brave determination that henceforth his aims shall be pitched to a loftier flight than ever before.

Art. III.—THE MILLENNIUM AND SECOND ADVENT.

A class of theological writers have of late treated elaborately the millennium and all its attendant circumstances, some of them in this Quarterly. It is noticeable, also, that they have treated it as something specifically defined in the Scriptures, and about which there can be reasonably no essential difference of opinion as to what the millennium is, or its local habitation. Herein, we submit, lies a great fallacy. The premises of this whole argument are assumed; and hence, no reliable conclusion can be reached in reasoning from them. The word millennium is not found in the Scriptures, and, consequently, can have no well-defined Scripture meaning. Therefore, whatever meaning is attached to it must be conventional, and used with the widest latitude to suit all writers on that subject. As might be expected with this open field for speculation, with no biblical meaning of terms agreed upon among theological writers from age to age, in the history of the Church, wide-

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ly divergent views have been held about the *nature* of the millennium.

While eschatology involves some things about which Protestant Christians may differ, there is a general agreement that Christ will make his second advent in this world as its final Judge in some unknown future; and also, that prior to that time, according to much sure prophecy, the Gospel of Christ is to accomplish great changes in this world. The two most prevailing opinions are:—

First, That the millennium will consist in a *personal reign of Christ on earth a thousand years*, with the saints raised from the dead, the wicked on earth destroyed or suppressed, and the wicked dead not raised till after this thousand years.

Second, Others, repudiating the above theory, hold that the Scriptures, as a whole, teach that the millennium will be brought about by the spread or growth of Christianity, by the means now and always employed, till the Gospel will become general and predominant in its influence, giving character more or less perfectly to all social and civil institutions, but not wholly destructive of sin and sinners on earth.

It is also held by this latter class, that those strong Scripture expressions which indicate some future time when *all* shall know the Lord—when the earth shall be *full* of the knowledge of the Lord, etc., are to be understood not literally, as exact statements, but, as the Scriptures often speak, in a general sense, showing that the common and prevailing influence will be Christian. It is said the apostles "went every-where preaching the word," not in a literal and exact sense, but in a general sense.

With these and other shades of different opinions respecting the *nature* of that state of things described in inspiration, commonly called "the millennium," it is not a safe method of reasoning for a writer to *assume* that this or that kind of millennium is the biblical one, with no Scripture character of it defined, and then proceed *from the Scriptures* to find its *time* and *place* of location. In determining from prophecy or history when and where to place the millennium, it is a *sine qua non* to know *what* it is. Therefore, that we may start on firm footing, let us as nearly as possible find the Scripture *character* of the millennium, when its *time* and *place* will be more easily found.

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It will be, therefore, the chief object of this paper to show from the Scriptures, that the state of things there set forth, usually called the millennium, is widely different from what is claimed by the *thousand* years' reign theory, called premillenarianism, and also to show that the proofs of the thousand years' theory are materially insufficient.

We hope to show a different reign of Christ on earth before the resurrection of the dead and the last judgment than that contended for by the premillenarians. Beyond those great epochs the divine records say but little, and in half-suppressed utterances.

Cardinal in this discussion will be the consideration of the *nature* and *extent* of Christ's reign, empire, or rule on earth. Any mistake at this point may prove fatal in our reasoning, as it has, we think, with others.

Though in all ages of the Church there may have been individuals who have held the theory of a thousand years' reign, yet it is evident from the writings of Eusebius, Irenæus, Origen, and others among the ancients, as well as from Dupin and Mosheim in later times, that this theory has never been made an article of established faith in any nation. But we shall not incumber this writing with long lists for and against each of these theories, as we might; for our appeal is not to men, but to God. Nor will the *antiquity* of either view be of any service in the final settlement of the question, as both truth and error are venerable with age, and apparently with alternate success and defeat. That, however, does not bring us necessarily any nearer *Bible* truth. That book, fairly expounded, must be allowed to speak for itself, and can be trusted, indorsed by many or few names. Yet the amount of Scripture quoted amounts to nothing, unless it is *pertinent* and *conclusive.* Mr. Miller, in his original lectures on modern adventism, spake almost wholly in Scripture language, like some late premillenarians, but, as results have shown, in Scripture language *misunderstood* and *misapplied.*

We are not so much impressed with the *conclusiveness* of the late pre-millenarian reasoning as we are with its *assumption.* The sweeping statement, unqualified and positive, that "There is not a single passage of Scripture, literal or symbolical, which treats of the millennium, and its relation to the advent, that teaches, indicates, or in any manner represents the millennium

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as *preceding* the advent," indicates a conscious weakness of its own cause, and reminds us much of the bold and reckless assertions of "1843," which have driven their unhappy authors since unto unknown waters!

We are told that "Luther, Calvin, Knox, Wiclif, and Melanchthon all gave expression to convictions which showed that they looked for the advent before the complete subjection of the world to Christ." No doubt; and what Christian writer or minister does not? But, provided these great and good men, as they were, emerging from their long and dense darkness, had indorsed fully the *thousand years'* theory, what would that prove? Did they not hold many opinions which few now venture to proclaim?

The Second Psalm is hurled with great violence against the postmillenarians, because, when it promises the heathen to Christ as his inheritance, it also says, "He shall break them with a rod of iron." This psalm is one of the most direct and positive supports of postmillenarianism; for, as we shall show hereafter, it teaches, in harmony with many other prophecies, that in the on-goings of Christianity the heathen will receive it, and "kings and judges" are warned that their oppressive rule will end by the growth of better governments, growing up by gospel means; and they will be "broken like a potter's vessel." Daniel says of the kingdom of Christ, "It shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand forever." Chap. ii, 44. How like the second Psalm this sounds. Scripture must be compared with Scripture if we would know its import.

"His will," it is said, "shall be done on [in] earth." Therefore he (Christ) must reign personally here. Please, by what authority do men tell us God's will shall be done in earth? Inspiration does not say so only in a qualified sense; and if it should ever occur in the distant future, it must be beyond the reign of devils and the "falling away first," that will precede the second advent, and the final judgment which will find here and there the *tares* and the *scoffers*. And the state of things that lies beyond all that is not now under discussion. It is *assumed*, by a late writer in this Review, that the postmillenarians claim that all sin and sinners will cease, or disappear in the millennium; and then he arrays argument on argument

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to overthrow his imaginary foe. No one so contends. Sinners, more or less, and, may be, of the vilest type, will be found here "when He shall appear." Such might, perhaps, be found in all Christian Churches should He come now. But this does not disprove the *general* acceptance of Christianity before "*that day.*" So fails all this splendid array of arguments as against postmillenarianism.

But a greater *farce* in the line of argument can hardly be found, it seems to us, than the attempt to draw from the parable of the wheat and the tares destruction to postmillenarianism and support to premillenarianism. The writer admits enough to spoil his own and support his opponents' theory. He admits that Christ's kingdom is *now* and *here* in this world; he admits that wheat and tares are now and will be here in this world till the end of it. Pray, then, when, where, and what is to be the *thousand years* of Christ's personal reign before the end of the world and before the judgment? Sin and sinners accordingly are to mar that millennium which is after the resurrection, and personal and all-conquering presence of the King of kings and Lord of lords; which will render it no more of a heavenly state than held by postmillenarians *before* the resurrection, and before Christ's second advent. In all this line of argument we have found nothing more conclusive or satisfactory than this style of reasoning and Scripture quotation, strangely loose and without point.

The Old and New Testament use abundantly, as did Christ in his teaching, the symbol of *kingdoms* or kingly rule, to represent the *spiritual* Church on earth which he purchased with his blood, and came to found and carry forward in earth. The figure is striking and powerful, and the analogy in many respects is perfect, but not in all points. But the language employed in these prophecies, and other utterances, is such as to be easily mistaken by the *unspiritual* for a temporal and earthly kingdom. So the Jews very naturally understood it, looking, as they were, for an earthly deliverer, and not a *spiritual* one. The early disciples did not rise above that till after Christ's resurrection and the gift of the Holy Ghost. How much modern adventists and premillenarians are influenced by other than lofty *spiritual* conceptions of Christianity does not become us to judge. But it is worthy of notice that

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Christ's kingdom on earth for eighteen hundred years has not developed itself into any thing of a temporal or political kind; and there is just as little prospect it ever will, only as it will indirectly do so by its own inherent growth of Christian principles. When the Founder said, "My kingdom is not of this world," he said it for all time, and in the purest and most lofty sense. Yet the poisonous interventions and intermeddlings of groveling *man* would spoil all the architecture of our hopes of the highest heaven, not made with hands.

Let us now patiently turn our attention to what the Scriptures say about Christ's *reign* or *kingdom* on earth.

The absolute dominion and sovereignty of God over all worlds need not now be discussed, though it should be sublimely contemplated. But the *kingdom of God and kingdom of heaven*, used synonymously, as ordinarily occurring in inspiration, bring to our view quite another subject, namely, *the reign of Christ over the hearts or affections of his creatures in earth and heaven.* This kingdom he came to establish and extend by his sufferings and mediations. Beyond doubt, Isaiah prophesies of Christ when he says: "Behold, a king shall reign in righteousness, and princes shall rule in judgment." Isa. xxxii, 1. So also of the psalmist, "Yet have I set my king upon my holy hill of Zion. . . . Ask of me, and I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession." Psa. ii, 6–8. According to the prophecy of Daniel, this kingdom of Christ was to be established, or set up, during the existence of the Roman empire, the last of the four great monarchies that succeeded each other according to that prophecy. He says: "And in the days of these kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed: and the kingdom shall not be left to other people, but it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever." Dan. ii, 44. No more remarkable prophecy of Christ and his work has been left on record. It not only fixes, approximately, the time of his advent, but also the character and accomplishment of his kingdom, sweeping through the entire probation of time from the days of Herod, who whet his steel to destroy the infant Jesus, till the latter-day glory, when he shall be King of kings and Lord of lords, in the sense that the principles of his empire

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will be the governing principles of earth. "Herod was greatly troubled because of him;" and so are all now in authority who rule in "spiritual wickedness in high places." Already this growing, conquering kingdom has broken in pieces many wicked Governments, while others are tottering to their final fall. This is being done, not primarily, by the trembling of continents under the tramp of armies, but by the spreading light and truth of Christ, making, first, darkness visible and sin apparent, when strife and revolution follow. The wars of earth, and particularly of the Christian era, have had their origin largely in the resistance of moral evil to the advancing, conquering religion of the meek and lowly Jesus, and, as a result, the wrath of man has been made to advance still faster the empire of Christ. This work of demolition and disintegration was never so apparent on all sides of earth as it is to-day. All Governments are beginning to trim their sails to the new and heavenly breezes, or going under when the tempest comes. Home and foreign missions are a chief instrumentality. Nor did the prophet's vision fail till he exclaimed: "I beheld till the thrones were cast down, and the Ancient of days did sit, whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like the pure wool." Jeremiah (xxxi, 10) caught the inspiration, and cries: "Hear the word of the Lord, O ye nations, and declare it in the isles afar off, and say, He that scattered Israel will gather him, and keep him, as a shepherd doth his flock." Christ, to prepare us for what should come before his second advent, said to his disciples: "Ye shall hear of wars and rumors of wars: see that ye be not troubled: for all these things must come to pass; but the end is not yet." How literal, secular, warlike and revolutionary, all this sounds. How these words must have rung out in an age symbolic and non-spiritual, and in ears unused to words of *spirit* and *truth*. Yet "the Captain of our salvation" is "the Prince of peace;" and all wars that come as the results of his kingdom are only such as Satan fought in heaven and in Eden—a simple resistance of goodness. Doubtless all will agree that our description of Christ's kingdom, drawn in the foregoing passages, refers only to the kingdom on earth—a *spiritual* dominion over the *hearts* of mankind; the same kingdom of which the Founder said, "My kingdom is not of this world." Where, then, is the

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biblical description of, or allusion to, any kingdom of his that is secular, worldly, and personal on earth? After we have seen the sad and fatal mistake of the Jews in *literalizing* and *secularizing* the reign of Christ, until they have judged themselves unworthy of eternal life, is it not strange that we should swing back through the *spiritual* life and power of Christianity for eighteen hundred years, and seek to take the Son of man by force and make him an earthly king?

But when we come to the New Testament expressions respecting his kingdom, how wholly incompatible they are with any thing earthly and secular: "Repent ye: for the kingdom of heaven is at hand;" "Seek ye first the kingdom of God;" "And as ye go, preach, saying, The kingdom of heaven is at hand;" "Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven;" "But whosoever shall do and teach them, [the commandments,] the same shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven;" "Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven;" "Who is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven? And Jesus called a little child unto him, and set him in the midst of them, and said, Verily, I say unto you, Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven;" "The kingdom of heaven is like to a grain of mustard seed;" "Like unto leaven, which a woman took," etc. Page after page of such Scripture utterances, *all* showing that the kingdom of Christ, now and here, is, when fairly construed, *invariably* used only in a spiritual sense in the *hearts* of men; and nothing can be more foreign and forced than any idea of his *literal* and *personal* reign at any time on earth. Yet he said to Pilate that he *was a king;* but in what sense, these quotations, and a hundred others given, but not here used, show beyond all possible mistake. This, too, is the sense in which the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord and his Christ, less corrupt and wicked, and running more on the divine principles, because *the people* will have become Christ-like. The *teachings* of Christ, now spreading, will ultimately give him this rule, rather than his taking again our flesh to come here and make himself "a divider among men." The soul revolts from such an idea of the exalted and enthroned Son of God, now in waiting to receive

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those for whom he has prepared a better place, beyond all further strife with Satan, who is now being conquered inch by inch, and will be destroyed by the brightness of his coming in the clouds of heaven to judge the world at the end of human probation.

This is the kingdom which it is said "shall never be destroyed," "shall not be left to other people," "shall stand forever." To this Ancient of days were given "dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages, should serve him." Dan. vii, 13, 14.

How strangely incongruous and foreign to the general moral significance of these sublime teachings of Scripture, is the theory, that at Christ's second coming he will only hold a limited and temporary reign *in person* among his saints, the wicked unraised, no judgment had, no rewards given, no final adjustment of earth's affairs.

It is important to notice that this kingdom is spoken of in all its stages, from its setting up, its mustard-seed-like commencement, on earth, in its extension through the ages, till the king shall say to those on the right hand, Come, ye blessed, and to those on his left hand, Depart, ye cursed. No note of time nor rate of progress are mentioned—simply the *facts*, the *mode*, and the *results* are stated, and some single passages contain all these in one.

The universal authority of Christ as God and judge of men, and the sense in which he holds now, as always, in his hands the destinies of all nations, with his *spiritual* kingdom now and prospectively, are beautifully and compactly set forth, *multum in parvo*, by Richard Watson in his comments on Luke i, 32, 33, which will be appreciated by the intelligent reader:—

> David was a typical character; and the dominion he acquired, which was to the full extent of the original grant of Canaan made to Abraham, and is expressed by the terms "from sea to sea, and from the river [Euphrates] unto the end of the earth," was a type of the universal dominion of Messiah, when "all kings shall serve him, and all nations shall call him blessed." The application of the characters of David's kingdom in an enlarged meaning, to that of the Messiah, by the prophets, shows that the one was regarded as the emblem or type of the other. But there was another reason why the Messiah was represented as the successor to David's throne. It was a part of the covenant made with David, that he should not want a man to sit upon his throne: "His

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seed shall endure forever, and his throne as the sun before me. It shall be established forever, and as a faithful witness in heaven." But a higher throne than the national throne of Israel was intended; even the throne of all nations, to which our Lord has succeeded. For the kingdom of Christ is twofold. It is that spiritual dominion exercised over the wills and affections of men, by moral influence by which they subject themselves to his laws and authority; and it is that exercise of external government over the world, vested in our Lord as mediator, by which, both by mercies and judgments, by the ordering of its changes, the succession of its empires, the destruction of human power, the punishment of persecutors, the destruction of enemies, the determination of the times, places, and influence of knowledge, and inventions of arts, commerce, and the intercourse of the different parts of the world, his great designs as to the moral recovery of all nations, and the universal establishment of the empire of his birth, in all its righteous and peaceful influences shall be effected. In this respect he is the King of the Jews, as well as other nations; for though that people are dispersed and denationalized, it is by an act of his severity, and can continue no longer than he wills; and to this power, as the divine sovereign of Israel, is added "all power in heaven and earth." That a descendant of David should enter upon this universal sovereignty and wield its scepter forever, was, indeed, the most signal honor which could be conferred upon his "house," and most amply fulfilled the terms of the promise. As to POWER, the dominion of Christ is now universal; and as to GRACE, the type shall be realized ultimately; and in the visible administration of his Gospel, purifying and softening all the institutions of society, Christ shall reign, the universal Lord, "from the river to the end of the earth." Then shall be accomplished the word of Zechariah, "The Lord shall be king over all the earth; in that day shall there be one Lord, and his name one;" then the theocracy shall be universally acknowledged; all earthly rulers confessing themselves to be but vice-kings and servants of him who is King of kings and Lord of lords.

Singularly enough, Plato, in his description of the judgment, which takes place in the invisible state, represents the judge as assigning the "right hand" to the just, and the left hand to the unjust, in the same *kingly* style and authority claimed by our Lord himself.

We should be taught by the *history*, Jewish and Christian, of the advent, incarnation, and kingdom of Christ. Here we learn who have been mistaken, and how it happened. Prophecy *did* represent Christ, or the Messiah, as a Prince, with the highest majesty and power, on whose shoulder should be the government; coming to occupy the throne of David, and over-

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throwing all his enemies. His power to restore the Jewish nation was represented as irresistible. The fondness of their desire of such a restoration was in proportion to their suffering and degradation under Roman oppression. This expectation was not confined to Jews, nor to Palestine: the wise men of the East were on their way to greet his coming. Prophecy had foretold his harbinger in truly kingly style. Elijah was expected before him. Yet the Baptist did not know he was himself the personage. Is it strange that they misunderstood those prophecies? Worldly and *non-spiritual* as they were, with no knowledge of any spiritual religion, it is not. Their fatal misinterpretation of prophecy grew largely out of their general worldliness—the dangerous proclivity of the Church in all ages. Yet there were then, as now and always, some *spiritual* and devout persons, like old Simeon and Anna, who have waited and worshiped in true expectation. So deep was this misconception of Christ's kingdom that the *converted* Jews could hardly give it up, and the disciples never did, till after the resurrection. And even after that we hear them asking him: "Lord, wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Israel?" and the two on their sad journey to Emmaus, saying, "But we trusted that it had been He which should have redeemed Israel."

From the powerful epistles of St. Paul, we learn that these secular, *literal*, and worldly views of Christianity greatly corrupted the early Christian Church and fathers, touching a *personal*, and even an *immediate*, reign of Christ on earth. Many of these fathers taught that Christ's second advent would occur in their day. Clement of Rome, the fellow-laborer of Paul, it is said, "did hourly expect the kingdom of God." Nor were these views derived wholly from their interpretation of the prophecies. In the "Quarterly Review," 1843, July number, Dr. Whedon shows, by a most conclusive argument from history, that during the captivity the Jews imbibed, more or less, ideas from Zoroaster and other sources, of a chiliastic character, that were at length traditionally bequeathed to the early Christian Church, with many other crudities not taught by the inspired apostles; and he concludes that "chiliasm is a rabbinical, or rather Babylonian, Judaism, transferred into the Christian Church." The tendency of humanity has always been to

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becloud or sink the sublime spiritual realities of divine things, from *spirit* to letter, from form to skepticism. And such are the driftings of large portions of the Church of to-day. "The *letter* killeth."

We now propose to show that the Scriptures do not support the view of *such* a millennium as the premillenarians hold.

We have already said the word millennium is not found in Scripture, and hence it is a word invented to describe a certain state of things supposed to be taught in the Scriptures; and to this we have no objection, only allow each to be his own judge *what* that *Scripture* state of things is, and not *assume*, because some have so used the word, that it meant what it cannot be shown the Bible teaches. Nothing, then, can be more important and cardinal, than for us to find as nearly as possible what the Scriptures *do teach*, as to the final state of things on earth under the Gospel dispensation. To this we now call attention. Then we shall give our view of what the millennium is, if the reader prefers that term.

That we may keep the precise point before our minds without waste of words, we will attempt to support this PROPOSITION: That Christianity, before the second advent, before the resurrection, and before the final judgment, is to spread and prevail on earth—though sin and violence will also more or less prevail—producing great changes and revolutions, until it shall become the *prevailing earthly influence.*

It will not be doubted, that among the many Old Testament Scriptures the following embrace in their general significance the whole gospel dispensation, and are now being fulfilled. And these being the strongest passages found descriptive of good ever to occur on earth before the end of time, let it be carefully noted how they prove that the Gospel will prevail, by its ordinary means, and become general at least in the earth, without showing it will extirpate all sin, or sinners, before the end; or that the righteous dead will be raised before this state of great religious prosperity; or even hinting that Christ will appear *in person* during the same.

"So shall my word be that goeth forth out of my mouth: it shall not return unto me void, it shall accomplish that which I please." Isa. lv, 11. What does God please respecting his word? That it shall be preached in all the world by a living

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ministry, and that all shall be saved by it who will accept it on his terms—all whose faith comes by *hearing*. It will yet be so preached, for the sure word of prophecy never fails.

"Ask of me, and I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession." Psa. ii, 8. Such is the Father's promise to his well beloved Son, and it was never in more rapid process of fulfillment than at this hour. But it is objected that it is also said in this connection, "Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron; thou shalt dash them in pieces as a potter's vessel." Truly: and this harmonizes with our proposition, and with much other Scripture, namely, that this Gospel preached in heathen or pagan lands will make sin and oppression visible, and a struggle will follow between light and darkness, and war and bloodshed will be, as has been the result of increasing light, as the only possible way, as things are, to progress and reform. "It must needs be that offenses come." The voices of Scripture and history teach alike on this subject. This is the sense in which Christ came, not to send peace on earth, but a sword. Hence, Christ, in answer to a question about his second coming and the end of the world, said, "Take heed that no man deceive you. For many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ; and shall deceive many. And ye shall hear of wars and rumors of wars: see that ye be not troubled: for all these things must come to pass, but the end is not yet." Matt. xxiv, 4–6. Then follows a most terrific description of the persecution, false prophets, revolution, and bloodshed, which will accompany the spread of his Gospel in the last (or later) days. Here was the misleading and fatal mistake of modern adventists: these wars and rumors of wars they took as the signs of Christ's *immediate* coming, which he made the sure event to *precede* the coming, *without indicating any length of time which should occur between those two great epochs.* These events were to be the *results* of gospel extensions. On that one mistake, more than any other, was founded the great delusion that has in our own day caused the shipwreck of so many honest, but mistaken souls. Many on the discovery of their error have, with Christian meekness and modesty, renounced it, and returned to their former Christian belief and Christian homes in the Churches; others persist in being *repeatedly* deceived.

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Directly to the same point of the last quotation is the prophecy of Daniel, already quoted for another purpose: "And in the days of these kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed: and the kingdom shall not be left to other people, but it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand forever." Dan. ii, 44. Here Christianity is represented as a *kingdom*, everlasting, aggressive, and conquering kingdom, destructive to its opposites. Such, too, has been its record in its onward march, and what shall prevent its consummation?

"For the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea." Hab. ii, 14. Nothing short of a very *general* spread of Christianity at least, can be said to fulfill this prophecy.

The prophecies are very specific, that both Jews and Gentiles, in the future—dateless, it may be—shall be alike sharers in the gospel successes; for when "the fullness of the Gentiles is come in," then "the blindness in part which has happened unto Israel" will, no doubt, through Gentile missionary labors, give place to "the true Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." For "from the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same, my name," says God, "shall be great among the Gentiles, and in every place incense shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering." Mal. i, 11. Christianity is not to be a failure in this world, however many individuals may fail to profit by it, and make it to themselves a savor of death unto death.

Carefully note now what is promised to *Israel:* "Hear the word of the Lord, O ye nations, and declare it in the isles afar off, and say, He that scattered Israel will gather him, and keep him, as a shepherd doth his flock." Jer. xxxi, 10. "For I will take you from among the heathen, and gather you out of all countries, and will bring you into your own land. Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean: from all your filthiness, and from all your idols, will I cleanse you." Ezek. xxxvi, 24, 25. That the prophecy that foretold that Israel should be scattered has been most palpably and literally fulfilled, their history attests. The descendants of Benjamin and Judah alone may be traced and counted by millions, from seven to ten, *scattered* in every

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nation, and speaking every language under heaven. What impious unbelief, then, is that which doubts that these sons of Abraham will, in the ongoings of Christ's kingdom, be *gathered!* "The Lord shall set his hand again the second time to recover the remnant of his people, which shall be left . . . and shall assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather together the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth." Isa. xi, 11, 12. "Behold, I will bring them from the north country, and gather them from the coasts of the earth." Jer. xxxi, 8. "Thou shalt yet plant vines upon the mountains of Samaria." Jer. xxxi, 5. "And I will plant them upon their land, and they shall no more be pulled up out of their land which I have given them, saith the Lord thy God." Amos ix, 15. Thus abundant proof is found in both Testaments that these sons of Abraham will, in considerable numbers, at least, in some unknown future return to the faith of Abraham, and probably to the land given to Abraham and his seed forever, from which they have been driven for their infidelity. It were easy to multiply these quotations, equally clear and pointed. And while they show that the kingdom of Christ has not yet accomplished its full victories, but surely will, they do not indicate *any personal* reign of his on earth. The Hebrew Scriptures are as silent as night on the subject of a thousand years' personal reign, or any other support of the premillennium theory. And though they speak as repeatedly and fully of the spread and empire of Scripture holiness, they say nothing in conflict with the teachings, especially of the New Testament, that sinners, wicked men, and seducers will wax worse and worse, as the result of their ripened iniquity, and that a falling away of Christians too will yet occur. Dr. Schaff says: "The preaching of the Gospel through the Roman world preceded the end of the Jewish state; and the preaching of the Gospel through the *whole* world will be the sign of the end of the *aion outos*."

Alford says: "The apostasy of the latter days, and the universal dispersion of missions, are the two signs of the end drawing near."

The New Testament is as explicit and direct in setting forth the world-wide spread of Christianity, and as silent of any personal earthly reign of Christ.

The language of the original commission of the ministry by

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its Author is significant: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature." Mark xvi, 15. Twice the universality of this Gospel and its preaching is alluded to in these few and condensed words: "But ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you: and ye shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the earth." Acts i, 8. All true ministers of Christ to the end of time are included in these promises. "And this Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations; and then shall the end come." Matt. xxiv, 14. These remarkable words of Christ were in answer to the question, "What shall be the sign of thy coming, and of the end of the world?" What could be plainer, or more conclusive? On this passage, Dr. Whedon has the following appreciative and judicious remarks:—

Gospel of the kingdom—The doctrines of Messiah's universal kingdom. *Shall be preached in all the world*—In all nations, and thereby the Messiah's universal kingdom become universally acknowledged. Mark says the Gospel must be published among all nations. It is certainly difficult to study these various phrases, *Gospel of the kingdom in all the world—unto all nations—among all nations*, without seeing the necessity of bringing them into association with those many texts which describe the conversion of the world to Christianity. Certainly the narratives of the travels of the apostles into distant countries, as late tradition has specified, are too scanty, if not too apocryphal, to be quoted as the fulfillment of this verse. *For a witness*—Witness that all men might believe. John i, 7. Our Lord does not here say, as some construe his words, that the Gospel shall be preached for a witness *against* all nations, but *to* all nations. Assuredly God does not send the Gospel to increase men's condemnation. This would make it intentionally the *poison* rather than the *bread* of life. *Then shall the end come*—What end? Unless our Lord answered very deceptively, he meant the end about which they inquired, namely, the end of the world. Nor is it of the slightest consequence to argue that our Lord here does not say that all the world will be converted, and that its conversion will last a long mundane period. To describe the millennium is not his purpose. He alludes to it, in order to show his disciples that the tribulation of the destruction of Jerusalem is not the tribulation of the judgment; for the predestined universal spread of the Gospel stands between them. The millennium first, and then the second advent.

We may also add that there is a sort of perspective in proph-

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ecy. The nearer event, as in a painting, is drawn full size, but the more distant dwindles to a point. See note on xxiii, 39.

On the whole, perhaps, all this paragraph is clear. Commotions and persecutions shall come, but these are not the tokens of the END. On the contrary, you shall be preserved from their power, that you may secure that universal Gospel diffusion for which the Church is founded and suffers, and which lies between the destruction of Jerusalem and the end of the world.

"And the seventh angel sounded; and there were great voices in heaven, saying, The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ; and he shall reign [not a thousand years] for ever and ever." Rev. xi, 15. How will these earthly kingdoms have become the kingdoms of Christ? By these earthly kings, emperors, and presidents stepping down and out, and Jesus Christ in human form and person stepping in, for a thousand years, and literally taking up the details of administration of governmental offices? The very thought is as antagonistic to Scripture teaching as it is to a pure and lofty *spirituality*. On this the late unique and lamented Bishop Thomson has these pungent remarks:—

The misinterpretation of the kingly character of Christ, resulting from national pride, was the reason why Jesus so gradually revealed his claims to the Jews. . . . This false view of Christ's kingly office, which caused the Jewish nation to reject him, is taken by those who expect him, at his second coming, to establish a civil government, and to reign personally on the earth. Is it not a lowering of our conception of his character to suppose him occupying a limited throne, using a copper seal, wearing a golden crown; to suppose Paul acting as Secretary of War; Peter as Secretary of the Navy; the beloved disciple, as Secretary of State; Matthew, counting his coin, as Secretary of the Treasury; Bartholomew, among the mail-bags, bargaining with contractors; St. James, superintending the revenue, and revising the tariff; Luke, the beloved physician, drawing sword at the head of the army? Is this our idea of the King of kings, after eighteen hundred years of Christian progress? And are such to be the employments of apostles, after eighteen centuries in glory?

It was such a kingdom as this that Judas wanted in which to display his financial talents, and such a one that the devil desired our Lord to establish. In his last temptation he points to the world and all its kingdoms, and their glory, as they appear to him who knows all things, and says, in effect, to Christ: You are come a king; the Jews expect you to make David's throne that of the world; comply with their expectations; cast in your

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lot with me, for I have possession. With my control over mind, and yours over matter, nothing can stand in the way of your universal dominion. Only let *my* authority be undisputed in the *temple*, and *yours* shall be unquestioned in the *field* and *the cabinet*. The spiritual course, which you have marked out for yourself, is one of darkness and distress. I will resist you even unto death.—*Evidences of Revelation*, pp. 259, 260.

Yet Jesus is a King; this he admitted when interrogated by Pilate: but in a far more exalted sense than premillenarians claim. Though the people clamored for it, and attempted by force to make him an earthly king, his whole life, ministry, and teaching declared, "My kingdom is not of this world." His *throne* is the great *heart* of the universe—earth and heaven. For want of space we omit more than half our Scripture selections on this part of our subject. But enough are given. It is remarkable that the premillenarians rely almost wholly on one passage of Scripture to support this theory, even though their exposition of that passage does so much violence to the *general* teaching of the Bible. *Such* a violation of the laws of interpretation renders it possible to make the Scriptures support any absurdity imaginable. Once admit their method of expounding a *figurative* passage, and we can sail into any port on the sea of inspiration. This passage is their chief reliance: "And I saw the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the word of God, and which had not worshiped the beast, neither his image, neither had received his mark upon their foreheads, or in their hands; and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years. But the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished. This is the first resurrection." Rev. xx, 4, 5.

A surface survey of this passage would seem to support their theory, if we allow certain points to be *assumed*. But a critical exegesis of the passage spoils its whole force for that purpose. It is like the whole book of Revelation, highly symbolical, and often of very doubtful interpretation, and hence very unsuitable to *found* any theory upon, and even to *support* a theory, except one that is well sustained by other Scripture proofs. The interpretation given to this passage in support of the premillenarian views is not only *unsustained* by other passages,

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but often and powerfully *confronted* and overthrown by them! Such a use of this passage is reckless and unscholarly. The leading terms of the text are doubtful, at least, and evidently not to be understood literally—*I saw the souls.* Literally, *souls* are not seen—cannot be seen; being immaterial, they are invisible. It is not said that these souls were reclothed with their long-since mutilated bodies, nor is it said those *bodies* were raised at all. Hence, it must be admitted there is something in this passage *figurative* or *symbolic*, for it cannot be *literally* true. Therefore, what is more natural or more probable than that the *living again*, or *re*-living, is the reappearance on earth of the *spirit*, or moral *status*, or Christian heroism of the old martyrs? The *spirit* of the martyrs, once driven from earth to heaven by violence, will reappear, or rise up on earth, before the resurrection of bodies, and *will reign* with Christ in his *spiritual* kingdom, which then will have "broken in pieces and consumed all these [other] kingdoms;" for His "is an everlasting kingdom," and in some glorious sense the righteous shall yet inherit the earth, under the growth and triumph of his kingdom that *was*, that *is*, and is *to be.* The resurrection of *souls* is not used in Scripture; nor is the resurrection of *bodies* ever indicated by the use of the word *soul*, or *souls*, in any other Scripture. By what rule of exegesis, then, is it pressed into that meaning here? The term *souls* must, therefore, be used here in some uncommon sense: why, then, may not the term "lived and lived again" be used in some uncommon sense also? Such an interpretation only makes Scripture teaching harmonious on this subject. There is no mention of *bodies* or *flesh* in this passage at all.

More: *Resurrection* does not always mean in Scripture resurrection of *body.* "I am the resurrection and the life," said Christ. "And I will raise him up at the last day," is spoken of as something peculiar to the righteous, while the Bible represent the good and bad alike as rising from the dead. "So, also, is the resurrection of the dead," describes the heavenly state. Likewise, "In the resurrection they neither marry nor are given in marriage." *The resurrection* means often in Scripture something besides the resurrection of the body; why, then, may it not here, (if it is implied at all,) especially when such an interpretation better harmonizes the Bible? A

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spiritual rather than physical state is often thus indicated; so it is in this passage in Revelation.

Our view of this probable meaning of the passage in question is much strengthened by the argument, *reductio ad absurdum*. The absurd consequences which follow the view of it taught by premillenarians are many, and very apparent.

If Christ is to make his second advent immediately after the distruction of antichrist, up to which time the saints will be persecuted and oppressed, *when* and *where* are they to enjoy that rest and prosperity so abundantly promised them, as we have above shown, which will take place *before* his coming? These two described states of things cannot exist together. Which now shall we do: set aside all our Scripture proofs here given of the future spread and triumph of the Gospel, or set aside this strange premillenarian interpretation of the passage?

This coming of Christ, as is represented, separates the *advent* from the day of judgment at least "a thousand years," which is against the uniform Scripture representation, where these two events are nearly always associated. When He will come again to earth it will be to judge the world, and no intimations are given that any time is to elapse between those events. "I charge thee before the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall judge the quick and the dead at his appearing and kingdom." "Behold, the Lord cometh with ten thousand of his saints to execute judgment upon all." "The Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels, in flaming fire taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ: who shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power; when he shall come to be glorified in his saints, and to be admired in all them that believe in that day." These Scriptures and their parallels read quite differently, from the assertion that the rest of the dead—meaning dead bodies—lived not again till a thousand years *after* His *coming*. It adds to the absurdity of this theory, also, that nothing is said in this passage of *his coming* at all, in any sense—personal or otherwise. Professor Duffield says:—

> The Greek word *parousia* has a fixed and definite meaning peculiar to indicate *Christ's coming*, but is not the word ordinarily meaning *to come*, and is a term which denotes as precisely as

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possible by any single word, *personal presence.* And in seventeen cases out of eighteen in our Scriptures this term is used to denote his second coming to judgment.*

But it is noticeable that this *parousia* does not occur in the favorite and almost solitary passage of premillenarians, nor, indeed, is there any other term in this passage intimating Christ's coming—or any reigning, except as he reigns now, only more generally and perfectly.

The Greek term *parousia*, used to indicate the *coming of Titus*, 2 Cor. vii, 6; the personal "bodily presence" of Paul, 2 Cor. x, 10; "the coming of Stephanas," 1 Cor. xvi, 17; "my coming to you again," Phil. i, 26; "the promise of *his coming*," 2 Peter iii, 4,† and many other cases we might quote, is used where a *personal presence* or *coming* is taught. How strange, then, that in this famous passage, if it was intended to teach the *second personal coming*, or advent of Christ, this nearly uniform term used for that porpose is here omitted! Every presumption lies against such a supposition. Much other plain and direct Scripture would be required to overcome this argument from this omission.

Then the view that Satan, *after* the second advent, is to be loosed, and gather armies and go forth to fight battles (Gog and Magog) against the Lord and his people, is repugnant to the whole significance of inspiration. When Christ the judge shall come devils will be awed into silence, waiting their awful doom in the fire prepared for them. "That Wicked" will have his day and battles *before* Christ comes, "whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his *coming*." 2 Thess. ii, 8. Then and there the conqueror of the wilderness and Joseph's new tomb will deliver up His *mediatorial* kingdom, and he whose right it is will *reign* in heaven, earth, and hell, and fight no more battles in the flesh with his long since conquered enemy.

On this passage (Rev. xx, 4) Dr. Adam Clarke says: "I am satisfied that this period [a thousand years] should not be taken literally. It may signify that there shall be a long and undisturbed state of Christianity; and so universally shall the gospel spirit prevail, that it will appear as if Christ reigned upon

* Professor Duffield's "Discourse on the Second Advent," p. 24.

† See "Robinson's Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament."

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earth; which will in effect be the case, because his spirit shall rule in the hearts of men. . . . As to the term 'thousand years,' it is a mystic number among the Jews." The binding of Satan a thousand years, and his being then loosed, he continues: "These can be only symbolic representations, utterly incapable of the sense usually put upon them."

Mr. Wesley says of these thousand years, "The danger does not lie in maintaining that the thousand years are yet to come, but in interpreting them, whether past or to come, in a gross and carnal sense."

The "Pocket Commentary" says of the thousand years, "As seven mystically implies universality, so a thousand implies *perfection*, whether in good or evil. *Thousand* symbolizes that the world is perfectly leavened by the Divine. . . . Then shall our present defective governments give place to perfect governments in both Church and State." Such might well be called a *reign* of Christ. This, too, is a common form of Scripture representation—a *personality* used to represent the *spirit* of events. "I am the resurrection and the life," said Christ: meaning, that he is the author of that state.

"Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord," said Malachi; language which the Baptist himself did not understand, though he was that very Elias. The prophet of Horeb reappeared on earth before Christ only in the rough, honest, and lofty *spirit* of him who was "the voice of one crying in the wilderness."

Christ will reign, not in the flesh and in person, but in spirit and in power; not literally one thousand years, but an indefinate and perfect season; while sin and Satan will be comparatively bound, checked, pushed to the rear, but not destroyed before the judgment. For there will be sin, intensified it may be, but less general, till Christ comes.

In like manner the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus will reappear on earth, or be seen only in the *spirit* of the martyrs; for nothing is said of their *bodies*, which would be essential to their being *seen*. If our readers will examine carefully the point, they will be impressed with the uniform representation in Scripture, that all human probation occurs *this side* of the second advent, as well as this side

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of the resurrection and judgment-day. Not a passage is known to us that speaks differently. Those three great and solemn events are placed at the end of this world and state, and are introductory to the next world, which is always treated as a world of *retribution* only. These events, though sometimes treated separately by inspired writers, are usually spoken of as occurring at the same time, and are *never* represented as occurring at periods *remote* from each other. The numerous Scripture quotations we have here given for other purposes are equally in point to prove this.

The *spirit* of martyrdom is here set forth as a model of what will be in earth, and what is sure to share the first consideration and honor of the blessed Master in this world and the world to come. But what a gross and groveling thought, that these martyrs are to leave their heavenly abode and reward, to come back to our earth, with flesh and bones, to work out another probation in conflict with their already conquered foe! And how little Scripture support, when the few passages claimed come under a close analysis, and the use of those few betraying the usual and fatal blunder of looking at the *letter* rather than the *spirit* of Scripture—the great error of the pharisaical doctors before Christ, as they so expounded the law and the prophets as to mislead and overthrow their nation. "The letter killeth," now as then.

There are other difficulties, *absurdities* even, in the premillennium theory, as compared with Scripture teaching generally. That theory assails the Bible doctrine of the close of *probation* before the second advent. But for this one passage, and its careless and non-spiritual construction, who would have gathered the first hint from Bible reading that believers would be raised from the grave a thousand years before Christ should leave his mediatorial throne, enjoying their reward with him here on earth before the judgment-day! Equally absurd is the supposition that the resurrection of the dead, so generally spoken of in connection with the last judgment, is the resurrection of the *wicked* only, when the Scriptures name the righteous and the wicked in the one and only resurrection of human bodies ever spoken of there. "Many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt." Dan. xii, 2. "Marvel not

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at this: for the hour is coming, in the which all that are in the graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation." John v, 28, 29. "And I saw the dead, small and great, [meaning all the dead,] stand before God; and the books were opened," etc. Rev. xx, 12. These, and many other passages, place the resurrection of all men, good and bad, at one time, and connect the same immediately with the future and general judgment; and how *unlike* all the teachings of premillenarians is obvious.

What a jar is felt all through God's moral universe by that necessitated supposition, that in or after Christ's supreme earthly reign of a thousand years, in a resurrection and heavenly state with his dear children, *Satan* is loosed, and renews his raids on God's empire! We can much sooner believe that last and spasmodic effort of Satan will occur in this probationary state of Christianity than after its close, and the redeemed have worn their crowns a *thousand years.*

The wheat and tares will grow together till the end—scoffers also will be here till the last, and in many respects, "as the days of Noah were, so shall the coming of the Son of man be." Apostasies and "a falling away" have occurred ever and anon among men and angels ever since probation began, and what reason have we to doubt they will continue, more or less, till probation ends? It will be so as long as humanity remains unglorified in heaven. Wicked men and seducers shall wax worse and worse, while he that hath clean hands shall grow stronger and stronger, is philosophical as it is scriptural.

This apostasy, prophecied of, may be special and brief, or only occasional, as now and always, or otherwise; but in any event it will be limited by the judgment. But all that does not show that sin, or apostasy, will be the *general* order of things in the *last days*, any more than in the wheat field the *tares* shall be the *prevailing* product. Revelation does not particularize these events, they are there only outlined. But if the Conqueror of death and hell is to submit himself to another combat with Satan, and subject all the righteous dead to a thousand years of warfare with the prince of darkness, Calvary and Olivet are robbed of their transcendent glory, and all the army of the living God is covered with sackcloth; and

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we all grow chill as we think of the children of the resurrection and immortality coming back to mingle long ages in the vileness of this mundane system. This necessarily brief examination of so many-sided a subject suggests the great danger of construing one or a few passages of Scripture in a way that conflicts with the significance of inspiration as a whole, and especially where so many cardinals in Bible doctrines are connected, as with this subject. Holy Scripture does not conflict with itself; and if we, by our exposition, force that result, so much the worse for our exposition.

Nor can we divest ourself of the conviction, in tracing the arguments and expositions of the premillennium advocates, that they show what has been apparent in all ages of the Church, a ruinous tendency to *lower* the *status* of Christianity from its lofty spiritual verity to the secular and ritual. "God is a *Spirit*," and so is Christianity, and not a tangible and palpable substance. But *man* "is of the earth, earthy," and he degrades all that he touches which is above himself. By this means the ancient Jews counted themselves out of Christ's *spiritual* kingdom. A *literal* king or none, they cried. Thus, too, the modern adventists, because they loved and courted the speedy appearing of the Son of man, seizing and torturing a few Scriptures, have struck out blindly for unknown seas, and now steer wilder and wilder amid the rocks and quicksands incident to their honest, but rash mistake in the outset. They remind us of Cicero, in his treatise of Old Age, where he represents the elder Cato as holding opinions of which he was *fond*, rather than such as he could *demonstrate*.

If, as we think, premillenarianism serves to weaken our confidence in Christianity and its achievements, showing it to be, prospectively, a comparative failure, furnishing but little hope to the far-off regions yet in the shadow of death, and no hope of the resurrection of our race, except one long deferred; the view we have here set forth fills us with confidence, faith, and zeal for the world's salvation, breathing power and efficiency into all our home and foreign missionary work, *faith* to prayers, and strength to our uplifted hands. "This *Gospel* of the *kingdom* shall be preached in all the world."—*Christ.*

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Art. IV.—OF THE PECULIARITIES OF THE PASTORAL EPISTLES.*

The Pastoral Epistles form one of the most difficult problems in isagogical and exegetical theology. This is evident, first, from the fact that so many theologians, eminent alike for their profound scholarship, patient research, and critical skill, have arrived at different conclusions in reference to their authorship, the time and place of their composition, their style and contents; and, secondly, from the existence of an immense literature on the subject. Certain it is that they contain many important passages in regard to the doctrine of the person of Christ, his redemptive work and mediatorial office, the inspiration of the sacred Scriptures, the fall and redemption of man, regeneration, etc. Nor is it to be overlooked that, besides many practical suggestions as to personal piety and church discipline, they afford us a deep insight not only into the intimate personal relations that existed between the great Apostle to the Gentiles and his colaborers, but into the state and condition of the Apostolic Church as well. The simplicity of the latter forms a striking contrast to the complex constitution and preposterous assumptions of the Roman Catholic Church.

And yet the genuineness of these epistles has been repeatedly and severely attacked, especially in modern times. Schleiermacher† opened the attack by declaring the first Epistle to Timothy to be a miserable compilation from the other two; while Eichhorn,‡ De Wette,§ and T. C. Baur‖ maintained that all three epistles are historically and exegetically incomprehensible; and a host of smaller critics followed in their footsteps. De Wette, however, admitted that they are as well attested by external or historical evidences as the

* See an article on the same subject, by Chaplain Steinwenden, in the February and March (1875) numbers of "*Der Beweis des Glaubens*," to which we are indebted for much that is valuable in the present article.

† *Ueber den Sogenannten Ersten Brief an Timotheus*, (1807.)

‡ *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, (1824–27.)

§ *Lehrbuch der Histor. Krit. Einleitung in die Kanon. Bücher des Neuen Testaments*, (1826–47.)

‖ *Die Sogenannten Pastoralbriefe des Apostel's Paulus aufs Neue Kritisirt*, (1835;) and *Paulus der Apostel Jesu Christi*, (1845–66.)

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other epistles of St. Paul. True, there have not been wanting many strong and able defenders of the genuineness of the Pastoral Epistles. Among them may be mentioned Bleek,* M. Baumgarten,† Wiesinger,‡ Heydenreich,§ Matthies,‖ Wieseler,¶ Van Oosterzee,** Guericke,†† Reuss,‡‡ Huther,§§ Conybeare and Howson,‖‖ Lewin,¶¶ Whedon,*** besides most of the English commentators on the New Testament. Others, like Professor Scharling††† of Copenhagen, leave the subject undecided; while still others, honest seekers after truth, are as yet unable to see their way through all the difficulties that surround these epistles.

It is not proposed in this article to remove these difficulties. To do so would require more time and space than we have at our command. A brief examination of the doctrinal contents of these epistles of the Constitution of the Apostolic Church as presupposed by them, of the allusion to heresy, and of the linguistic peculiarities found in them, is all that is attempted.

I. Let us, then, first, briefly examine the doctrinal contents of the Pastoral Epistles, and see how far, or rather how near, they correspond with the teachings of St. Paul, as laid down in his other writings.

Historical Notices.

A careful and unbiased student of the Pastoral Epistles can scarcely fail to notice that they bear the impress of St. Paul's

* Introduction to the New Testament, (English Translation: T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh.)

† *Die Aechtheit der Pastoralbriefe.*

‡ "Biblical Commentary on the New Testament," (in connection with the work of Olshausen. English Translation: T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh.)

§ *Die Pastoralbriefe Pauli Erklärt.*

‖ *Erklärung der Pastoralbriefe.*

¶ *Chronologie des Apostolischen Zeitalters.*

** In J. P. Lange's "Commentary on the New Testament," (English Translation, edited by Dr. Phil. Schaff.)

†† *Neutestamentliche Isagogik.*

‡‡ *Die Geschichte der Heil Schriften des Neun Testaments.*

§§ In Meyer's *Crit. Exeget. Commentar über das Neue Testament.*

‖‖ "The Life and Epistles of the Apostle Paul."

¶¶ "The Life and Epistles of St. Paul."

*** "Commentary on New Testament," vol. iv. (New York: Nelson & Phillips.)

††† "*Die Neuesten Untersuchungen über die Sog. Pastoralbriefe des Neuen Testaments.* (German Translation from the Danish original.)

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mind. Not only does his name stand at the beginning of the three epistles, (Παῦλος Ἀπόστολος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,) but repeated references are found in the context to the Gospel committed to his trust, (1 Tim. ii, 11; ii, 7; 2 Tim. ii, 8; iv, 17; Titus i, 3; cf. Rom. ii, 16; xvi, 25;) to facts in his life, such as having persecuted the Church, (1 Tim. i, 13;) to his conversion, (1 Tim. i, 13–16;) to his persecutions and afflictions at Antioch, Iconium, and Lystra, (2 Tim. iii, 11;) to his acquaintance with Timothy's family, (2 Tim. i, 5;) to his many fellow-laborers, (Demas, 2 Tim. iv, 10; cf. Col. iv, 14; Philem. 24; Tychicus, 2 Tim. iv, 12; Titus iii, 12; cf. Acts xx, 4; Ephes. vi, 21; Col. iv, 7; Lucas, 2 Tim. iv, 11; cf. Acts xvi, 10; xx, 5; xxi, 18; Col. iv, 14; Philem. 24; Marcus, 2 Tim. iv, 11; cf. Col. iv, 10; Philem. 13; Aquila and Priscilla, 2 Tim. iv, 19; cf. Acts xviii, 2; Rom. xviii, 3; 1 Cor. xviii, 19; Erastus, 2 Tim. iv, 20; cf. Acts xix, 22; Rom. xvi, 23; Trophimus, 2 Tim. iv, 20; cf. Acts xx, 4; xxi, 29; Apollos, Titus iii, 13; cf. Acts xviii, 24; xix, 1; 1 Cor. i, 12; iii, 6–12; xvi, 12;) to the Churches he founded in Ephesus, (2 Tim. i, 17; iv, 12;) in Thessalonica, (2 Tim. iv, 10;) in Galatia, (2 Tim. iv, 10;) in Corinth, (2 Tim. iv, 20;) in Troas, (2 Tim. iv, 13;) and to his imprisonment and defense at Rome, (2 Tim. iv, 6–8, 16, 17.)

Upon this historical background the doctrinal system of the Pastoral Epistles rises to view. True, it does not appear as complete as in the more elaborate epistles of the great apostle; yet a close examination of it will reveal the Pauline method. The starting point is

The Fallen and Depraved Condition of Man.

All men are sinners, and, therefore, stand in need of salvation through the mercy of God, (1 Tim. ii, 4; Titus iii, 5.) They are foolish, disobedient, deceived, serving diverse lusts and pleasures, living in malice and envy, hateful and hating one another, (*πλανώμενοι, ἀνόητοι, ἀπειθεῖς, ἐπιθυμίαι καὶ ἡδοναί ποικίλαι, κοσμικαι ἐπιθυμίαι, ἐν κακίᾳ καὶ φθόνῳ διάγοντες, στυγητοὶ, μισοῦντες, ἀλλήλους*, (Titus ii, 12; iii, 3.) Nor is this all: they are unto every good work reprobate, (*πρὸς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν ἀδόκιμοι,*) and therefore exposed to destruction and perdition,

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(ὄλεθρος καὶ ἀπώλεια, Titus i, 16; 1 Tim. vi, 9; cf. 2 Thess. i, 9; ii, 3; Rom. ix, 22.) In this sad condition not only the Gentiles are found, but the Jews as well, (καὶ ἡμεῖς, etc., Titus iii, 3,) who profess to know God, but in their works deny him; (Titus i, 16; cf. Rom. ii, 17–24;) and who, notwithstanding their zeal for the law, (1 Tim. i, 7; cf. Romans x, 2,) are abominable and disobedient, (βδελυκτοὶ καὶ ἀπειθεῖς, Titus i, 16.) Does not this brief delineation of man's sinful state forcibly remind us of the awful picture on the same subject drawn by the same hand in the first and second chapters of the Epistle to the Romans? Is not a similarity of thought and expression perceptible?

Of God's Purpose to Save Man.

But just as sin and death are universal, (1 Tim. v, 6; cf. Rom. v, 12; 1 Cor. xv, 21; Eph. iv, 18,) so, too, are salvation from sin, (σωτηρία,) and eternal life, (ζωή,) which God has provided for man; wherefore he is called Σωτήρ, (1 Tim. i, 1; ii, 3; iv, 10; Titus ii, 10; iii, 4,) a name which, as applied to God the Father, is not found in the other epistles of St. Paul;* but as applied to Jesus Christ, it is found in Acts xiii, 23; Eph. v, 23; Phil. iii, 20; 2 Tim. i, 10; Titus i, 4; ii, 13; iii, 6. According to his own purpose and grace, (κατ' ἰδίαν πρόθεσιν καὶ χάριν, 2 Tim. i, 9; cf. Rom. viii, 28–30; Eph. i, 11; κατὰ τὸ αὐτοῦ ἔλεος, Titus iii, 5,) and before the world began, (πρὸ χρόνων αἰωνίων, 2 Tim. i, 9,) God willed that all men should be saved, (πάντας ἀνθρώπους θέλει σωθῆναι, 1 Tim. i, 15; ii, 4; ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ σωτήριος πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, Titus ii, 11; ὃς ἐστί σωτὴρ πάντων ἀνθρώπων, 2 Tim. iv, 10,) a purpose that will be realized only in the elect, (ἐκλεκτοι, 2 Tim. ii, 10; Titus i, 1,) or in those called with a holy calling, that is, in the believers, (2 Tim. i, 9; 2 Tim. iv, 10.) This gracious purpose, originally kept secret, (a μυστήριον ἀποκεκρυμμένον, or σεσιγημένον, Rom. xvi, 25; Eph. iii, 9; Col. i, 26,) was made manifest by the appearing of our Saviour, Jesus Christ, (φανερώθεῖσαν διὰ τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ σωτῆρος, etc., 2 Tim. i, 10; Titus ii, 11; iii, 4,) who came into the

* The name Σωτήρ, as applied to God the father, is found, besides in the passages referred to above, in but two other places in the New Testament, namely, in Luke i, 47, and Jude 25. In the Septuagint it is found in Psa. xxiv, 5; Isaiah xii, 2; xlv, 15.

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world (*ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον*, 1 Tim. i, 15) to save sinners, wherefore he is called our Saviour, *σωτήρ*, (2 Tim. i, 10; Titus i, 4; iii, 6.) That he is God, is evident from the expressions, *ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον*, and Θεος * *εφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί*, (1 Tim. iii, 16;) and that he is at the same time man, is equally evident from the expression, *ἄνθρωπος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός*, (1 Tim. ii, 5; cf. Rom. v, 15; 1 Cor. v, 15; Phil. ii, 7.) As the only Mediator between God and man, (*εἷς μεσίτης Θεοῦ καὶ ανθρώπων*, 1 Tim. ii, 5; cf. Gal. iii, 19, 20,) sprung from the seed of David, (2 Tim. ii, 8; cf. Rom. i, 3,) he procured our salvation by giving himself for us, (*ὃς ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν*, Titus ii, 14; cf. Rom. viii, 23; Gal. ii, 20; Eph. v, 2, 25;) and, therefore, he, as the *Χριστος ἐσταυρωμενος*, forms the *λόγος* of all gospel-preaching, (1 Cor. i, 17, 18, 23.) And since death is the penalty of man's sin, the object of Christ's death can have been no other than, by voluntarily taking upon himself man's guilt and by voluntarily suffering the penalty in his stead, to abolish death and to bring life and immortality to light, (*καταργήσαντος τὸν θάνατον, φωτίσαντος ζωὴν καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν*, 2 Tim. i, 10.) The believer has already on earth laid hold on eternal life, (1 Tim. vi, 12, 19; Titus ii, 12;) but he will inherit it as the perfect fulfillment of the *σωτηρία* in God's heavenly kingdom. Hence, here he is an heir according to the hope of eternal life, (*κληρονόμος κατ' ἐλπίδα ζωῆς αἰωνίου*, Titus iii, 7,) an expression based upon the Pauline view of adoption. The final taking possession of eternal life which will take place in that day, (*ἐν ἐκείνῃ ἡμέρᾳ*, 2 Tim. i, 12, 18; iv, 8; cf. 2 Thess. i, 10,) that is, at the appearing of Christ, (*ἐπιφάνεια*, Titus ii, 13; 1 Tim. vi, 14; 2 Tim. iv, 1,) the Judge of the living and the dead, (2 Tim. iv, 1; cf. 1 Thess. iv, 16, 17; 1 Cor. xv, 51; Acts viii, 4,) will be connected with eternal glory, (2 Tim. ii, 10,) and with a share in His reign, (*συμβασιλεύσομεν*, 2 Tim. ii, 12; cf. Rom. v, 17.)

* Even if in this passage the reading *ὅς*, instead of *Θεὸς*, be adopted, as is done by Tischendorf and Tregelles, the deep dogmatic significance of the passage remains unimpaired. For a critical discussion of these readings, *vide* Tischendorf's *Novum Testamentum Græce*, editio octava Maiora, and Tregelles' edition of the *Greek New Testament, in loc.*; also, Scrivener's "Introduction to the Criticism of the N. T.," pp. 15, 440, 455, 550, and 552.

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Of Justification.

Now, in so far as Christ has freed us from the guilt of sin and the fear of death, he has paid a ransom for us, (*ἀντίλυτρον*, 1 Tim. ii, 6: *λυτροῦν*,) an expression that reminds us forcibly of Paul's conception of the *ἀπολύτρωσις*, (Eph. i, 7; Col. i, 14.) In virtue of this ransom having been paid for us, we may be justified by God's grace, (*δικαιοῦσθαι*, Titus iii, 7;) so that here, too, we meet with the Pauline doctrine of *δικαίωσις* in the forensic sense of the term. (Gal. ii, 16, 17; iii, 8, 11, 24; v, 4; Rom. ii, 13; iii, 20, 24, 26, etc.) But the condition upon which we may obtain *δικαιοσύνη* and *σωτηρία* is not the merit of our good works, (*οὐ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα*, 2 Tim. i, 9; *οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων τῶν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ ὧν ἐποιήσαμεν ἡμεῖς*, Titus iii, 5,) but faith only, (1 Tim. i, 14, 16, 19; ii, 15; iii, 13; iv, 10, etc.;) wherefore Christianity appears in the light of a divine dispensation (unto salvation) which is in faith, (*οἰκονομία** *Θεοῦ ἐν πίστει*, 1 Tim. i, 4.) The reason why the doctrine of justification by faith alone, and not by works, does not occupy as prominent a place in these epistles as in those to the Romans and the Galatians, may be found in the fact that those to whom they were addressed were not so "zealous of the law" as to require the apostle's warning and corrective voice. But here, also, notwithstanding that warning voice is raised against other errors and abuses, the central position of faith in the system of Christian doctrines is maintained with all the strength of a profound conviction.

Of Regeneration.

Justification and regeneration, though taking place at one and the same time, are nevertheless logically separate and distinct. This logical distinction is apparent not only in the other Pauline Epistles, but in the ones under consideration as well. Being justified by God's grace, (Titus iii, 7,) we are saved by the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost which he shed on us, (*διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας καὶ ἀνακαινώσεως Πνεύματος Ἁγίου*, Titus iii, 5, 6.) The words *διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγ-*

* Tischendorf, Tregelles, and others, adopt the reading *ρoικονομία* in preference to *οἰκοδομία* of the Textus Receptus. For a statement of their reasons, *vide* their latest editions of the Greek Testament *in loc.*

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γενεσίας have by many commentators been interpreted in an arbitrary manner in that they maintain that λουτρόν, being a figurative expression for baptism, is regeneration itself, or at least the direct cause of it. That this is a forced, and, hence, a wrong interpretation, is evident from the fact that in the Apostolic Church persons were baptized *after* they had made a profession of faith, (Mark xvi, 16; Acts ii, 41,) and after they had received the gift of the Holy Ghost, that is, after they had been regenerated, (Acts ix, 17, 18; x, 44–48.) The whole expression διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας καὶ ἀνακαινώσεως Πνεύματος Ἁγίου, (λουτρόν being derived from the verb λούειν, *to wash, to cleanse*, metaph., to render pure, namely, from sin, that is, to deliver from its consequences, Rev. i, 5,)—the genitive in both expressions being that of the efficient cause—may, therefore, be interpreted thus: As by means of the bath the body is cleansed from impurities, so the soul, through the λουτρόν of regeneration, effected by the Holy Spirit, is saved and cleansed from sin and guilt. Παλιγγενεσία is always accompanied by an outpouring, upon the soul, of the Holy Spirit—a view that is apparent in all the epistles of St. Paul. True, the word παλιγγενεσία is found in no other epistle; yet the great fact, namely, the introduction into the soul of a new life-giving principle, is mentioned by him in other terms, such as, ζωοποιεῖν, ἐγείρειν, (Eph. ii, 5, 6; cf. Rom. vi, 6–10,) καινὴ κτίσις, (2 Cor. v, 17,) ἀνακαίνωσις τοῦ νοὸς, (Rom. xii, 2; 2 Cor. iv, 16; Col. iii, 10.) Having been regenerated by the Holy Spirit, we become thus righteous, (δίκαιος, 1 Tim. i, 9; Titus i, 8; cf. Eph. v, 9,) and the power and grace of God, (2 Tim. i, 8; Titus ii, 11,) as revealed in the inspired Scriptures, (2 Tim. iii, 16,) lead us to live soberly, righteously, and godly, (σωφρόνως καὶ δικαίως καὶ εὐσεβῶς, Titus ii, 12,) as it becomes the saints. (1 Tim. v, 10.)

Of Good Works.

It has been urged as an objection against their genuineness that the Pastoral Epistles lay more stress upon good works than the other writings of St. Paul. But its validity cannot be sustained by a comparison of the teachings of the two classes of epistles on this subject. The godly (εὐσεβῶς) life of the regenerated person, according to the Pastoral Epistles, manifests

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itself in good works, (1 Tim. vi, 11, 12, 18; 2 Tim. ii, 21; Titus i, 16; iii, 14.) These the Apostle Paul calls elsewhere the fruits of the Spirit, (Gal. v, 22; Eph. v, 9;) the fruits of righteousness, (Phil. i, 11;) the fruits unto holiness, (Romans v, 22)—the result of faith that *worketh* by love, (Gal. v, 6.) True, while he attaches nowhere a saving merit to them, he every-where insists upon their performance as an evidence of a godly life, especially in our epistles, because of false teachers whose life was any thing but holy. (1 Tim. iv, 2; vi, 4, 5; 2 Tim. ii, 16; iii, 2, 5; Titus i, 11, 16.)

Aside from this, there is nothing in the Pastoral Epistles that is at all strange to the well-known doctrinal conceptions of St. Paul. The requirement that Christians should be prepared for every good work, (*πρὸς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν ἡτοιμασμένον*, 2 Tim. ii, 21; iii, 17; Titus iii, 1; cf. 2 Cor. ix, 8,) yea, be zealous of good works, (*ζηλωτὴς καλῶν ἔργων*, Titus ii, 14,) and that the preacher be a pattern of good works, (*τύπον καλῶν ἔργων*, Titus ii, 7,) is in entire conformity with the apostle's teachings. And when it is said that godliness with contentment is great gain, (*πορισμὸς μέγας*, 1 Tim. vi, 6,) it is by no means intended thereby to deviate from the doctrine of *σωτηρία ἐκ χάριτος*; for the gain is a promise of a *future* reward as well as of a present one. (1 Tim. iv, 8.)

So, too, there is no contradiction between what is said of woman in 1 Tim. ii, 15, and in 1 Cor. vii. If the former passage declares that she shall obtain *σωτηρία* by fulfilling her specific calling, (*διὰ τῆς τεκνογονίας*,) it also specifies immediately thereafter the other indispensable condition of this *σώζεσθαι*, namely, a continuance in faith, and charity, and holiness, with sobriety; a requirement that is in perfect harmony with the teachings of 1 Cor. vii.

On the other hand, it may at first sight appear somewhat strange in the Apostle Paul to declare here that the rich, by being rich in good works, treasure up for themselves a good foundation against the time to come, (*ἀποθησαυρίζοντες ἑαυτοῖς καλὸν θεμέλιον*, 1 Tim. vi, 18, 19,) and that those who have discharged the duties of a deacon well, acquire for themselves a good degree, (*βαθμὸν ἑαυτοῖς καλὸν περιποιοῦνται*, 1 Tim. iii, 13.)* And yet, rightly interpretated, these passages are no more

* This is not the place to give an extended exegesis of these passages. The reader is referred to Whedon's and Meyer's "Commentaries," *in loc*

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opposed to the Pauline doctrine of *σωτηρία εκ χάριτος*, than Rom. ii, 6–8; 1 Cor. iii, 8; 2 Cor. v, 10; or than Christ's saying in Luke xvi, 9, 11–16, and in Matt. vi, 24.

The Gospel—A Doctrine.

A striking and much-discussed point in the Pastoral Epistles is, that in them the Gospel, or Christianity, is spoken of as a *doctrine* which is of God, (*διδασκαλία ἡ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θεοῦ*, 1 Tim. iv, 6; vi, 1, 3; Titus ii, 10,) and is preached by his servants, (1 Tim. iv, 13, 16; v, 17; 2 Tim. ii, 2; iii, 10,) who are therefore called *κῆρυκες* (1 Tim. ii, 7; 2 Tim. i, 11; iv, 17) and *μαρτύριοι* and *διδάσκαλοι*, (2 Tim. i, 11; iv, 2,) and *εὐαγγελισται*. (2 Tim. iv, 5.) As opposed to the morbid (1 Tim. vi, 4) and irrational (1 Tim. i, 6, 7; iv, 1; 2 Tim. iii, 8, 9; Titus i, 10–14) heterodoxy, (*ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν*, 1 Tim. i, 3; vi, 3,) the Gospel of Christ is the sound doctrine, (*ἡ ὑγιαινούσῃ διδασκαλία*, 1 Tim. i, 10; 2 Tim. iv, 3; Titus i, 9; ii, 1,) the godly doctrine, (*εὐσέβεια διδασκαλίᾳ*, 1 Tim. vi, 3; *ὑγιαινόντες λογοι*, 2 Tim. i, 13; *ὑγιής λόγος*, Titus ii, 8;) expressions which, in their metaphorical sense, are nowhere else found in the New Testament. The contents of this doctrine are the word of God, (Titus i, 3; ii, 5; 2 Tim. ii, 9,) sometimes called simply the word of truth, or the truth, (2 Tim. ii, 15; iv, 2; iii, 8; ii, 18; iv, 4; Titus i, 14.) Now, if the Gospel be conceived as a doctrine, it is clear that its acceptance implies that it is to be learned, (2 Tim. iii, 14,) and that it thus becomes the knowledge of the truth, (1 Tim. ii, 4; 2 Tim. ii, 25; iii, 7; Titus i, 1,) or the knowledge of God, (Titus i, 16; 2 Tim. iii, 15.) But this knowledge must always be accompanied by faith; for *Πίστις* and (the knowledge of) *Αλήθεια* are inseparable. (1 Tim. ii, 7; iv, 6–8.) And faith, in turn, must rest upon a pure conscience, (*καθαρᾷ συνειδησει*, 1 Tim. iii, 9; 2 Tim. i, 3; 1 Tim. i, 5, 19.) But where the conscience is pure the faith is also sound, (Titus i, 15; ii, 2;) and where the conscience is seared by sin and hypocrisy, there faith becomes shipwrecked, (1 Tim. i, 19,) or degenerates into vain jangling, (*ματαιολογίαν*, 1 Tim. i, 6; iv, 7; Titus i, 10.) Thus Christian knowledge and Christian faith and purity of heart are so closely related that, where the latter is destroyed by sin, there the other two must necessarily also suffer injury, (1 Tim. vi, 10.)

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Therefore, a holy life is as necessary as sound doctrine, and *vice versa;* that is, the head must be right, as well as the heart.

Now, if the question be asked, Why did the Apostle Paul, in these epistles, set forth the Gospel of Christ in the form of a godly or sound doctrine? it may be replied, that the errors, both in doctrine and in practice, that had crept into the Churches, of which Timothy and Titus had the charge, no doubt led him to do so. He knew that these errors originated with men corrupt in mind and destitute of truth, (*ἀνθρώποι διεφθαρμένοι τὸν νοῦς καὶ ἀπεστερημένοι τῆς ἀληθείας*, 1 Tim. vi, 5; 2 Tim. iii, 8,) given to all kinds of excesses, (1 Tim. iv, 1–3; 2 Tim. iii, 2–4; Titus i, 11, 16,) and hence, lacking godliness, (*ἀσέβεια*, 2 Tim. ii, 16.) Toward such deceivers he could pursue but one course, namely, by pointing out the inseparable union of sound doctrine and sound morals, to insist on the acceptance of the one and the practice of the other, and thus to put a stop to their mischievous agitation.

While we fully admit, in the Pastoral Epistles, a perceptible deviation from the method adopted by St. Paul in the composition of his other epistles, we feel at the same time constrained to maintain that a careful examination of the two classes of epistles will show that both have sprung from the same mind, and that the deviation is due rather to the circumstances that led to their composition, than to a change in the apostle's sentiments or convictions.

II. We come now to briefly consider, in the second place, the *doctrine of the Christian Church and its constitution*, as developed in the Pastoral Epistles.

It has been urged as an objection to their genuineness that they presuppose the constitution of the Apostolic Church to have been in a far more complete style of development than there is any reason for assuming, and that they lay greater stress upon a rigid administration of church discipline than the other Pauline epistles. Now, even if we admit the validity of the objection, which we do not, it must be remembered that these epistles were addressed to comparatively young ministers who, though being overseers (*ἐπισκοποί*) or pastors, had as yet little experience in organizing Churches and administering church discipline. Hence they stood in need of spiritual in-

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structions as to the mode of procedure. And who was better qualified to give such instructions than the great apostle, who had founded and organized so many Churches? Again, it is now generally admitted that these epistles were written toward the close of the apostle's life. May it not, therefore, be reasonably inferred that the constitution of the Apostolic Church had at that time passed far beyond the first stage in its development? True, it may not have existed in an elaborated or complex form; but whatever its form may have been, it was, doubtless, based upon a verbal, but sufficiently definite, agreement among the Apostolic College and mother Church at Jerusalem, embodying the principles of church government laid down by Christ himself, as well as the results obtained from experience in organizing and governing individual Churches. But, though there may have been such an agreement, we are by no means justified by the acts or epistles of the apostles in inferring that it was rigid or inflexible in its nature, and hierarchical in its tendency. On the contrary, the whole tenor of the apostolic writings shows that much liberty was taken in respect to introducing such modifications as the time and circumstances might require. Thus, for example, the Churches founded in pagan cities departed without scruple from the Jewish customs and practices. They felt themselves under no constraint to adopt, for the sake of preserving the agreement or constitution intact, the same form of Jewish worship as was observed by the Church at Jerusalem. But these minor differences, arising from the perfect law of liberty, did not prevent the existence of a substantial union, both as to faith and practice. A proof for the existence of such a union may be found in the generous contributions made by the Churches in Asia Minor and Greece to the suffering Churches in Palestine. Thus the constitution of the Apostolic Church—if, in the proper sense of the word, it was a constitution—was neither elaborate and inflexible in its form, granting to but few arbitrary power over the people of God; nor loose and latitudinarian in its application, allowing to each individual Church the fullest liberty of faith and practice; but a *spiritual bond*, based upon a common faith, as well as upon the great principles laid down by Christ himself, exercising no constraint but that of Christian love and truth, and granting to each Church

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the right, consistent with the common faith, to manage its own affairs. We cannot but believe that a full elaboration of the views here presented and based, as we claim them to be, upon the apostolic writings, would weaken, if not destroy, the force of the objection against the genuineness of the Pastoral Epistles mentioned at the beginning of this paragraph.

After these preliminary remarks, let us examine these epistles a little more closely for the purpose of ascertaining more fully what they teach concerning the Church and its constitution. And, first, as to

The Doctrine of the Church.

The Church of the living God (*ἡ ἐκκλησια τοῦ θεοῦ ζῶντος . . . τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ*, 1 Tim. iii, 5–15; cf. Acts xx, 28; 1 Cor. i, 1) is founded by and upon God, (*θεμέλιος θεοῦ*, 2 Tim. ii, 19; cf. Eph. ii, 20.) She is also called the pillar and ground of truth, (*στῦλος καὶ ἑδραίωμα τῆς ἀληθείας*, 1 Tim. iii, 15,) the house of God, (*οἶκος θεοῦ*, 1 Tim. iii, 15; cf. Heb. iii, 6,) in which he is Lord, (*δηςπότης*, 2 Tim. ii, 21,) and the ministers are his stewards, (*οἰκονόμοι θεοῦ*, Titus i, 7; cf. 1 Cor. iv, 1; ix, 17.) She is composed of true Christians, though bad persons and hypocrites are also found within her pale; or, to use the apostle's figure, vessels of honor and vessels of dishonor, (*σκεύη εἰς τιμήν καὶ σκεῦη εἰς ἀτιμίαν*, 2 Tim. ii, 20, 21; cf. 1 Cor. i, 29; v, 1, 2; Matt. vii, 21.) But whether one belongs to the one or the other of these classes does not depend so much upon a "*Decretum absolutum Dei*," as upon one's own volition and conduct, (1 Tim. i, 12, 13; ii, 4;) for all are called with a holy calling, (2 Tim. i, 9; cf. Matt. xii, 16,) to be his own people, (*περιούσιος λαός*, Titus ii, 14; cf. 1 Peter ii, 9,) or to be saints, (Rom. i, 7; 1 Cor. i, 2; 2 Cor. i, 1; Eph. i, 1; Col. i, 2, 4, 12, 24,) in order thereby to constitute the communion of saints, that is, the Christian Church.

The Church spoken of in these epistles is represented as being under the immediate guidance of the apostles, who, through the will of God, (*διὰ θελήματος θεοῦ*, 1 Tim. i, 1; 2 Tim. i, 1; Eph. i, 1; Col. i, 1; 2 Cor. i, 1; 1 Cor. i, 1; Rom. i, 1,) are called, according to the promise of life which is in Christ Jesus, (2 Tim. i, 1,) to be the witnesses of Christ (Acts i, 8) and of his resurrection, (Acts iv, 33,) as well as to

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preach the Gospel of God, (Rom. i, 1,) for the purpose of leading men to faith and the knowledge of the truth, (Acts i, 1; cf. 1 Cor. v, 8; Eph. iv, 15.) As their immediate co-laborers are mentioned Timothy and Titus, besides several others, (1 Tim. i, 2, 18; 2 Tim. i, 2; ii, 1; Titus iv, 5,) who are sometimes called the servants and ministers of the Lord, (*δοῦλοι καὶ διάκονοι κυρίου*, 1 Tim. ii, 24; 2 Tim. ii, 24; cf. 1 Cor. iii, 5; 2 Cor. vi, 4, 11, 23; Eph. vi, 21; Col. i, 7; iv, 7; 1 Thess. iii, 2.) Consecrated to their office by the laying on of the hands of the apostles and the presbytery, (1 Tim. iv, 14; 2 Tim. i, 6; cf. Acts vi, 6; xiii, 3,) they are to guide the Churches under their pastoral care by word and deed, by sound doctrine and good example, (1 Tim. i, 3; 2 Tim. i, 13; Titus i, 5; ii, 1.) For this purpose they are furnished by the apostle with special instructions: 1. In relation to the appointment of elders or bishops, (Titus i, 5;) 2. In relation to the treatment of elders, widows, and young men, (1 Tim. v, 1–22; Titus ii, 2–17;) 3. In relation to family government, (1 Tim. ii, 9–15; v, 14; Titus ii, 3, 4; cf. 1 Cor. xi, 8, 9; xiv, 33–36; 2 Cor. xi, 3;) 4. In relation to the rich, (1 Tim. vi, 17, 18;) and, 5. In relation to servants, (1 Tim. vi, 1; Titus ii, 9, 10; cf. Eph. vi, 5–8; Col. iii, 22–25.)

But it is their special duty to give attention to sound doctrine. (1 Tim. iv, 13–16; 2 Tim. iv, 2, 3; Titus ii, 7.) They are to preach the word in season and out of season, (2 Tim. iv, 2,) and in the same spirit in which they received it. (2 Tim. iii, 10, 11.) Then they are to select faithful men, and, having instructed them in the doctrines of Christianity, ordain them elders, to the end that they may be thus prepared to teach others also,* (2 Tim. ii, 2; Titus i, 5,) and thus propagate the Gospel from one generation to another. The apostle regards aptitude to teach, that is, to preach, as a special qualification of an elder, (*διδακτικόν*, 1 Tim. iii, 3,) on which account such a one is worthy of double honor. (1 Tim. v, 17.) We are not,

*Here we have an indication of the necessity of giving a theological training to those who are called to preach the Gospel. The apostle, knowing that sooner or later teachers of false doctrines would creep into the Church, (1 Tim. iv, 1–6,) felt the importance and the necessity of such a measure. Hence, he earnestly exhorts Timothy and Titus to constantly study the Scriptures, (2 Tim. ii, 15; iii, 14–17,) so that they might become (1) approved unto God, and (2) able workmen that need not be ashamed, *rightly* dividing the word of truth.

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however, warranted to infer from this (as De Wette and Baur did) that the apostle made here a sharp distinction between *πρεσβύτεροι προεστῶτες* and *πρεσβύτεροι κοπιῶντες ἐν λόγῳ καὶ διδασκαλίᾳ*. He was merely solicitous that, on account of heretical teachers, the pastors of individual Churches should be mighty in word and deed, and so be able to refute them. So, too, the detailed instructions as to the selection of proper persons for the various offices in the individual Churches owe their origin, no doubt, to the apostle's anticipation that sooner or later his personal superintendence over them would cease, and that they would thus be left to depend upon their own resources for their further growth and development.

Of the Officers of the Church.

Apart from the apostolic office, which was *sui generis*, the Pastoral Epistles mention *four* classes of officers in the Church, namely: 1. *Elders* or *bishops*, (*πρεσβύτεροι, ἐπίσκοποι*,* 1 Tim. iii, 1–6; v, 1, 17; Titus i, 5, 7;) 2. *Evangelists*, (*εὐαγγελισταὶ*, 2 Tim. iv, 5; cf. Acts xxi, 8; Eph. iv, 11;) 3. *Deacons*, (*διάκονοι*, 1 Tim. iii, 8, 12; iv, 6;) and, 4. *Church-widows*, (*χῆραι*, 1 Tim. v, 3–16.)

* There have been long and repeated controversies respecting the official meaning of the terms *πρεσβύτερος* and *ἐπίσκοπος*, as found in the apostolic writings of the New Testament. Without wishing to re-open the controversy on this subject, we take the liberty to state some of the points which we regard as definitely settled:—

1. There is no authority in the New Testament for assuming that there is a difference, *as to orders*, between a *πρεσβύτερος* and an *ἐπίσκοπος*. 2. There is no authority in the New Testament for assuming that there was, in the Apostolic Church, a generic difference, *even as to the office*, between a *πρεσβύτερος* and an *ἐπίσκοπος*: 3. There is no indication in the New Testament that the *πρεσβύτεροι* or *ἐπίσκοποι* of the Apostolic Church displayed a *hierarchical* tendency, or that any one among them assumed the precedence before the others. 4. The New Testament clearly indicates that *πρεσβύτερος* and *ἐπίσκοπος* were employed in the Apostolic Church as *synonymous* terms, both describing the *same order* as well as the *same office*, (Phil. i, 1; 1 Tim. iii; Titus i, 5–7; Acts xx, 28; 1 Pet. ii, 25; v, 1–5; the one having reference to the *age* required for, and the honor connected with, the office, and the other to its *duties*. 5. Nor can it be proved from the New Testament that the apostles appointed successors in the apostolic office, having the same authority and distinction as themselves. That office was *sui generis*, and was not to be perpetuated. Hence, for prelates of any Church to claim that they are co-ordinate in rank and authority with the apostles, is both preposterous and anti-scriptural.

The episcopacy of the Methodist Episcopal Church corresponds more nearly with the episcopacy of the Apostolic Church than that of any other (modern) Church.

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Elders or Bishops.

Elders or bishops, as well as evangelists and deacons, appear to have been constituted in the same manner. The ceremony of consecrating and inducting them into their respective offices consisted in fasting and prayer, and the imposition of hands either by the apostles alone, (2 Tim. i, 6; Acts vi, 6; xiv, 23,) or by the apostles *and* the presbytery, (1 Tim. iv, 14; 1 Pet. v, 1–5;) the apostles were also counted among the elders;) or by some invested by the apostles with the authority to do so. (Titus i, 5.)

The character and qualifications for their sacred office required of the elders or bishops are more clearly indicated than their duties. They must be blameless; the husband of one wife, (*μιᾶς γυναικὸς ἀνδρα*;) vigilant; sober; peaceable; given to hospitality; not greedy of filthy lucre, (*αἰσχροκερδῆ*;) not covetous, (*ἀφιλάργυρον*;) not given to wine, (*μὴ πάροινον*;) must rule their own households well; having well reported children; be no novices, (*νεόφυτοι*;) must have a good report of them which are without; and be apt to teach, (*διδακτικόι*;) so that they may be able by some doctrine both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers.*

* The peculiarity of the enumeration here given of the qualifications required of an elder or bishop has been urged by some critics as an objection against the genuineness of the Pastoral Epistles. That a candidate for such an office in the Church should possess such a character and such qualifications as are here specified, is so self-evident, it is urged, as to need no such enumeration. But when the fact is taken into consideration that improprieties, and even immoralities, had crept into the Apostolic Churches, (1 Cor. v, 1, 2; vi, 1–8; viii, 12; 2 Cor. ii, 7–13; xi, 13; xii, 20, 21; Gal. iii, 1–3; v, 17; Tit. i, 10–16,) to say nothing of what was prophesied would happen in this respect, (1 Tim. vi, 1–3; 2 Tim. 1–9, it is entirely in conformity with St. Paul's wisdom and forethought that he should instruct his sons in the Gospel, young and comparatively inexperienced as they were, that in the selection of men for the office of elders or bishops particular regard should be had as well to their *moral standing* in the Churches in which they were to labor, as to their *zealous adherence* to and *thorough knowledge of the Gospel doctrines*. Soundness in morals was then, as is now, as necessary to a successful spread of the Gospel as soundness in doctrine.

With respect to the exact meaning of the words *μιᾶς γυναικὸς ἀνδρα*, opinions vary. But the *grammatical* sense, whatever else may be supposed to be implied in the expression, is certainly the correct one, namely, that a *πρεσβύτερος* or *ἐπίσκοπος should be married*, and be married to no more than *one* wife at the same time. The injunction is, therefore, directed: (1.) Against those who forbid marriage

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Their duties appear to have been twofold: 1. The celebration and conduct of divine worship, consisting in public and private prayers, (Acts vi, 4;) the ministry of the Word, (Acts vi, 4,) that is, preaching the Gospel and refuting the gainsayers, (Titus i, 9,) thus feeding and instructing the Church, (Acts xx, 28; 1 Pet. v, 2;) perfecting the saints, edifying the body (Church) of Christ, and improving the work of the ministry, (Eph. iv, 11, 12;) in the administration of the sacraments, (Matt. xxviii, 29; Acts ii, 41, 42; 1 Cor. i, 14; xi, 23;) and the visitation of the sick, (James v, 14.) 2. Church government, or the administration of the discipline, that is, the discharge of episcopal functions; they were placed by the Holy Ghost *among*, not *over*, the flock as overseers, (προσέχετε . . . παντὶ τῷ ποιμνίῳ,) ἐν ᾧ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἔθετο ἐπισκόπους, Acts xx, 28; 1 Pet. v, 1–5; Titus i, 5–7.)

Evangelists.

In connection with elders, or bishops, the Pastoral Epistles mention also *evangelists*, (εὐαγγελισται, 2 Tim. iv, 5; cf. Acts xxi, 8; Eph. iv, 11,) who were either colaborers with the apostles, or, in a more general sense, teachers of Christianity. Though they were, no doubt, ordained elders—for the apostle exhorts Timothy, who was an elder, "to do the work of an

to the ordained clergy, (1 Tim. iv, 3;) and, (2.) Against polygamy and, no doubt, against concubinage. Both these practices prevailed still, to some extent at least, during the apostle's life-time, (see Josephus, Antiquities, xvii, I, 13. 1; xviii, I, 5. 1; Apostol. Const., viii, 32; Kitto's Bible Cyclopædia, Art., Marriage; Smith's Dict. of Chr. Antiq., Art., Concubinage; Lex. Jul. et Pap. Pop.; cf. Just. Mart., Dialog. c. Tryph.;) and might easily have been adopted by some Gentile Christians, especially in Crete, whose inhabitants seem to have been worse than people elsewhere, (Titus i, 12.) That the expression is intended to forbid a second marriage in a presbyter or bishop after the death of the first wife, seems an arbitrary inference. The simple requirement is that at the time of his appointment he must be the husband of one wife, though, as far as any indication to the contrary is concerned, she may be his second wife after the death of the first. Neither Christ nor St. Paul forbid a second marriage in the ordinary sense. (See Matt. xxii, 23–33; John iv, 16–20; Rom. v, 1–8; 1 Cor. vii, 7–39.) The legitimate inference from these passages seems to be that the moral and legal *status* of the surviving party is the same it was before the first marriage, and hence he or she is at liberty to contract a new marriage. And since marriage is a divine, and hence a holy, institution, the remark that abstinence from a second marriage indicates a purer or holier life, and greater devotedness to the work of God, than it otherwise would be, is as inapplicable to a second as to a first marriage.

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evangelist"—they were not stationary, that is, were not permanent pastors of individual Churches, but, under the direction of the apostles, went from place to place to preach the Gospel, either by narrating the Gospel history where it was still unknown, thus preparing the way for the direct labors of the apostles, or, where Churches had been organized, by explaining more fully the doctrines of Christianity, until pastors and elders could be appointed from among themselves, thus supplementing or continuing the labor of the apostles. They were *itinerant* preachers in the truest sense of the word. The term *evangelist* was applied to the authors of the four gospels at a much later period, and appears to signify rather the historians of the gospel than its preachers.

Deacons.

The Pastoral Epistles recognize the existence of the office of deacons, but say nothing respecting its origin. The same may be said of the Epistle to the Philippians, (i, 1.) That it was instituted, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, by the apostles, with the consent of the mother Church at Jerusalem, (Acts vi, 1–6,) and afterward introduced into the Churches founded by the apostles and their colaborers, is, with some exceptions, generally assumed, and probably true. That it was subordinate to that of elders, or bishops, and constituted the lowest official grade, may be inferred from Acts vi, 1–6, Phil i, 1, and 1 Tim. iii, 13. In reference to the *duties* of deacons, we have no definite information in the apostolic writings, unless the duties prescribed for "*The Seven*" (Acts vi, 1–6) be regarded as such. So much may, however, be inferred that the deacons were primarily appointed for the purpose of dispensing the charity of the Church and managing its temporal affairs, of seeking out and visiting the sick and afflicted, and of practicing hospitality especially toward persecuted Christians. In short, their duties appear to have been comprehended in the *διακονία τῶν τραπεζῶν*, as distinguished from the *διακονία τοῦ λόγου*. Still, though *διδακτικὸς* was a qualification not required of them, they doubtless taught in private, or were readers of the Scriptures in public assemblies, and occasionally exhorted and preached, for from among them evangelists appear to have been chosen. (Acts vi, 9, 10; vii, 1–53; viii,

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5–8, 26–40.*) The possession on their part of special *χαρισμάτα πνεύματικα* would naturally lead, in the course of time, to a higher work and office, as was the case with Philip. Or what else than ecclesiastical preferment did the apostle mean when he wrote: that those who use "the office of a deacon well purchase to themselves a good degree, (*καλὸς βαθμὸς*,) and great boldness in the faith," (*καὶ πολλὴν παῤῥησίαν ἐν πίστει τῇ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησου*, that is, great boldness in standing forth for the truth and against error, 1 Tim. iii, 13.) And why did he require in them substantially the same *moral qualifications* as in elders or bishops, if he had not in view their advancement to that office, whose incumbents were not to be *νεόφυτοι*, (1 Tim. iii, 6,) either in piety, or experience, or knowledge, lest they become puffed up with stupid pride? And why did he enjoin upon them "to hold the *mystery of the faith* in a *pure conscience*," if not with a view to their ultimately preaching the Gospel as their regular vocation?

Church-Widows—Deaconesses.

A fourth class of ecclesiastical officers mentioned in the Pastoral Epistles—and in them only by name—are the *Church-widows*, (*χήραι*, 1 Tim. v, 2–16.) These, together with the *πρεσβύτιδες*, (Titus ii, 3,) and the *πρεσβυτέραι*, (1 Tim. v, 2,) and *ἡ διάκονος*, (Rom. xvi, 1,) were probably placed by the Apostle Paul in the same category. From the qualifications required of them it may be inferred that they constituted a class of female officers in the Apostolic Church who appear to have performed duties in reference to their own sex analogous to those performed by the deacons among men. Their office in the Church was probably rendered necessary by the strict seclusion observed by the female sex in oriental countries. Though it may not have been *exactly* the office of deaconess, as it appeared in a more developed and comprehensive form in the post-Apostolic Church, yet it was no doubt the beginning of it. This

* The Philip mentioned in Acts viii, 5–8, 26–40, as "going down to the city of Samaria and *preaching* Christ unto them," *et seq.*, is not the Apostle Philip, as some have erroneously assumed, but the Philip mentioned in chapter vi, 5, who was originally appointed, with six others, for the *διακονία τῶν τραπεζῶν* in the Church at Jerusalem. From this humble service he was promoted to the office of an evangelist, in which he became successful.

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appears evident from two things: (1) from the required enrollment, there must have been a purpose in this other than merely to obtain a list of widows worthy of charity, (*χήρα καταλέγεσθω*, 1 Tim. v, 9;) (2) from the qualifications required of those who were to be enrolled, (1 Tim. v, 9, 10; Titus ii, 3–5.) Besides, Church-history bears us out in supposing that such an institution had already been long in existence at the close of the second century, and that it was universally traced back to the apostolic arrangement as described in these epistles.*

With respect to the qualifications the apostle required of the candidates for this office, it may be observed that here, as elsewhere, he displayed great wisdom and forethought. The candidates were to be chosen from among widows (*χῆραι*) over sixty years of age, having been the wife of one husband, well reported for good works, *et seq.* A good age insured, generally, experience, wisdom, stability of character, and steadiness of purpose. Having been the wife of one husband—whatever this may mean—enabled her to teach the younger women domestic virtues, (Titus ii, 3–5,) and to exert a salutary influence over them; and having followed good works, secured for her a public recognition of being a trustworthy and godly person.

Now, if nothing more than ordinary membership, and that of a class needing charity, was had in view, it would be difficult to understand all the qualifications here required of them. On the other hand, it is in perfect harmony with the spirit of Paul's teachings and practice to establish a holy relation between the humblest member and the Church. He desired the services of all for the upbuilding and strengthening of the Church. Hence the widow was far better adapted for the office of deaconess than the unmarried woman, for she had experience of human life; she knew its great sorrows, and her position gave her a special fitness for administering consolation. The fact that the rule, as to age, was, in the post-Apostolic Church, so far modified as to permit *virgins* to be appointed to that office,† is a

* *Vide Tertull. de Vel. Virg., c. q.; Clem. Alex., Strom.* iii; *Constit. Apost.*, iii, 15, 16; ii, 26; *Epiphan., Expos. Fid.*, c. xxi; Neander's "History of the Planting," etc., sub., *Deac.;* Schaff's "History of the Apostolic Church," sub., *Deac.;* Guericke's "Handbuch der Kirchen-Geschichte," pp. 107, 108; Herzog's "Real. Encyclopæd.," sub., *Diakonissa.*

† *Vide Tertull., de Vel. Virg., c. q.*

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strong proof against the post-apostolic origin of the Pastoral Epistles, as maintained by Dr. Baur.*

We flatter ourself that the preceding observations will lead intelligent and unbiased minds to acknowledge that the conception of the Church and its constitution, as unfolded in the Pastoral Epistles, bears the stamp of St. Paul's mind, and is in perfect harmony with his other writings. Nowhere in his epistles do we find traces of an *hierarchical* establishment, but only the broad outlines and essential features of a church constitution. According to him, the Christian Church is realized or embodied in the particular Churches. These, in his time, he formed into separate organizations, but on the same substantial basis. They were united among themselves, but the bond of union was a purely spiritual one; it was never a chain. Neither did he nor they appeal in any matter to the authority of the Church as a whole. At the time he wrote these epistles there were no general and periodical assemblies for the purpose of deciding questions that might be referred to them. The so-called council at Jerusalem did not issue any thing like positive decrees; it confined itself simply to recommending a compromise.† Hence, the objection that the Pastoral Epistles presuppose the existence of a well-designed church constitution, such as we find in the second and third centuries, falls to the ground. The objectors put something into these epistles which is not found there and does not belong there.

III. We come now to consider briefly a *third* peculiarity of the Pastoral Epistles, namely, *the heresy alluded to, or warned against therein.*

Dr. Baur maintains that the heresy therein refuted belongs to the Gnosticism of the second century. Hence, he argues, these epistles cannot have been written by the Apostle Paul, but by a pseudo-Paul who lived during that century. This criticism, supported as it is by a great show of learning, has called forth voluminous discussions on both sides of the question. It would carry us far beyond the scope of this article were we to attempt to give a history of these discussions. We shall simply indicate the main results obtained.

* *Vide* Baur's "Paulus," Part II, chap. ix.

† *Vide* Pressensé's "Early Years of Christianity," book ii, chap. v.

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That the author of these epistles had in view certain heretics (*αἱρετικοὶ ἄνθρωποι*, Titus iii, 10) by whom the Christians were in danger of being led astray, and that many of his statements were directed against them, cannot be called in question. But it is by no means clearly made out that their erroneous doctrines belonged to the Gnosticism of the second century, that is, that they were *borrowed* from the Gnostics of that century. Far from containing a complete description of the tenets of the latter, the Pastoral Epistles give us only the general features, entirely unconnected among themselves, of a heresy, the nascent elements of which, according to Dr. Baur's own showing in his work on the Christian Gnosis, (pp. 34–40,) were already in existence among the Jews before the time of Christ. To find more than this in these epistles is to find something which in reality is not there. It may, perhaps, be proper to give here, in a somewhat connected form, the delineation, as found in the Pastoral Epistles, of the character of the heretics mentioned therein, in order that the reader may judge for himself whether it has been proved beyond successful contradiction that their tenets are none other than those of the Gnostics of the second century, with which history acquaints us.

In the *first* epistle Timothy is warned against those who have turned away from a pure heart, a good conscience, and unfeigned faith, (*ἐκ καθαρᾶς καρδίας καὶ συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς καὶ πίστεως ἀνυποκρίτου*, 1, 5, 6,) and concerning faith have made shipwreck, (*περὶ τὴν πίστιν ἐνανάγησαν*, i, 19;) and who, being destitute of the truth, (*ἀπεστερημένων τῆς ἀληθείας*, vi, 5,) and not holding to the wholesome words of the Lord Jesus Christ, (*ὑγιαίνουσι λόγοις τοῖς τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, vi, 3,) are morally corrupt, (*διεφθαρμένοι τὸν νοῦν*, vi, 5,) proud, and boast of the possession of special knowledge, (*τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως*, vi, 20,) which they desire to communicate in the form of certain doctrines, (*ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν*, i, 3.) But their doctrines being mainly doctrines of devils, (*διδασκαλίαι δαιμονίων*, iv, 1,) consist only in vain jangling (*ματαιολογία*, i, 6) and profane and vain babblings (*βεβήλοι κενοφωνίαι*, vi, 20) about old wives' fables (*βεβήλοι καὶ γραώδεις μῦθοι*, i, 4; iv, 7) and endless genealogies, (*γενεαλογίαι ἀπέραντοι*, i, 4,) causing questions and strifes of words, for which they have a vicious fondness, (*νοσῶν περὶ*

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ζητήσεις καὶ λογομαχίας, vi, 4.) They desire to be teachers of the law without understanding its real meaning, (*θέλοντες εἶναι νομοδιδάσκαλοι*, i, 7,) proposing arbitrary commandments which prohibit marriage and the use of meats which God has created, (. . . *κωλυόντες γαμεῖν, ἀπέχεσθαι βρωμάτων*, iv, 3.) By their seemingly ascetic life they seek to gain the reputation of being very pious, making godliness the means of obtaining worldly gain, (*νομιζοντες, πορισμὸν εἶναι τὴν εὐσέβειαν*, vi, 5,) having at the same time their conscience seared as with a hot iron, (*κεκαυτηριασμένων τὴν ἰδίαν συνείδησιν*, iv, 2.)

In the *Second* Epistle to Timothy the heretics are described, as in the First Epistle, as being persons who, having fallen from the faith and turned away from the truth, (*περὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἠστόχησαν*, ii, 18; *ἀνθίστανται τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, ἀδόκιμοι περὶ τὴν πίστιν*, iii, 8; *οἱ ἀντιδιατιθέμενοι*, ii, 25,) and being morally corrupt, (*ἄνθρωποι κατεφθαρμένοι τὸν νοῦν*, iii, 8; *πονηροὶ ἄνθρωποι*, iii, 13,) are in the snare of the devil, (*τοῦ διαβόλου παγίδος*, ii, 26.) They have the form of godliness, but by their being *φιλάργυροι, ἀλαζόνες, ὑπερήφανοι, βλάσφημοι, γονεῦσιν ἀπειθεῖς, ἀχάριστοι, ἀνόσιοι, ἄστοργοι, ἄσπονδοι, διάβολοι, ἀκρατεῖς, ἀνήμεροι, ἀφιλάγαθοι*, etc., (iii, 1–7,) they deny the power thereof, and hence will not endure sound doctrine, (iv, 3.) They secretly endeavor to propagate their tenets, consisting in profane and vain babblings and foolish and unlearned questions, (ii, 16, 23,) by creeping into houses, insinuating themselves into the good graces of silly women laden with sins, and, by perverting the truth, leading them into still greater sins, (iii, 6–8.) Among such classes of persons their word—namely, the perversion of the truth, such as the declaration that the resurrection is past already—eats as doth a canker, (ii, 17, 18,) and thereby undermines their faith.

In the Epistle to Titus the heretics, or gainsayers, (*ἀντιλέγονται*, i, 9,) are represented as belonging mostly to the Jews, (*μάλιστα οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς*, i, 10.) While pretending to possess a special knowledge of God, they lead a godless and abominable life, (*βδελυκτοὶ ὄντες καὶ ἀπειθεῖς*, i, 16,) and thus defile their conscience and being condemned by it, (i, 15; iii, 11.) What they teach consists in Jewish fables, (*Ἰουδαϊκοῖς μύθοις*, i, 14,) genealogies, and foolish questions about the law, (*μωρὰς δὲ ζητήσεις καὶ γενεαλογίας καί ἔρεις καὶ μάχας νομικὰς*, iii, 9,) and mere com-

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mandments of men that turn the hearers from the truth, (*ἐντολαὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀποστρεφομένων τὴν ἀλήθειαν*, i, 14.) They are vain talkers, (*ματαιολόγοι*, i, 10,) teaching what is unseemly, (*διδάσκοντες ἃ μὴ δεῖ*, i, 11,) and as deceivers, (*φρεναπάται*, i, 11,) causing schisms in the Church, (*αἱρετικὸν ἄνθρωπον*, iii, 10,) and all this for filthy lucre's sake, (*αἰσχροῦ κέρδους χάριν*, i, 11.)

From the preceding delineation it is evident that the author of the Pastoral Epistles had, in the main, one and the same heresy in view. The attempt to resolve it into *four*,* or at least *three*,† distinct classes, is now regarded as a total failure, and is, therefore, to be dismissed without further consideration. Nor are we left in the dark as to the nature and tendency of this heresy. True, the views on this point vary widely, and yet it is not so difficult, as it may at first sight appear, to gather from the mass of conflicting opinions a tolerably correct idea of its character. Its predominant element is that of an ascetic Judaism. It is not, however, of the same type as the Judaism which the apostle opposes in other of his writings, the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians for instance. It was, no doubt, a kind of Essene-Judaism, ascetic in its tendency, that had "become enamored of and wedded to Oriental mysticism."‡ Ephesus, and, indeed, most provinces of Proconsular Asia, had become centers of religious and speculative thought. Would it not, therefore, be strange, if the kind of Judaism referred to had entirely escaped these influences? Indeed, there can be no question about the fact that this Oriental theosophic mysticism had a large share in producing the false doctrines (*ἑτεροδιδάσκαλιαι*, 1 Tim. i, 3; vi, 3) denounced in the Pastoral Epistles and the Epistle to the Colossians. It appears that false teachers, (*ἑτεροδιδασκαλοι*,) mostly from among the Jews, (*μάλιστα οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς*, Titus i, 10,) infected with this strange medley of Essene-Judaism and pagan notions, had succeeded in creeping into the Christian Churches at Ephesus, Colosse, and Crete, and, by boasting of a *φιλοσοφία*, which the apostle stigmatizes as a *κενὴ ἀπατη*, (Col. ii, 8,) and a *γνῶσις ψευδωνύμος*, (1 Tim. vi, 20,) in undermining the faith of some

* Credner: *Einleitung in das Neue Testament.*

† Thiersch: *Versuch zur Herstellung*, etc., pp. 236, 273.

‡ Professor Lightfoot: "St. Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon," p. 95, etc., where this subject is fully discussed.

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members in the simple truth of the Gospel, and thereby causing them concerning the faith to make shipwreck. That these false teachers were mostly Jews, is evident, first, from the expression, *μάλιστα οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς*, (Titus i, 10;) and, second, from the fact that they desired to be teachers of the law, (*θέλοντες εἶναι νομοδιδάσκαλοι*, 1 Tim. i, 7,) pretending to have derived their doctrines from Jewish *tradition*, (*παράδοσιν*, Col. ii, 8, that is, *Ἰουδαϊκοι μύθοι*, Titus i, 14,) as well as from the (recorded) *genealogies*, (*γενεαλογίαι*, 1 Tim. i, 4,) the spiritual significance or allegorical interpretation of which were spun out *endlessly*, thus making them virtually *ἀπεράντοι*,* (1 Tim. i, 4.) Is it to be wondered at that this indulging in subtle inquiries concerning the *γενεαλόγιαι* and *Ἰουδαϊκοι μύθοι* should provoke discussions that had the characteristics of *βεβήλοι κενοφωνίαι καὶ γραώδεις μῦθοι*, of which St. Paul warns Timothy? Nor should it be overlooked that these speculations—*ἐπεροδιδάσκαμαὶ*—frequently led to practical extremes: either to rigid asceticism, forbidding marriage and the use of meats which God hath created, (1 Tim. iv, 3,) or to unbridled license, putting away a good conscience, (1 Tim. i, 19,) and loving pleasure more than God. (2 Tim. iii, 3.) The predominance of one or the other of these extremes was, no doubt, owing to the predominance of

* "This is the meaning we attach to the words *γενεαλογίαι ἀπεράντοι*. Some have supposed the reference to be to the *genealogies of the eons* in the system of emanations; but this would infer a system of Gnosticism much more advanced than that here described, (if it be a system at all.) Mangold shows that the word *genealogy* has never been taken in this sense in the Gnostic systems. He quotes, after Dæhne, a passage from Philo, which justifies the interpretation we have given. Philo, in fact, after dividing the Pentateuch into two parts—the first comprising the laws and ordinances, the second the historical documents—makes under the latter head two further subdivisions, the historical, properly so called, and the *genealogical* portion: *Ἐστὶν οὖν τοῦ ἱστορικοῦ, τὸ μὲν περὶ τὴς τοῦ κοσμου γενέσεως, τὸ δὲ γενεαλογικον· τοῦ δὲ γενεαλογικοῦ, τὸ μέν περὶ κολάσεως ἀσεβῶν, τὸ δὲ αὖ περὶ τιμῆς δικαίων*—'Of the genealogies one portion refers to the punishment of the wicked, the other to the rewards of the righteous.' (*Philo, De Vita Contemplativa, a. o. θ.* § 4.) Thus, the genealogies, according to him, were to show the punishment of the wicked and the recompense of the just. It is evident that they can do this only under an allegorical system of interpretation. Now, it is known that Philo found in the genealogies a complete psychology. The names represented to him the conditions of the soul, (*τρόποι τῆς ψυχῆς.*) It is easy to imagine what important results the party of Judaizing heretics might derive from the innumerable genealogies of the Old Testament."—*Pressensé:* "The Early Years of Christianity," pp. 287, 288.)

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one or the other of the speculative elements in the hybrid union of Essene-Judaism and Oriental theosophic mysticism.

Now, if this union of Essene-Judaism and Oriental theosophic mysticism was Gnostic in its character—and we readily admit that it was—there is no evidence whatever that it points to a period posterior to that of the apostles, that is, that it is the Gnosticism of the second century. Indeed, it has been fully proved by Professor Lightfoot, in his "Dissertation on the Colossian Heresy," that Gnosticism was not necessarily an offspring of Christianity, but a direction of religious speculation which existed independently of it, and that it in its leading features had already established itself in the apostolic age, especially in those parts of Asia Minor (Ephesus and Crete) with which our epistles are concerned. If this be true, there can be no doubt that Christianity, coming into contact with it, would naturally arouse it to unwonted activity by leading men to dwell more earnestly on various philosophico-theological questions; and thus, after no long time, this Gnosticism would absorb into its system more or fewer Christian elements, or Christianity in some of its forms would receive a tinge from Gnosticism.

The conclusion to which our brief inquiry has brought us is this: The Pastoral Epistles combat a heresy composed of speculative and ethical elements both of Essene-Judaism and of Oriental theosophic mysticism, from which it received a Gnostic tinge; a heresy which existed already in the apostolic age, not, indeed, in a completely developed system, but only in its incipient stages. When, therefore, such theologians as De Wette, Neander, Rothe, Matthies, Bleek, Wiesinger, Baumgarten, Böttger, Guericke, Van Oosterzee, Conybeare and Howson, Huther, Lightfoot, Whedon, and others, have not only not been convinced of the justness of Dr. Baur's conclusion, supported as it is by the most comprehensive learning, that the Pastoral Epistles deal with the Gnosticism of the second century, but point more or less to this, that the "germ of Judaizing Gnosticism, or a Judaizing theosophic-ascetical tendency, such as shows itself in the two Epistles to Timothy, (and in that to Titus,) must *à priori* be presupposed as existing at this period, (that is, in the apostolic age) as the heresies of the second century point back to such a tendency evolving itself out

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of Judaism," (Neander)—it may well be assumed that his (Baur's) theory is no longer tenable, and that consequently the apostolic authorship of the pastoral epistles is triumphantly vindicated.

IV. We turn now to a brief consideration of the *linguistic peculiarities* of the Pastoral Epistles. An argument against their genuineness has been drawn from what is alleged to be peculiar and un-Pauline in them, especially with respect to the new words and phrases with which they abound. De Wette's criticism is particularly full on this point.* But to say that a large number of new words and phrases occur therein, is only to affirm what is true in reference to every one of St. Paul's Epistles. A brief comparison will prove this. Thus, the number of ἅπαξ λεγόμενα are: In 1 Timothy, *eighty-one*, (of which the following are examples: διώκτης, i, 13; ὑπερεπλεόναζω, i, 14; ἀποδοχή, i, 15; iv, 9; ἐναυάγέω, i, 19; ἐντεύξεις, ii, 1; iv, 5; ἥρεμος, ii, 2; ἀπόδεκτος, ii, 3; ἀντίλυτρον, ii, 6; κόσμιος, ii, 9; iii, 2; θεοσέβεια, ii, 10; τεκνογονία, ii, 15; v, 10; διλόγος, iii, 8; βαθμός, iii, 13; ὁμολογουμένως, iii, 16; ψευδολόγος, iv, 2; μετάληψις, iv, 3; ἐπιπλήσσω, v, 1; ἀμοιβή, v, 4; καταλέγω, v, 9; καταστρηνιάω, v, 11; φλύαρος, v, 13; περίεργος, v, 13; οἰκοδεσποτέω, v, 14; προκρίμα, v, 21; πρόσκλισις, v, 21; ὑπόνοια, vi, 4; ἀδηλότης, vi, 17, etc.;) in 2 Timothy, *sixty-three*, (such as: ἀναζωπυρέω, i, 6; ἀναψύχω, i, 16; δίδωμι ἔλεος, i, 16; εὑρισκω ἔλεος, i, 18; πραγματεία, ii, 4; στρατολογέω, ii, 4; ἀθλέω, ii, 5; χρήσιμος, ii, 14; ἀνεπαίσχυντος, ii, 15; ὀρθοτομέω, ii, 15; νεωτερικὰς, ii, 22; ἀνεξίκακος, ii, 24; ἀντιδιατίθεμα, ii, 25; ἀνανήφω, ii, 26; φίλουτος, iii, 2; ἀνήμερος, iii, 3; φιλήδονος, iii, 4; φιλόθεος, iii, 4; ἔκδηλος, iii, 9; ἀγωγῇ, iii, 10; γόης, iii, 13; θεόπνευστος, iii, 16; ἐπισωρεύω, iv, 3; κνήθω, iv, 3, etc.;) and in Titus, *forty-four*, (such as: ἀψευδὴς, i, 2; ὀργίλος, i, 7; ἐγκρατής, i, 8; φρεναπάτης, i, 10; βδελυκτός, i, 16; ἱεροπρεπής, ii, 3; φιλάνδρος, ii, 4; φιλοτέκνος, ii, 4; ἀκατάγνωστος, ii, 8; κοσμικὰς, ii, 12; περιούσιος, ii, 14; φιλανθρωπία, iii, 4; φροντίζω, iii, 8; αἱρετικὸς, iii, 10, etc. In the Epistle to the Galatians there are more than *fifty-seven*; in that to the Philippians, *fifty-four*; and in those to the Ephesians and Colossians, together about *one hundred and forty*. While, then, the existence of such ἅπαξ λεγό-

* See De Wette's *Lehrbuch der Historisch-Kritischen Einleitung in die Kanonischen Schriften des Neuen Testamente*, fifth edit., pp. 307–313.

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μενα in the Pastoral Epistles is fully admitted, we are by no means justified in drawing therefrom an argument of the least evidencial value against their Pauline origin; otherwise, by the same process, the genuineness of every one of St. Paul's epistles might be impugned. If, then, we find in his epistles addressed to Churches an abundant supply of new words not before used by him, how much more natural is this in the Pastoral Epistles, addressed as they are to individuals, colaborers with and under him!

May we not expect, *à priori*, that in these epistles a new class of words will appear, when we find this in every one even of the epistles that are otherwise homogeneous? Of still greater importance, however, is another circumstance to be noticed here. These epistles, as the criticism to which we are opposed is wont most to insist upon, bring before us, in detail, forms of the religious life altogether new, and errors the like of which do not occur in the other epistles. These new things, if they are to be called by their names, must, of necessity, give rise to new designations. And if now these epistles treat of the institutions of the Church, and contain directions to Titus and Timothy for the right management of the affairs of the Church, topics which we find handled in none of the other epistles, how could it be otherwise, than that new expressions should occur in connection with these subjects? Besides, if these epistles collectively belong to a later period (in St. Paul's life) than all the rest, and pretty nearly to the same period, what ground is there, *à priori*, for surprise at finding that they are closely related to each other, and differ considerably from the rest, especially as they all refer to matters which till then were unknown? There is, then, no reason for our being perplexed by the occurrence of new expressions and formulas! *

Again, the very peculiarity found in the construction of sentences and periods indicate the mind of the Apostle Paul in all its versatility and fertility of resources. While in his other epistles the sentences are often involved and obscure, the thoughts in their fullness and profundity struggling, as it were, for adequate expressions, the style of the Pastoral Epistles is mostly smooth and flowing, seldom, if ever, losing itself in long periods and participial constructions, or showing *aposiopeses* or abruptly broken-off sentences. In this respect these epistles belong to the most lucid and easily understood writings of the New Testament. They contain few such serious gram-

* Wiesinger's "Commentary to St. Paul's Epistles to the Philippians, Titus, and 1 Timothy," General Introduction, p. 329. (Edinburgh translation.)

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matical and rhetorical difficulties as are found, for example, in the Epistles to the Romans, Galatians, and Ephesians. And yet this difference is explainable by the difference of the subject-matter discussed in the two classes of epistles. For it is of the utmost importance to the form in which thoughts are clothed, whether the subject-matter under discussion relate to the councils and revelations of God, or to personal and ecclesiastical affairs. Thus, a close study of the Pastoral Epistles will reveal the fact that whenever the apostle discusses dogmatic questions, his language shows a leaning toward long and involved sentences. (Comp. 1 Tim. i, 8–11; vi, 13–16; 2 Tim. i, 8–12; Titus ii, 11–14; iii, 3–7.)

There is, therefore, no warrant whatever for the conclusion that the linguistic peculiarities of the pastoral epistles form an evidence against their Pauline origin; the less so, since a comparison with them of similar expression, taken from some of his other epistles, will show, in the main, an agreement in thought such as might be expected from a mind of such wonderful fertility and originality as that of the Apostle Paul. To illustrate this remark, let us compare the following expressions:—

1 Tim. ii, 11, 12.	1 Cor. xiv, 34.
Γυνὴ ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ μανθανέτω ἐν πάσῃ ὑποταγῇ· γυναικὶ δὲ διδάσκειν οὐκ ἐπιτρέπω, οὐδὲ αὐθεντεῖν ἀνδρός, ἀλλ' εἶναι ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ.	*Αἱ γυναῖκες ὑμῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις σιγάτωσαν· οὐ γὰρ ἐπιτρέπεται* αὐταῖς λαλεῖν, ἀλλ' ὑποτάσσεσθαι.*
1 Tim. ii, 13.	1 Cor. xi, 8, 9.
Ἀδὰμ γὰρ πρῶτος ἐπλάσθη, εἶτα Εὔα.	*Οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἀνὴρ ἐκ γυναικός, ἀλλὰ γυνὴ ἐξ ἀνδρός· καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἐκτίσθη ἀνὴρ διὰ τὴν γυναῖκα, ἀλλὰ γυνὴ διὰ τὸν ἄνδρα.*
2 Tim. i, 3, 4.	Rom. i, 8, 11.
Χάριν ἔχω τῷ θεῷ . . . ὡς ἀδιάλειπτον ἔχω τὴν περὶ σοῦ μνείαν ἐν ταῖς δεήσεσί μου νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, ἐπιποθῶν σε ἰδεῖν.	*. . . εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ μου . . . ὡς ἀδιαλείπτως μνείαν ὑμῶν ποιοῦμαι, πάντοτε ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν μου δεόμενος . . . ἐπιποθῶ γὰρ ἰδεῖν ὑμᾶς.*
2 Tim. ii, 5.	1 Cor. ix, 24.
Ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ἀθλῇ τις, οὐ στεφανοῦται, ἐὰν μὴ νομίμως ἀθλήσῃ.	*Οὐκ οἴδατε, ὅτι οἱ ἐν σταδίῳ τρέχοντες πάντες μὲν τρέχουσιν, εἷς δὲ λαμβάνει τὸ βραβεῖον.*
2 Tim. ii, 6.	1 Cor. ix, 7.
Τὸν κοπιῶντα γεωργὸν δεῖ πρῶτον τῶν καρπῶν μεταλαμβάνειν.	*Τίς φυτεύει ἀμπελῶνα καὶ τὸν καρπὸν οὐκ ἐσθίει.*

* This is the form of the word in Tischendorf's *Editio Octavo Critica Major* of the Greek New Testament, whereas in the *Textus Receptus* the word reads *ἐπιτέτραπται*.

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2 Tim. ii, 11.	Rom. vi, 8.
Εἰ γὰρ συναπεθάνομεν, καὶ συζήσομεν.	Εἰ δὲ ἀπεθάνομεν σὺν Χριστῷ πιστεύομεν, ὅτι καὶ συζήσομεν αὐτῷ.
2 Tim. ii, 20.	Rom. ix, 21.
Ἐν μεγάλῃ δὲ οἰκίᾳ . . . ἐστι σκεύη . . . ἃ μὲν εἰς τιμήν, ἃ δὲ εἰς ἀτιμίαν.	Ἢ οὐκ ἔχει ἐξουσίαν ὁ κεραμεὺς τοῦ πηλοῦ, ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ φυράματος ποιῆσαι ὃ μὲν εἰς τιμὴν σκεῦος, ὃ δὲ εἰς ἀτιμίαν.
2 Tim. iii, 2–4.	Rom. i, 29–31.
. . φίλαυτοι, φιλάργυροι, ἀλάζονες, ὑπερήφανοι, βλάσφημοι, γονεῦσιν ἀπειθεῖς, ἀστοργοι, ἀσπονδοι, διάβολοι . . . τετυφωμένοι.	. . . πεπληρωμένους πάσῃ ἀδικίᾳ, πονηρίᾳ, πλεονεξίᾳ, κακίᾳ . . . ψιθυριστάς, καταλάλους . . . ὑβριστάς, ὑπερηφάνους . . . γονεῦσιν, ἀπειθεῖς, ἀσυνέτους, ἀσυνθέτους, ἀστόργους, ἀνελεήμονας.

Compare also 1 Tim. i, 12–14 with 1 Cor. xv, 9, 10; 2 Tim. ii, 8 with Rom. i, 3; 2 Tim. iv, 6 with Phil. ii, 17; Titus i, 1–4 with Rom. i, 1–6, etc.

Now, the similarity of language and thought in the preceding quotations is certainly not the result of the plagiarism of a pseudo-Paul, but rather of the association of ideas. A pseudo-Paul, desiring to palm off his literary productions as genuine Pauline writings, would have spread his colors more glaringly. He would, no doubt, have copied the linguistic peculiarities of the other Pauline epistles, and striven to give his productions a Pauline character, thus making a sad botch of his work. But the Pastoral Epistles show no traces of plagiarism or of a patchwork. They bear the impress of Paul's mind, and the deviation of their style from that of his other epistles is explainable by the essential difference of the situations in which he wrote the two classes of epistles. Nor is it at all surprising that he should have used in them, occasionally, similar thoughts and expressions. Where is the orator or author that in a long and laborious life does not occasionally repeat himself? Hence the similarity in thought and expression in the above compared quotations, far from impugning the genuineness of the pastoral epistles, is really an evidence in favor of their Pauline origin.

Again: we meet in these epistles formations and combinations of words found in his other epistles. Thus, the combination of the preposition *ὑπερ* with verbs and other words to intensify their meaning, is of frequent occurrence in all his epistles. Take, for example, the following: *ὑπερεπλεόναζειν*, 1 Tim. i, 14; *ὑπεραυξάνειν*, 2 Thess. i, 3; *ὑπερεκπερισσοῦ*, Eph. iii, 20; *ὑπερ-*

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λίαν, 2 Cor. xi, 5; ὑπερεπερισσευσεν, Rom. v, 20. So, too, we meet with the same or similar words and phrases; as for example: εὐαγγέλιον . . . ὃ ἐπιστεύθην ἐγώ, 1 Tim. i, 11; Titus i, 3; Gal. ii, 7; 1 Thess. ii, 4: πιστόν με ἡγήσατο, 1 Tim. i, 12;=ἠλεημένος ὑπὸ κυρίου πιστὸς εἶναι, 1 Cor. vii, 25; καλὸς ὁ νόμος, 1 Tim. i, 8;=ὁ νόμος ἅγιος, Rom. vii, 12; δυνατὸς ὁ θεὸς, 2 Tim. i, 12; Rom. xi, 23; and many more.

We bring our brief investigation to a close. It is possible that a more critical scholar may consider some of the reasons adduced in favor of the genuineness of the Pastoral Epistles unable to stand his test, but it seems that every unprejudiced reader must acknowledge that the problem of their genuineness finds an easier and more natural solution in the way we have briefly indicated, than in that pursued by the negative critics. We have omitted to discuss the question concerning the *time when* and the *place where* they were written, for the reason that it belongs to their *external* history rather than to their *internal* peculiarities. The reader will find full discussions of it in Conybeare and Howson's "Life and Epistles of St. Paul," and in Wiesinger's, Huther's, Van Oosterzee's, and Whedon's Commentaries on these epistles.

In conclusion, we may be allowed to state that the *external* testimonies in favor of their genuineness possess almost a cumulative force. In this respect they belong to the most favored of St. Paul's epistles. Though they have been subjected to the severest tests and to the keenest scrutiny, they have come forth triumphantly, and "made the prejudiced confess their truth and feel their power." They "now live, and so brightly and forever shine."

Art. V.—SCHOPENHAUER AND HIS PESSIMISM.

There are three ways of looking at this lower world of ours: the optimist view, the pessimist view, and the Christian view. The first and the second contain, each, one half of the truth; the third rejects the two false halves and embraces the two true halves of the first and second, and hence contains the whole truth. The optimist view basks in the sunshine, and refuses to see the shadow. The pessimist view broods over the gloom,

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and shuts its eyes to the cheer. These two views prevail more or less wherever there is an absence of essential Christianity; but they do not always appear in pure forms. Though the utter opposites of each other, they are often strangely mingled together in the same age, in the same system, in the same heart. And even in the same heart the one often successively conquers or is conquered by the other, according as the pulse of the life beats high or low. This is true, also, of all Christians in so far as not yet totally recovered from sin: outward prosperity exalts us into optimism; adversity thrusts us down into pessimism. Optimism is akin to youth, health, spring-time, love, plenty; pessimism is related to want, envy, winter, indigestion, and unstrung nerves. Hence optimism predominates in the heroic and youthful periods of man and of nations, while as yet the tide of vigor and success runs at full channel; while pessimism comes to the surface when passion has quenched the fires of the heart, and prosperity has matured its harvest of vice and misery.

The truth of optimism lies in the fact that there actually *is* in our post-Adamic world, despite its infection with sin, a large share of sunshine, of happiness, of good. The truth of pessimism lies in the equally undeniable fact that our world, as it now is, is sadly full of blight and suffering, tears and disappointment. The sole way out of these two one-sided half-truths, is to synthetize the half-truths into the whole truth; and this truth is Christ's truth. Thus we have the equation: *Optimism—its falsity+pessimism—its falsity=Christianism.* Christianism, in fact, looks at the world in the whole of its truth, namely, as a very good world, though fearfully baddened by sin. It is the only system of philosophy that can squarely and fairly grapple with the whole problem of life. Optimism and pessimism are about equally remote from Christianism; though, for the individual soul, the pessimist state is the more hopeful of the two, inasmuch as blank despair is nearer to the kingdom of God than presumptuous hope.

As all human movements of thought and of life tend to branch off toward the opposite errors of optimism and pessimism, so has it been also with modern German speculation. The current of thought sent forth by Kant has tended largely toward optimism. Fichte, Hegel, and partly also Schelling,

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were essentially optimistic. Their systems claimed to have attained to absolute truth, and to the solution of all mysteries. They exalted man into a demi-god, and painted the future of society in the brightest of colors. They were eminently systems of hopefulness. During the first quarter of this century they filled the whole philosophic firmament with the attractive brilliance of their delusive glare. No pessimist taper stood the least chance of getting the public attention. But there were pessimist fires smoldering here and there in secret. The high-sounding "absolute truth" of Fichte and Hegel was seen by some to be resultless and unsatisfactory. None saw it more clearly, and, we may say, more impatiently and scornfully, than Arthur Schopenhauer. But Schopenhauer's scorn could not make itself heard; his dismal philosophy made no impression upon the enthusiastic throng of hopeful "absolutists." And so he was left to brood out and brood over his system for weary decades of years in almost absolute solitariness. At length, however, he did get a hearing: the fire and clamor of the absolutists died away; the new generation saw into the emptiness of the lofty pretensions; and a reaction began to set in. Discovering that man is after all not a god, they were now, many of them, ready to be convinced that he is—*nothing*. As the system of Schopenhauer finally attained to wide vogue, and as it has at the present hour large favor among certain classes in European society, it may not be unworthy of passing attention. Especially will it be instructive to observe how closely all forms of error are related to each other—how readily the transition *may* be made from the very highest results of modern secular culture to the bottomless night of Oriental paganism. But as Schopenhauer's system was intimately intertwined with the current of his life, we shall first glance briefly at his personal history.

To this end abundant materials are at hand. The best in German are by Gwinner, (*Arthur Schopenhauer*, etc., Leipzig, 1862;) by Lindner, (*Von Ihm, über Ihn*, Berlin, 1863;) by Frauenstädt, (*Memorabilien, Briefe*, etc.) French writers also have given some attention to Schopenhauer. T. Ribot's little work (*La Philosophie de Schopenhauer*, Paris, 1874,) presents as adequate a picture of the author and his system as can well be obtained apart from a study of his works

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themselves. But English writers have given him little attention. In this article we have made most use of Ribot.

Schopenhauer's life covered the years from 1788 to 1860. His father was an opulent merchant of Dantzig, and later of Hamburg; hence his early opportunities were very abundant. His mother was a gay and gifted writer of fiction. His youth was passed in an atmosphere of art. At the age of nine he was taken abroad, to Switzerland, France, and England. After a year's stay in Paris he spent six months in London. This gave him a thorough hatred of what he called English bigotry, and made him long for a descent, upon that benighted island, of a good sprinkle of apostles of "reason" and missionaries of "free thought." On his return to Hamburg he engaged in commerce, but soon turned from this in disgust, and gave himself to miscellaneous reading. At this period his father became unfortunate in business, and took refuge in suicide. His mother soon after removed to the gay literary circle of Weimar, and sent her son to the gymnasium of Gotha. Of any healthy moral influence of either her or her husband upon the son we find little trace. From the suicide of the father the son seems to have received decidedly dark views of life. Henceforth his course was that of a sardonic, skeptical inquirer after the truth. How far he fell short of finding it will appear as we examine his progress.

After studying Kant and Plato at Göttingen, he came to Berlin, in 1811, to hear Fichte. "But his *à priori* admiration for Fichte soon gave place to contempt and raillery." Two years later he prepared a thesis on the nature of the sufficient reason,* received his doctorate, and, coming to Weimar, became interested in Göthe. Here, also, he fell in with a learned orientalist, F. Majer, and thereby attained an insight into the pantheistic lore of the Indians—a turning-point in his life. From 1814 to 1818 he lived at Dresden, studying art, frequenting society of no too moral sort, and developing his strange system of philosophy. The result was the masterpiece of his life: "The World as Will and Representation," (*Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, Leipzig, 1819.) This work contains the entire system of the author, his later writings contributing simply further developments of special points. The work, as far as the public was concerned, seemed to be an utter failure.

* Vom Zureichenden Grunde, 1813.

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For twenty years it failed to awaken the least ripple of interest, or even of contempt.

After making a brief sojourn in Italy, enjoying art and indulging in the pleasures which his theory of life so thoroughly condemned, he returned to Berlin, and lectured one *semester* in the university as *privat-docent.* But the popularity of Hegel and Schleiermacher eclipsed and offended him. From this point dates his hatred of university teaching and of "official professors of philosophy." After another stay in Italy, and then another attempt at teaching, he came to Frankfurt in 1831, where he spent in solitude and study the last twenty-nine years of his life.

As yet he was utterly unknown to the general public. His solitude now only served to render his spleen against the "philosophic charlatans and Calibans," to whom he attributed his failure of success, all the more acrid and spiteful. In 1836 he published a small work "On Will in Nature," (*Ueber den Willen in der Natur*, Frankfurt.) In this essay, which also fell still-born from the press, he passed in review all the physical sciences, endeavoring to show the *rôle* which (that which he called) "will" plays in the phenomena of nature. Toward its close he waxes indignant against the philosophy of the universities, and styles it "that bastard imitation of scholasticism which regards the catechism of the priests as the highest criterion of truth."

It was only in 1839 that a little accident thrust him on the public attention. A society of Norway having offered a prize for an essay on "Liberty," Schopenhauer wrote one, gained the prize, and was elected to membership in the society. The following year he wrote, for a prize offered by a Danish society, on the "Basis of Morality," but was unsuccessful. These two essays he afterward published, entitling them "The Two Ground-problems of Ethics," (*Die Beiden Grundprobleme der Ethik.*)

The first essay was surely but a small success, and yet from it dates the incipiency of his fame. He was now read, praised, assailed. His chief work was re-edited and re-issued. He now counted a few devoted disciples. The system of Hegel was waning, from day to day. Its "left" wing came to contempt in the platitudes of Feuerbach and Max Stirner, and in

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the demagogy of 1848. Schopenhauer profited by this, applauding the political reaction, and managing to thrust his philosophy into the vacuum left by the school which had collapsed. The political convulsion of 1848–49 having passed, he published his last work, two volumes of miscellanies, under the title of *Parerga und Paralipomena*, Berlin, 1851. He now rose rapidly to fame. The "Westminster Review," of April, 1853, introduced him to the English public. His disciple, Frauenstädt, published a complete exposition of his doctrines. Finally, the University of Leipzig offered a prize for an elaborate criticism of his philosophy. Thus he at last obtained a good measure of that fame for which he had so long and so impatiently waited. But he did not long enjoy his laurels. His careful temperateness, which he thought would carry him to a hundred years, disappointed him; he was stricken down by a pulmonary apoplexy at the age of seventy-two.

His brain is said to have been one of the largest known—considerably larger than that of Kant, Talleyrand, or Napoleon. Whether such an extraordinary brain was needed to construct such a system as his, is a point on which friends and foes may differ. But what is this system? Schopenhauer assumed to take up philosophy where Kant left it—not Kant in his second and third editions, but Kant in his first and pure edition of 1781, "before he had made concessions to the dogmatism of theology." Thus he takes the negative results of the *Critique* without allowing them to be complemented by Kant's positive position in the "Practical Reason." "My philosophy," says he, "asks not *whence* came the world nor *whither* it tends, nor *why* it is, but simply *what* it is." He pretends to a great horror of vague high-sounding terms, such as "the absolute," "the infinite," "the suprasensible," affirming with Julian the Apostate that they are mere negations. His great discovery, "his hundred-gated Thebes," is, to have reduced every thing to "will." But after reducing the world and every thing to will, he hastens to add, that as to what "will" is *per se* he knows positively nothing, declaring that philosophy has no means of searching for either the efficient cause or the final purpose of the world."

Schopenhauer's system stands therefore intermediate between Kant and Kant's enemies, Hegel and Schelling. Kant says,

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"I know *nothing;*" Hegel and Schelling, "I know *every thing;*" while Schopenhauer says, "I know *something.*" But what? All that is contained in experience. "The subject-matter of all philosophy," says he, "must be simply our empirical consciousness in its twofold form of consciousness of self and consciousness of other things." The totality of data furnished in this twofold experience is, as it were, a hieroglyphic, and the duty of philosophy is to decipher it. When all the features of a hieroglyphic are so interpreted as to give a good rounded sense, we say the translation is correct. So with the enigma of the world: philosophy must shed an equal light over all phenomena; the heterogeneous must be reduced to harmony; and opposites must be reconciled: that is all. But if philosophy has only to do with the concrete data of external and internal experience, how then does it differ from physics? Only in this: physics remains entirely within the phenomenal world, dealing with facts as ultimate realities in their distinctive isolation; while philosophy asks after that which lies under and back of these facts—without, however, considering it apart from the facts, and without our attempting to comprehend what this invisible something is *per se.*

Schopenhauer utterly rejects the common distinction between spirit and matter. The world, strictly speaking, is not divisible into thought and extension, as Descartes held, but rather into world real and world *ideal.* The real world is the *ding an sich,* [thing in itself,] the "absolute being," of Kant, which eludes our knowledge. The ideal world is the illusory phenomenal world of sensation and thought. This real world, as we soon shall see, is "will;" while the ideal world is representation or knowledge, in a word, the concrete world of actuality —as generally understood.

After these generalities, we desire now to look at Schopenhauer's views in more detail—as presented in his chief work, *Die Welt,* etc. This work consists of four parts: a criticism of the mind's powers, a theory of nature, a theory of art, a theory of morals. In examining the intelligence Schopenhauer discourses thus:—

The world is my representation, (or objectified thought.) This truth is valid for all sentient beings, though man alone has full consciousness of it. So soon as he begins to think he per-

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ceives that he knows neither the sun nor the earth, but that he merely has an eye that *sees* the sun and a hand that *touches* the earth; in a word, that the world about him exists only as a representation, and only in relation to something else, to wit, the perceiving subject. No truth is less in need of proof than this: every object of knowledge, the entire world, is an object only in relation to a subject. The world is my representation! This surely is no very new thought. The *cogito, ergo sum* of Descartes lies in the same direction. It places the starting-point of philosophy in the subjective, in consciousness; for this alone is immediate; every thing else is mediate. Berkeley advanced farther upon the same route—to idealism proper—recognizing that the world of matter about us has no existence independently of the perceiving subject. And, long before Berkeley or Descartes, the philosophy of Vyasa, in India, taught the same truth, namely: that to exist and to be perceived are simply convertible terms.

The dependence of the object upon the perceiving subject constitutes the identity of the world *as representation.* My body itself, in so far as perceived to be extended or active, is but a cerebral phenomenon, and exists only as an intuition of the brain. And yet Schopenhauer pretends not to deny the reality of the world in the vulgar sense of the word:—

True idealism is not empirical but transcendental. It leaves intact the empirical reality of the world; but it claims that every object is conditioned by the subject in two respects: 1, materially, or as object in general; since an objective thing is thinkable only as in contrast to some subject of which it is the representation; 2, formally; since the mode of the object's existence, that is, the mode of its representation, (under the categories of time, space, and causality,) comes from the subject.

Schopenhauer has tested his literary talent in illustrating the ideality of the world in many fanciful ways. A single example, as cited by Frauenstädt:—

Two objects stood before me, two objects regular in form and beautiful to be seen: the one a jasper vase ornamented with gold, the other an organized body, a man. After admiring their exterior for a while I begged my attendant fairy to let me look inside of them. She permitted me to do so. In the vase I found only a little of weight, and a certain obscure mutual tendency among its atoms which I have heard called cohesion and affinity. But when I entered the other object, how was I surprised, and how shall I describe what I saw? It was wonderful beyond the highest stretch of fable or fairy tale. In the bosom of this object, or, rather, in its upper part, known as the head, and which when seen

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from without looks like almost any other material object, (having form, weight, etc.,) I found—what? The world itself, together with the immensity of space in which the *All* is contained, and the immensity of time in which the *All* acts, and with all the wonderful variety of objects which fill space and time, and (what is almost absurd to say) I discovered there also myself, coming and going, and making this examination. For I discovered all this in that round object hardly larger than a large fruit, and which the naughty executioner can make fall off at a single stroke—at the same stroke plunging also into night the marvelous world which it contains. And this world would in fact exist no longer were it not that this sort of objects do incessantly spring up like mushrooms to receive the world and to keep it from falling back to night, and to sustain among themselves, like a balloon, this grand mirage, which is identical in all brains, and is designated by all under the general name of *object*.

The conclusion to which Schopenhauer's idealism leads him is this: "Matter is, so to speak, a true falsehood." It is an object not of intuition but of thought; it is consequently a pure abstraction. Plotinus and Bruno were right, therefore, in the paradoxical notion that matter is incorporeal. Our astonishment at the varied spectacle of nature is comparable to that of the savage who, on first looking into a mirror, failed to recognize himself. Thus do also we whenever we regard the world as external to ourselves. The fact is, external nature has its source in the intelligence—is born with it, endures with it, dies with it. "The great error of philosophers has been their failure to see that matter and intelligence are correlatives, that is, that the one exists but for the other, that they both rise and fall at the same time, that the one simply reflects the other, that in fact they are but one and the same thing viewed from different phases." And this *thing*, as we shall soon see, is the mysterious something which Schopenhauer calls "*will*."

To the objector Schopenhauer asks: "Does not sleep, dreamless sleep, clearly prove that the world exists only for wakeful heads?" But it is answered: May not the world exist in time and space even if there were no head in the universe to think it? The image in a mirror would, of course, not exist if there were no mirror; but does it therefore follow that if all mirrors were broken, then all objects that are now reflected by them would also disappear? Schopenhauer insists that the ideality of time and space solves this difficulty. Here he follows Kant,

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but with a difference. Kant admits two subjective forms of the sensibility—time and space; also twelve regulative concepts of the understanding. Schopenhauer reduces these twelve to the single one of causality, thus admitting but three fundamental forms of knowledge: time, space, and causality. Time and space, now, being the receptacle within which, and the stage upon which, all causality unfolds itself, hence if time and space (the platform) are merely ideal, then the world of causation is so likewise. To prove the ideality of time and space, that is, that they are not objective entities, was no very difficult task; he had only to restate the arguments of Kant. But to infer therefrom that therefore all that takes place *in* time and space, namely: all events, all the workings of causality, in a word, all the phenomena of the universe—is also destitute of objective reality, is simply a very plausible *non sequitur*. The consecutiveness of a man's growth in character, for example, is not, therefore, devoid of objective reality, because the standard which enables us to measure it and compare it with other consecutive realities is only ideal.

But what is the nature of this causality, this something which evolves and spreads out, upon the void framework of time and space, the grand panorama of the phenomenal universe? Schopenhauer's system regards causality, matter, action, as synonymous terms: "Matter is from beginning to end simply causality. Its essence is to act; no other function is conceivable. It is as acting that matter fills time and space." Time and space are *per se* mutually exclusive; but causality conciliates them. It harmonizes the unstable flux of time with the immutable persistence of space: "The subjective correlative of matter or causality is the understanding, the sole function of which is to investigate causality. And, conversely, all causality, all matter, all phenomena, are but *for* the understanding, *by* the understanding, *in* the understanding."

Such is Schopenhauer's notion of the understanding and its objects. To reason he gives very little prominence: it is simply the faculty of generalization. It has nothing of the mystical about it; it has no moral intuitions—no deep eye looking off toward an imaginary infinite.

We are now ready to pass from Schopenhauer's first to his second part, from intelligence to "will"—in a word, from phe-

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nomena to the *ding an sich*, the mysterious reality that underlies them. But how to make the transition? To dissert upon method would here be idle, unless we should apply it at the same time. "It would be like first playing a waltz in order to dance it afterward." The true method and the object of its search are but one and the same thing. We shall find it, therefore, not through means, but directly, immediately. Nor shall we find it by examining things from without; this would give us only images, shadows, not substance. The true method is, therefore, an interior one. The searcher must enter within himself. Doing this, the first object he meets is his body. This body he finds actively concerned in all his experiences. How to explain this intimate connection? One sole idea, one sole conception, will account for it all: that conception is *will*:—

> This word alone gives him the key to himself as object, as phenomenon; it alone reveals to him the inner spring of his being, his acts, his movements. To the thinking subject his body is *given* to him in two different ways: first, as a representation, an object among other objects; second, in an *immediate* manner. In this latter case we come to the will. Every act of will is also an action of the body. The effect of real volition is actual movement of the body. The act of the will and the action of the body are not two states objectively different, and united by the bond of causality; they are not related as cause and effect; they are simply one and the same thing, but given in totally different modes—immediately, and through intellectual intuition. The action of the body is simply the will's act objectified. . . . In conclusion, the essence of our being is *will*; its immediate manifestation is the *body*.

Thus, according to Schopenhauer, the sole, direct, immediate knowledge that we have, is the knowledge of "will." This is the *datum* that is to serve as key to all the rest—the sole narrow gate to the temple of truth. "Hence, we ought to interpret nature by ourselves, and not ourselves by nature." This will is not multiple, but single; it is identical in all beings and being. It is the *ding an sich*, the substance of all things. It is independent; for the world depends on my representation, which depends on my body; and my body depends on "will," which itself depends on nothing.

Here we hardly need to observe that Schopenhauer takes *will* in a very different from its ordinary sense. To him *will*

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is self-conscious, not essentially, but only incidentally—in its higher (human) form. It includes the totality of power exerted or at play in the entire universe, such as chemical affinities, vegetative life, animal instinct, volition in man. It is, therefore, nearly equivalent to *force*. But why does he not, then, use this latter word? Because, says he, all causality or force is at bottom the same; but as we know will-force directly, and all other force only indirectly, hence it is more appropriate to designate the species by the highest variety, (especially when that is known immediately,) than by a lower variety, (which is known only mediately.)

The will being, according to Schopenhauer, the very heart of our being, it must be esteemed highest among the elements of our nature. The intelligence, though usually placed first, is really only third in order. Thus, the first place belongs to the will; the second, to the organism, the objectification of the will; the third, to intelligence, which is a function of the organism. "The will is metaphysical; the intelligence, physical; the intelligence is the phenomena, the will is the thing *per se;* more metaphorically, the will is the substance of man, the intelligence is an accident; the will is the matter, the intelligence is the form." This will become evident by the following considerations: By introspection we see that the most fundamental fact in us is the will and its affections: to strive, to desire, to fear, to hope. Also among animals we observe the same thing; the essence of their nature is *desire*. This fact lies at the basis of animal self-preservation and procreation. And as we descend the scale of animal life we observe that intelligence decreases much more rapidly than will. The feeblest and dullest insect wills what it wills as thoroughly as man does. The intelligence grows weary, the will does not. The intelligence is intermittent: in sleep all knowledge ceases; but our inner, metaphysical principle ceases not. In a word, the brain rests, but the organic functions go on forever. This sharp contrasting of will and intelligence is held by Bichat in about the same way as by Schopenhauer, save that Bichat designates as organic life that which Schopenhauer styles as will.

After claiming for will the chief place in man's nature, Schopenhauer now examines its three characteristics: identity,

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indestructibility, liberty. *Will*, let us remember, is, according to Schopenhauer, the inner essence or substance of all existence. It prevails in the inorganic and the vegetable kingdoms no less really than in animal life. In these fields it exists in the three stages of causality—cause proper, excitation, motive. In the mechanical world it follows the law of Newton: the action and reaction are equal. In the vegetable world, the action and the reaction are not equal. In animal life proper, that is, in man, the cause need not be equal to the effect, and need not, as in vegetable life, be in contact with the subject. But how do these three things, affinity in matter, life in vegetation, and volition in man, appear to be but three forms of the same underlying *ding an sich*, or will? The answer is that they have the same general traits. When we see the *tendency* of water downward, the *perseverance* of the magnet toward the north, the *effort* of the two electric poles toward each other, the *choice* of elements in forming compounds, it needs no great effort of the imagination to discover that, back of these facts, lurks the same thing which, at higher stages, constitutes vitality in plants and volition in man. The difference lies in the "degree of objectification of the will." In mere matter this degree is at the lowest. In plants it is higher. The plant *prefers* one condition to another: one *tends* to the light, another to the water. In animal life the objectification is at its highest. At this complicated stage of development we come to the realm of motive. Here intelligence becomes a necessity. Here will produces an organ of intelligence, (a ganglion or a brain.) "But with this organism springs up at once *the world as representation* with all its forms, subject and object, time, space, causation, plurality. The world has now two faces; thus far it was mere volition; now it is also representation, or object of the thinking subject. Will has passed from darkness to light." Thus Schopenhauer finds in an assumed identity of volition (force) in all the realms of nature, the unity after which all philosophic thought inevitably strives.

The second trait he attributes to will is indestructibility. As thing *per se*, will is superior to time, and hence to change and to destruction. It exists as an ever-present, somewhat under the form of eternity—"a concept which, having no intuition as its basis, is of purely negative value." All death is

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mere appearance, delusion. "Death is really the inspiring muse of philosophy; but for death, people would never have philosophized." The animal is afraid of death, though it has no distinct consciousness of it—each individual enjoying in itself the perennity of the species—existing as if it had no end. With man it is otherwise; hence all philosophies, all religions, have tried to refute or rock to sleep his fears of death. The consolations have vibrated between these two extremes—to consider death as an absolute annihilation, or to admit an immortality of some crude flesh-and-bones sort. Both positions are equally false.

The fact is, the fear of death is independent of conscious knowledge. Every animate being is born with it. The source of this fear is in the "will" which *tends to live.* We are influenced, our whole lives, by two illusions: the love of pleasure, and the fear of death. This is the work of blind "will," using these illusions to reach its end. If man were pure intelligence, death would be indifferent, or even desired. But individual existence is based on will, the tendency of which toward existence and manifestation constitutes the world. And this blind tendency toward life is as inseparable from will as shadow from body. If our fear of death were rational and not simply instinctive, we should naturally be as much disturbed at the infinite non-existence which preceded us as at that which threatens to follow us. But this is not so: we tremble at an infinity *a parte post* without our existence, but not at one *a parte ante.*

But we may learn also from simple observation that nothing perishes. When the swinging pendulum ceases to oscillate, has its weight therefore ceased? Gravitation, electricity, all the forces of nature, assume different forms, but they do not perish. And if the lower forms of nature perish not, how can we suppose that the higher do? True, the phenomena cease. Every thing seems to pass away, but that is mere illusion—an illusion of the intelligence which springs up with the world of phenomena and sinks also away with it. The reality in man is not the individual, but the race. The individual is but the race under the phenomenal forms of time, space, and causality; hence as phenomenon he passes away. "To the race death is simply that which sleep is to the individual." "When we

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glance at the future, and think of the millions of generations to come, we are tempted to wonder whence those generations will come, where they are now, out of what womb of naught they can spring up? But where, indeed, *can* they be, if not there where all reality now is, ever has been, and ever shall be? And then, foolish questioner, thou art like the silly little leaf which weeps at the thought of fading in the autumn, and will not be consoled with the prospect of the fresh new leaves that are sure to clothe the tree in the spring. Foolish leaf! recognize, then, thy true being in the inner but ever-active *force* of the tree which, passing from season to season, from tree to tree, remains ever the same, without birth and without death. And man, is he not simply as that leaf?" And here Schopenhauer urges, as confirmation, the celebrated line of Homer: "As the generations of leaves, so are the generations of man." "Look only at your favorite dog, as he lies calmly stretched out before you. Millions of dogs had to die before this one could be born. But the death of these millions has not affected the race. That is why this dog looks so active, so lively. He is as vital as if he had lived forever and were to remain forever. That which died was not the dog, but only his shadow, his image as conceived by us under the forms of time and space." As with this dog, so also with man. "My phenomenal personality is but as trifling a part of my *me*, as my *me* is a trifling part of the universe. . . . Why be concerned at the loss of this individuality, when my inner being has within itself the possibility of individuals without number? . . . A finite individuality, condemned to live without end, would have such a monotonous life that non-existence would be preferable by far. To desire personal immortality would be simply to desire an illusion perpetuated to eternity!" The sole thing indestructible in us, as in any thing else, is really our inner essence, the *ding an sich*—force—"will."

The third trait of "will," according to Schopenhauer, is liberty. But it is a strange kind of liberty. The will is at once both free and necessitated—absolutely free as thing in itself, absolutely necessitated as personal phenomenon. Hence we have the parallel threefold antithesis: in the inner world of being—identity, indestructibility, liberty: in the world of phenomenon—endless variety, birth and death, fate and deter-

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minism. The full drift of this practical fatalism we shall consider under the head of morality.

The will, as we have seen, is, with Schopenhauer, the ultimate fact of the world, the underlying essence of all being. What does he mean by will?

> If I am asked this last question: What is this will which manifests itself in the world and through the world—what is it absolutely and in itself? I reply: No answer to this question is possible; seeing that to be known and to be *per se* are contradictory, since whatever is known is, by that very fact, merely phenomenal. . . . In fine, the universal and fundamental essence of all phenomena we have designated as *will*, for the reason that will is its highest manifestation; but by this word we mean nothing other than simply an unknown x; and yet we regard this x as being, at least in one respect, infinitely more known and more sure than any thing else.

After discussing the intelligence and the will, Schopenhauer comes to the third division of his great work—art. This is the most valuable part of the whole. And the many fine observations here made, together with the beauty of the style, have contributed largely to disseminate the author's speculative views among classes who otherwise would have had little interest in them. But on this subject we shall bestow but little attention, as it is not very essentially involved in the author's general system. Its chief speculative significance lies in the fact that in art, according to the author, the artist may partially withdraw from the outer world of mere appearance, and, contemplating the world of ideals, forget a part of the misery that universally clings to this our entire phenomenal existence.

In the last part of his system Schopenhauer treats of ethics. This is the most eccentric and astonishing feature of the system. Here we behold a highly cultured man of this Christian nineteenth century turning away from the light that blazes in upon all, and going for instruction to the dismal mazes of Buddhistic pantheism. And all this under pretext of consequential philosophizing! But how does he make the transition to this result. In the first place he rejects the notion that ethics, as a discipline, is to have any practical effect on one's life.

> Virtue can no more be taught or learned than genius. . . . Here as elsewhere, the philosopher has only one thing to do—to take concrete facts as he finds them, and then interpret and explain

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them. . . . Hence, it will not be expected that this work will contain either precepts, or a general theory of duties, or even any general moral principle from which all the virtues spring. We shall speak neither of unconditional duty nor of a law of liberty, for both of them involve contradictions. We shall not speak of duty at all: such things are well enough for children, and for nations in their infancy, but not for those who possess the culture appropriate for those of mature age.

How, now, is such a position theoretically justified?

Will, or vital force, which is *per se* only a blind and unconscious desire to live, after manifesting itself in the inorganic, the vegetable, and the animal kingdoms, attains, in the human brain, to clear self-consciousness. Here, then, occurs a miracle. Man perceives that the world of reality is a delusion, and life a burden; and that the best thing the will can do is to deny itself; for thus would fall at a single blow both all effort and the suffering that is inseparable from it. From one of two courses there is absolutely no escape; *either* the will, taking as a solid reality the delusory world about it, must now desire with full consciousness that which it hitherto desired with blind instinct, and thus cling to life with new energy, (which is to affirm and approve the desire to live;) *or*, the will, after being disenchanted by a knowledge of the vanity of the world, must cease to volitionate, and find, in all the phenomena which tempt it to act, only and simply reasons for non-acting, so as thus to arrive at perfect liberty through perfect repose, (which would be the negation of the desire to live.)

Thus Schopenhauer takes us at a single leap from the cold metaphysics of Kant to the mystic dreamings of the Orient. His ethics is but a repetition of the pantheistic spirit of the sages of India. The following quotation contains its substance almost entire:—

It is simply by the effect of the deceptive forms of *maya* (delusion) that the intelligent principle appears clothed in such varied forms; but contemplation is the sword by which wise men strike asunder the bond of action which enthralls the consciousness.

This antithesis between the affirmation and the negation of the desire to live, is the central spring of Schopenhauer's ethics. It is by it that he judges and classifies all human action. At the bottom of the scale is the egoistic, ardent affirmation of the desire to live. This is the source of all wickedness, hatred, vice. Here the individual is both dupe and duped. Taking the world for a solid reality and himself for a durable entity, the egoist sacrifices every thing to his self. This is the ideal

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contrary of all morality. In order to fall into the realm of morality we must recognize that our *me* is nothing, that individuality is but illusion, that all multiplicity of reality is but the varying manifestation of the one thing in itself—will.

He who has come to a recognition of the fact of the identity of all existences, makes no longer any distinction between himself and others; he enjoys their joys as his own, he suffers their sufferings as his own. The basis of all morality is therefore sympathy or pity. Pity is that mysterious and strange fact by virtue of which the line that, in the eyes of sense, separates entirely one being from another, fades away, so that the non-me becomes in fact the me. Hence there is no basis for a sentiment of so-called duty toward others.

But pity is not the highest form of virtue. The acme is reached only by the complete negation of the desire to live, that is, by asceticism, as practiced by the saints, the anchorets, the penitents of the religions of India and, in part, of Christianity; and the acme of asceticism is voluntary, absolute chastity.

This strange system of ethics evidently supposes liberty of some sort; for if the will were not free, how could it deny the desire to live? But of what sort? This we shall not attempt to make clear. The only kind of liberty Schopenhauer concedes is transcendental, not practical. It is the liberty of the thing in itself, not the liberty of phenomenal action in this world. "Just as every thing in nature has its properties and qualities which, under a specific action, gives a specific reaction, and manifests its character, so man has his *character*, whereof the acts are provoked by motives with absolute necessity." As having his being in the substratum of all phenomena, man is free; as an active phenomenon, he is, like all phenomena, under the law of necessity.

Moral liberty is not to be sought in the world, but beyond it. It is of metaphysical character, and impossible in this natural world. Consequently, our acts are not free; and yet the character of each one is to be regarded as his free act. He is what he is, because, once for all, he has willed and wills to be such. For the will, in itself, and in so far as manifesting itself in an individual, and as constituting his primitive fundamental volition, is independent of all knowledge, because anterior to it.

But how could the one immutable "thing in itself" will individually before the individual existed? How could the

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individual before its individuation have constituted itself such as it is, by its own act? This mystery Schopenhauer leaves unsolved. Practically, however, he holds that man, once existing, is ruled by absolute necessity.

Though both man and animals are determined by motives with equal necessity, yet man has the advantage of being able to deliberate, (a fact which has often been mistaken for discretionary choice,) although it is in reality only a conflict between several motives, the strongest of which uniformly causes a necessary determination.

And yet Schopenhauer does, inconsistently enough, bring liberty into the workings of this phenomenal world. Liberty, he writes, is not a dream; for, says he, "the saints in all ages have practically liberated themselves from sin and suffering." And all his prescriptions as to how this blessed life of absolute inactivity is to be attained to, presupposes that the individual has volitional ability to carry them out. This inconsistency does not escape Schopenhauer himself. He admits that practical liberty is a mystery beyond comprehension. He both admits it and denies it.

We have seen that Schopenhauer makes pity the acme of virtue, but holds that to entirely cease to live is a still higher state of the will. Upon what ground do such inferences rest? Upon the ground that all objective reality is illusion, and that the ground of this illusion is *will*.

That effort which is the very essence of all things, is, as we have seen, identical with that which in us appears as self-conscious will. Whatever hinders it, we call suffering; whatever helps it to reach its end, we call satisfaction, comfort, pleasure. These phenomena of pleasure and of pain being dependent on the will are more complicated and intense in proportion as the will is of higher character. Now, as all effort springs of a want, there results pain so long as it is not satisfied. And when it once is satisfied, this satisfied state, not being able to last, there only results a new want and a new pain. To will is, therefore, essentially to suffer; and since to live is to will, hence "all life is essentially suffering."

The higher the being, the more it suffers. The plant has no sensibility, and hence no pain. The lowest *infusoria* suffer somewhat; insects more still. As the nervous system rises in development, intelligence increases, and the animal is more sensitive to suffering. Finally, in man the acme is reached.

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And as the man of genius lives more than others, so also he suffers most of all.

> The desire and effort, which are the total essence of man, are like an unquenchable thirst. The very basis of his being is lack, want, pain. Being the most complete objectification of "will," he is, from that very fact, the most needy of all creatures. His very being is a concrete effort and want, an aggregate of a thousand needs. His life is but a struggle for existence, with the constant certainty of being conquered in the end.

Life is effort, and all effort is pain; sorrow or pain is positive; all pleasure is merely negative—a mere lull in the midst of pain. Such is the end which Schopenhauer reaches by speculation; and this end, he claims, is more than abundantly confirmed by experience and observation. Look at poetry, that mirror of the world and of life. The drama and the epic speak universally of anguish, and of defeated efforts after happiness. They never depict durable and unalloyed happiness. And they do not depict it for the sad reason that it does not exist. The idyl proposes, indeed, to paint happiness; but in order to do so it has to be so untrue to real life that the word idyl has come to be equivalent to a dream of youthful inexperience. Facts, as well as philosophy, compel us, therefore, to admit that Göthe was right in seconding the words of Voltaire:—

> Happiness is but a dream; misery alone is real. Such is my conclusion after eighty years of experience. I know of no other course than to submit to fate, and to conclude that even as flies are born to be caught by spiders, so men are born to be devoured by chagrin.

Schopenhauer concludes, therefore, that the world as a whole is thoroughly bad—as bad as it possibly could be—and that optimism is the shallowest sophistry with which miserable men ever attempted to blind their eyes to their own miserableness. Such, contends he, is the voice of all history and of all experience. Go to our hospitals, pest-houses, surgical rooms; go to our prisons and battle-fields; go to the infinite wretchedness of all forms of factory-life. And the millions that escape these outer forms of suffering are a prey to other forms which are none the less terrible from being invisible. Where, in fact, did Dante find the materials for depicting his "Inferno?" In

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the warp and woof of our daily life. But when he undertook to describe Paradise, he found his powers of invention taxed to their utmost. Here he had to resort to vague dreams and to second-hand reports through his "Beatrice" and the saints. The sum of the matter, therefore, is, that—

> Life is an incessant chase, in which men, chasing sometimes and sometimes chased, scramble after the tatters of a worthless game —a war of each against all and of all against each—a sort of natural history of misery, the substance of which is this: to desire without purpose, to suffer and struggle without end, and finally to die; and thus, on and on from age to age, until at last the poor crust of our earth shall have frittered itself away into dust and ashes.

Our world being as bad as possible, optimism is but a crying absurdity invented by "salaried philosophers," in order to put themselves into harmony with the "shallow mythology of degenerated Jews and Christians."

The final conclusion of Schopenhauer, therefore, is, that "not to be," is infinitely better "than to be." But what means does he suggest for arriving at the desired goal of non-existence? Suicide? No! for this act is not negative, but positive. The true negation of the desire to live disavows *both* the pleasures and the pains of life; but the suicide disavows only the pains; his very act indirectly betrays in the highest degree a desire of life. His act springs from egoism, which is the very opposite of the required giving up of personality. This position, Schopenhauer justifies also by another argument. His general system teaches that man at birth is "not a moral zero," and that all his good or bad qualities are innate. This presupposes that this life is in some sort the continuation of an anterior life. This is the author's doctrine of metempsychosis or palingenesis. His view seems to be that at death the will and the intelligence fall apart, and that the will, then, finding, or generating, a new body, manifests itself in a new life, without, of course, any recollection of its previous life. Thus life would consist of an eternal circle of births and re-births from death, unless the will should find some means of suppressing its individuality. This means is *knowledge*. But how used? The will, having come to true self-consciousness in the brain of man, sees before it this alternative: either to affirm life and thus perpetuate pain, or to deny life and

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come to rest. The decision, if made right, is made by virtue of a superior, transcendent intuitive act of volition, and not by any pretended freedom of choice under the direction of practical precepts. Should this higher volition take place, then man enters "into the kingdom of grace," (as the mystics call it,) "into the truly moral sphere, where virtue commences in pity and compassion, continues in asceticism, and ends in perfect liberation—in *nirvana*." Should this volition take place in all men, then all desire to live will cease; then chastity will become universal; then the race will deny itself as a whole; then its wretchedness and its phenomenal existence in time and space will go down together.

This is the goal which the Hindus expressed by the inadequate words, reabsorption into Brahm, nirvana, etc. We cheerfully admit, says Schopenhauer, "that for those who are filled with ardent desires for life, all that remains after the complete suppression of volition is absolutely nothing. But, on the other hand, what is this outer world of ours, this visible universe, with its systems of suns and its milky way—what is all this, to those who have suppressed all desire? *Nothing!*"

It is not a little curious to see Schopenhauer, after landing in this conclusion, to lay aside his asperities against almost all men and all religions, and to find in the ranks of the mystics and quietists of all ages and nations his own congenial brethren. But the purest form of true mysticism is that of Buddhism. It says:—

Our desires are but as drops of dew, remaining but for a moment. Like the hollow in the hand of a child, they are without substance; like vessels of clay, they crumble in our hands; like the snows of autumn, they vanish as soon as they fall.

Hellenism and Islamism are the only exceptions to the general choir of pessimist voices. Pure Judaism, with its notion of a fall, is thoroughly pessimistic. Pure Christianity is more so still. Adam is the incarnation of the desire to live; Jesus is the incarnation of the opposite—of self-denial. Adam is man as animal and egoistic; Jesus is man as liberated and eternal. Every individual has within himself the possibility of Adam and also of Jesus. Roman Christianity is purer than Protestant; it honors chastity and the ascetic life. Protestantism, in discarding these virtues, has quenched the very heart of Christianity, and "become a bald rationalism"—the

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handicraft of indolent pastors. But greater still is the brotherhood of sentiment which Schopenhauer finds in individual mystics. Erigena, Master Eckhart, Tauler, Böhme, Angelus Silesius, Molinas, Madame Guyon, and other more modern writers on the "higher life," have taught for the practical life precisely what he has developed as speculative philosophy. What they instinctively felt and craved after, he has explained and justified before the bar of reason.

Such is a general outline of the philosophy of Arthur Schopenhauer. How is it to be refuted? Or does it need any refutation? Is not its sufficient refutation a bare, fair restatement of it in its basal principles and consequences? What other course, in fact, is here practicable? How can there be methodical debate between parties who admit no common ground as a starting-point? If the whole visible world, including our own intellects, is a mere empty delusion, how can the best arguments of either party be less than delusive delusion? If the most certain thing in the universe is a supposed x, of which we know and can know absolutely nothing, where is the wisdom of trying to convince ourselves or any body else of any thing about any thing? We shall, therefore, not undertake any refutation of the system before us. We shall simply summarize a few of, what seems to us, its sins against sound reason.

Thus: It holds that we cannot judge (even partially) of the inner nature of objects from the phenomena and effects which they produce. It affirms that because time and space are not *things*, therefore the world and man, which occupy time and space, are also not things. It identifies will in man with instinct in brutes, life in plants, and chemical affinity in the inorganic world. It annihilates moral freedom, giving to motives the force of physical causation. It affords no intelligible distinction between virtue and vice, right and wrong. It cannot comprehend the conscience. It ignores the law of logic that an effect cannot be superior to its cause, deriving man from an unconscious x, intelligent thought from blind "will." It denies the existence of God, and yet attributes to an unknown impersonal x all the causation which theists predicate of God. Other sins might be mentioned, but these are enough.

In conclusion, it might be asked how such a system came to

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be constructed? Why did Schopenhauer become a cynic pessimist instead of an epicurean optimist? His one-sided fundamental construction of Kant would as well have furnished the basis for the latter as for the former. Why he came to prefer the pessimist course must be sought in his education, his temper, and the surroundings of his life. His parents were eccentric: his father, gifted, venturesome—a suicide; his mother, talented, imaginative, worldly. His moral culture was utterly neglected. His early experiences were disappointing and sad. In this atmosphere he constructed his misanthropic pessimist system. The unwelcome with which it met, and the unsuccess of his attempt to win adherents to his views at the university, strongly tended to confirm him in the eccentric views with which he had started out. He simply spoke out that which was in him. Having no inner acquaintance with the restorative power of the only true system of truth, his life experience could not fail to be bitter; and his speculative system was the unconscious reflection of his inner sufferings. Had he had this acquaintance, his system would have been neither pessimistic nor optimistic, but would have presented life as it is—a *mixed* state of evil in conflict with good under the law of moral freedom.

Such is the pessimistic philosophy of Schopenhauer. How has it—(with its repetition in Hartmann's *Philosophy of the Unconscious*)*—come to such wide vogue in the unscholastic classes of Germany? The answer is not difficult. This philosophy is written in a masterly literary style. Its reading is like the reading of a poem or a romance. It addresses the average understanding of the common people. It flatters the cynicism of the vicious and the unhappy. It disarms sin of its guilt. It dethrones conscience, and profanes the holy. It caters to a depraved taste, luxuriating in descriptions of the sexual functions and of every thing in any way related thereto. It dishonors woman, and encourages the selfishness of old-bachelorhood. It is novel, paradoxical, eccentric, piquant. What wonder, then, that for some decades past it has engrossed a large amount of popular attention?

* Hartmann's Pessimism is ably discussed in the *Westminster Review* for January, 1876.

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ART. VI.—GOD IN THE WORLD.

The Theistic Conception of the World. An Essay in Opposition to certain Tendencies of Modern Thought. By B. F. COCKER, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy in the University of Michigan; Author of "Christianity and Greek Philosophy." New York: Harper & Brothers. 1875.

"I am not oblivious of what is babbled by some who, in their ignorance, are frightened at every noise, and say that we ought to occupy ourselves with what is most necessary, and which contains the faith; and that we should pass over what is beyond and superfluous, which wears out and detains us to no purpose in things which conduce nothing to the great end."—CLEMENS ALEX., *Strom.*, Book I, chap. i.

"It is of much more importance to give our assent to doctrines upon grounds of reason and wisdom than on that of faith merely."—ORIGEN, *Contra Celsum*, Book I, chap. xiii.

PEOPLE still live who sincerely believe that Mr. Moody's method is the only one requisite to convince the world of religious truth. They have heard of the loudly-proclaimed "conflict between Science and Religion," but they maintain that the only way to a pacification is through "evangelical teaching." They have seen the young, in the formative stage of opinion, yielding with an irresistible deference to the evidences which science arrays before the human understanding; but they still suspect that modern scientific conclusions are unreliable. We wish only to define a position which we think wholly mistaken and indefensible. We shall be the last to utter a word of depreciation of evangelical efforts. By all means let them be assiduously promoted. We sincerely honor Mr. Moody and his fellow-evangelists. We only maintain that a large and increasing class of persons exists who cannot be reached by such efforts as long as certain antecedent and fundamental questions of evidence remain unsettled in their minds. We will briefly explain our position.

The work of Dr. Cocker assumes that a conviction of religious truth may be legitimately grounded on data disclosed as the ultimate results of analytical inquiry. The existence of the work implies that though the belief of the multitude may be prompted by their feelings—reverence for teachers, hope of future happiness, devotional susceptibilities—there is a considerable number who demand the *proofs of the realities* which must stand as correlates to the religious feelings.

Belief is a conviction of the truth of some proposition. Conviction always rests on some ground; there is some reason why we believe. Sometimes its ground is *testimony* to a fact

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observed. Sometimes it is simply *authority*. *A* entertains a certain belief, and *B*, presuming *A's* belief to represent truth, adopts it, and can give no other reason for his faith. Sometimes belief, sincere belief, is generated or biased by our *interests;* intellectual discernment becomes perverted, and the grounds of belief are not revealed to us in their true light. Sometimes belief is based on the results of a *personal scrutiny* of evidence. George Smith, who has seen and deciphered the Chaldean inscriptions, may feel a confidence in the veracity of our ancient Scriptures no stronger—perhaps, even less unreserved—than that of the servant girl who acquires it from her faithful pastor; but his belief rests on a basis of evidence not traditionary. We who have not deciphered these inscriptions may still accept without reserve the testimony of the antiquary, and, with a knowledge of the nature of the evidence, may build a faith as firm and as logical as that of the original decipherer. Similarly, the chemist notes the transformations which take place in the test-tube, and acquires an original belief in the principle of chemical affinities. He measures and weighs the products of these reactions, and, finding that the compounds present him with definite multiples of the simples, he attains to a belief in the doctrine of "chemical equivalents," and the doctrine of the atomic constitution of matter. The philosopher, introverting his scrutiny, notes the facts of consciousness, and grounds on direct observation his belief in the reality of his conscious states. Here belief becomes knowledge; there is no normal contingency which can invalidate or qualify this intuitive knowledge that he thinks and feels. He finds existent, also, a belief that the *something* to which consciousness refers its states, is a reality, and *such* a reality as is represented in this reference. This belief respecting the existence of an objective reality, and its nature, is accepted by all men as knowledge. It is knowledge exalted above all contingency. These ultimate data disclose an absolute identification of knowledge and belief. Once more, the philosopher discovers reflected in consciousness certain other primary truths which exclude the possibility of all conditionality—such as the principle of causality, the principle of substance, and the principle of intentionality. These he feels to be more indestructible even than matter itself. All knowledge,

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all science, is but a superstructure built of these ultimate atoms of truth. The ground of a primary belief is neither testimony, nor authority, nor sensuous observation, nor inductive inference, nor deductive consequence. It is a ground more unassailable than any of these. It is a directness and singleness of intuition of one transcendental and eternal truth. A religious belief is not secure from the attacks of doubt till, by a process of reflection, it has been resolved into these ultimate and adamantine elements.

Now, a moment's reflection suffices to show that men's beliefs possess various degrees of validity. Nor is the ardor of belief graduated to its validity—unless it be in an inverse ratio. One man rests belief on grounds which would not be satisfactory to another. Some persons, like children, willingly adopt beliefs; while others must themselves bring the grounds of belief under the careful inspection of the intellect. Some persons with warm feelings may be easily possessed by beliefs which, in others of cooler natures, must be built on evidence comprehended and weighed; and in persons of similar emotional characteristics, proneness to take advice of the feelings is inversely as the control of intellect.

The *religious* feelings hold the first place in respect to influence over the lives of men. They are not the product of occasional concurrences of circumstances; their existence does not depend on conditions of poverty or wealth, power or subjection, sickness or health, age or sex; they sway the actions of men through the presentation of interests which range not alone over the entire period of mortal existence, but through the dimly glimpsed vistas of an eternal life. All other interests, all other motives, are limited by circumstance, and transitory in duration, save as they condition the religious feelings, which, like the dome of the sky, cover and embrace all that there is in human life.

Yet men differ no less in the intensity and dominance of religious feeling than in intellect, or amiability, or *physique*. Differences which exist absolutely may be counteracted or exaggerated by the other differences which exist—differences in intellect, in education, in fortune, in personal associations. The final resultant of all the forces which influence human actions may be, in one case, an irrepressible religious predisposition; in another,

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an emotionless questioning, religious circumspection. The first individual will possess an exuberance of religious faith, though he may be unable to give a reason for it, but will remain legitimately cheerful and happy. The second may deny all religion, though equally unable to give a reason for his denial, but remain unsettled and anxious. Tertullian could believe even *because* a doctrine is incredible;* Pyrrho would not believe even when doubt became absurd. Between Tertullian and Pyrrho stand all gradations.

There is a class of individuals richly gifted with religious susceptibilities, but yet subject to the strong influence of habits of intellectual inquiry. In their ordinary moods, belief can only exist under the previous sanction of intellect; but, in a roused condition of the religious nature, belief bursts into being *at the bidding of the higher intuitions*, and ratiocinative intellect comes afterward merely to sanction its existence.

The intelligent reader cannot hesitate to give indorsement to these propositions. Can there be any difficulty in applying them to the work of convincing men of religious truth? The religious predisposition exists in all men; in most men it is strong. The great mass of people, then, need no arguments; they need only persuasion; they need arrested attention, aroused religious emotions, quickened religious perceptions. To accomplish this must be always the chief work of the religious teacher. It is legitimate; for we maintain not only that the essential propositions of the religion of Jesus are capable of authentication by the most vigorous logic, but that there is a higher apperception of their truth which is glimpsed most clearly by those who attain to the sublimest conditions of religious exaltation. To convince through the emotions—emotions profound and pervading enough to be calm and clear—is to open the intuitional eye, and anticipate the affirmation of reflective intellect.

True it is that the religious teacher whose own belief rests on authority or religious predisposition, may throw the sanctity of religion over tenets which are purely secular or even baseless; and he may thus become the propagator of a volume of crude, if not false and damaging "theology." How sadly is this danger illustrated in the history of even the modern

* "*Credo quia absurdum est.*"—TERTULLIAN.

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Church! True it is, too, that the subject of religious exaltation is sometimes simultaneously the subject of a nervous exaltation which quickens the imagination and the whole range of sensibilities; and, in consequence of this, the religious intuition becomes fogged, or even confounded with imagination and physiological impulses. These extravagances of both religious teacher and religious pupil are to be diligently corrected by invoking the calm influences of intellect.

But a different phenomenon, and a different demand, are presented by that respectable minority of persons in whom the religious predisposition cannot be evoked. Though they do not by any means embrace all the thinkers, they constitute, on the whole, a thinking class. The ideas which elevate our civilization, and the enterprises which advance the happiness of the race, originate with them. They unite with strong motive, executive power. They are accessible to argument as well as persuasion. Their attitude toward the tenets and institutions of Christianity will be determined by the claims and pretensions of professing Christians; by the results of a study of Christian evidences; by the awakening power which is brought to bear upon them; by education, example, friendships, or other accidents.

It is the effort to show that Christian faith sounds no dissonance with the universal scheme of truth, which occupies the author of the work before us. *He* does not look unmoved upon the wide paralysis of faith and hope caused by the pernicious influence of this uneducated crusade against science, and this sullen contempt for religion. He presents us a conception of the world, as *framed and sustained by profoundest scientific investigation*, and shows us that it implies God. Here is the text-book for the wavering, and for those who would counsel the wavering. Here is the resolvent for their scientific doubts —doubts which cannot be dissipated by the fervor of a hymn, nor exorcised by the authority of a sermon—the most stubborn and invincible of all the obstacles to religious life.

Let us examine this work. It is not a theory framed by the author. It shows a thorough familiarity with all recent authorities in physical science; and his copious array of citations, connected together, would almost constitute a manual of science in the words of the masters themselves. Indeed, we

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feel moved to express our wonder, *in limine*, that an author so thoroughly familiar with the questions discussed should feel it necessary to fortify his statements by quoting so largely the *dicta* of scientists and philosophers. Dr. Cocker, philosopher as he is, is also a scientist, and he possesses the prerogative of speaking by authority; yet he seems reluctant to rest his own logical convictions on their merits. One feels sometimes disappointed that he does not leave a well-reasoned and well-put truth to rest without the bolster of authority. One is led to suspect he may be deficient in the dogmatic spirit. He seems distrustful, at times, of his judgments in matters of physical science; but no person can read the work without feeling that the author's information and clearness of head make him the equal of those whom he cites for confirmation; and this all the more when it is remembered that the disputed points in physical science lie rather within the territory of philosophy than of physics. The explanation of this exuberance of literature is undoubtedly to be found in the author's purpose to put the representatives of science themselves upon the stand to testify in their own words, and thus forestall all charges of misinterpretation. This purpose is judicious, and hastens the finality of the existing controversy. But, aside from such object, the reader will thank the author for opening so many avenues of collateral reading and study.

Viewed as a whole—in its conception, method, and argument—the work is a finished product of broad philosophical reflection, and sheds a genuine luster upon American authorship. It is a high and pure cosmic philosophy. It supplies the co-hemisphere of his former work,* and rounds out with completeness a sphere of cosmotheistic reflection. He has given us the relations of Christianity to ancient thought, and the relations of Christianity to modern thought. In the former, he has not developed as great detail as Cudworth, in "The Intellectual System of The Universe;" in the latter, his details of science occupy the physical, rather than the organic, field, as in M'Cosh's "Typical Forms and Special Ends in Creation." Cudworth and M'Cosh have diverged to great distances in certain directions—and so, indeed, have Paley, and Butler, and Chalmers, and the "Bridgewater Treatises;" but Dr. Cocker

* "Christianity and Greek Philosophy."

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has described a complete circumference by keeping himself constantly near the central and fundamental position. He has given a greater range of proof; others have adduced a greater variety of illustrations. Spencer* and Fisk,† as far as comparisons may be made, have furnished each an admirable and masterly organon, and Mahan‡ has given a more ostentatious metaphysic; but we think the reader of these authors has need to exercise a degree of discrimination between sound and unsound, which is not required in the study of Dr. Cocker. Starting with the fundamental inquiries which have exercised the thinking world in all ages, the author leads us, by steps of reasoning as lucid as logical, through the realms of philosophy, science, and revelation, to the necessary and vivid conception of a personal Intelligent Will, as the originator, conservator, and governor of the world.

Four answers, he tells us, have been given to the question, What is the First Principle of all things? "In the beginning was MATTER;" "In the beginning was FORCE;" "In the beginning was THOUGHT;" "In the beginning was WILL." The first and second answers coalesce with Atheism; the third with Pantheism; the fourth is the creed of Theism; and this is the answer which is rendered alike by our sacred Scriptures, and by the testimony of recent science.

The idea of God is a common phenomenon of the universal intelligence of our race. An inquiry into the essential nature of the divine originative existence thus revealed, discloses it as "an unconditioned will, or self-directive power, seeing its own way, and having the reason and law of its action in itself alone." Will is conceived as implying *reason*, *affection*, and *efficiency*. This determination of the nature of the first principle is sanctioned by both philosophy and science. Grove, Sir John Herschel, Carpenter, Wallace, the Duke of Argyle, Laycock, Murphy, Challis, and even Comte, unite in affirming that intelligent will is the only rational explanation of the existence and order of the universe. All our acquired conceptions of God fall into harmony with this idea. Whether contemplated under the category of Being, Attribute, or Relation; whether in the light of reason or of Revelation, our total con-

* Spencer: "A System of Philosophy." † Fisk: "Cosmic Philosophy."
‡ Mahan: "Natural Theology."

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ception of the Supreme Cause finds its synthetic expression in WILL.

In discussing the question, What conception are we to form of the nature and work of the first origination? the author first considers it in its hermeneutical and metaphysical aspects, arriving at the conclusion that it is the purpose of Scripture to teach the absolute origination of all existence by the power of God, and that the same conclusion is the outcome of the most defensible line of philosophic reasoning in respect to the existence of space and time, matter and force. The absolute ideas of *immensity* and *eternity* he finds imbedded in the depths of consciousness, and he is led by a subtle process of reasoning to regard immensity and eternity as attributes of God; while space and time are relations between co-existing things and successive events, and *apart from things and events have no reality.* Matter, also, derives its existence from the divine will—produced, not out of nothing, but out of the eternal potentialities of the divine nature. The establishment of the conditionality of the existence of time, space and matter relieves natural theology of those fatal embarrassments involved in the admissions of Chalmers, Martineau, Mahan and others. "The creative act was not conditioned by time, or space, or matter."

The conclusion we freely indorse; but it seems to us the discussion of the question, What are space and time? is not yet closed. The affirmation that space and time have no reality apart from things and events is not thoroughly satisfying. It is difficult to apprehend how the existence of body (we use the term for any entity possessing extension) can condition the existence of space. If space, as we agree with our author in maintaining, is the condition of the existence of body, then the existence of space is the logical antecedent of the existence of body, and it must be possible to contemplate spatial existence abstracted from bodily existence—that is, with body nonexistent. Let the attempt be made; think all material existence annihilated except two atoms of matter. Space, as our author admits, still exists. The space once occupied by matter annihilated, it seems to us, also exists, as before. Now think the last two atoms annihilated, and space, our author says, exists no longer; nothing but the immensity of God remains,

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as before creation began. But for us, the space still exists. The fallacy in Dr. Cocker's reasoning, if we may venture the opinion, is a *fallacy in definition;* it consists in adopting an arbitrary definition, and one which does not answer to the universal idea of space. "Space," he says, "is the relation of coexisting material things; that is, the relation of position, distance, direction, hereness, thereness." Accordingly he says, "Let one atom of matter be created and we have extension." That we grant, for extension is an essential property of matter. "Let a second atom be created, and there is now a relation of distance, position, direction—that is, there is *space.*" The existence of the relation alleged is obvious; but we appeal to the common consciousness for the verdict that such relations are *not space.* Having assigned such a definition to space, the conclusion is self-evident, that space was created in the creation of matter, for the conclusion is embraced in the definition; and (as similar reasoning may be employed in reference to time) that time was created in the creation of matter; and that, as a corollary, space and time have no eternal and necessary existence; and creative efficiency was in no way conditioned by them. These propositions are all but different forms of the definition. The last is a most important conclusion for natural theology; nay, we agree with the author that a system of natural theology is baseless which does not rest on this corner-stone. But we feel fully persuaded of our title to this corner-stone even if not derived from the authority alleged; we possess a more valid title than one resting on an erroneous definition.

What is that title? it will be asked. Our first and highest title is based on the necessary intuition of First Cause. The universal intelligence entertains the idea of First Cause, accepts its reality, cannot be driven from a belief in it. There must be one cause which does not exist as an effect. No existence can be prior to that which has the sole capacity to confer existence. Neither space, time, matter, or material force can assert possession of that capacity. It is only when we attempt to reconcile this spontaneous concept of the necessary limitation of the existence of space, time, matter, and force, with the formulated processes and products of reflective thought, that difficulty is discovered, and doubt arises. But suppose the

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method of this harmony undiscoverable; we are not bound to point it out. Our difficulty is disclosed in a deductive inference several removes, perhaps, from the first truths from which we argue. Every step opens a possibility of fallacy. Our belief in absolute creation is *primary;* it possesses higher authority than any deduction, still more a deduction which conflicts with it.

But we may *endeavor* to deduce conclusions which shall quadrate with that highest law of belief. The existence of body implies the existence of space; for there can be no extension—not even an atom's extension—without space. It also implies the existence of time; for we cannot separate existence from duration; a thing whose existence has no duration has no actual existence. Space and time, then, are concapacities of body—the conditions of the possibility of body. Time is the sole capacity of unextended being. But time and space have no *dependence* on body or succession. Time exists logically before succession, and space before body; and we may think them as so actually existing. Neither time nor space is the capacity or condition of *absolute* existence. As to absolute being, we cannot affirm that it exists *in* time or space—in eternity or immensity. *God exists*—here and there, prior and subsequent, have no meaning in relation to the Absolute. Space and time, immensity and eternity, are not needed for the existence of God; *nor are they attributes of God;* they were created to serve as the capacities of other existence, or the conditions of the potentialities of other existence. Of the nonexistence of space and time we can, indeed, form no conception or idea; our reason knows no denomination in which to formulate that negative; we are part of the same system as space and time, and our intelligence is made the measure of the system to which we belong, and not of another unimaginable system which may be possible with God. Nor is it necessary to form the concept of divine existence manifest, cognizable in all space and time, past and future, and yet characterized by activity not transitive through time and space. There are few things which may be confidently predicated of the Absolute by finite intelligence; and we may be certain that of the legitimate predicates of the Absolute, nearly all must transcend the grasp of human reason to the same

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extent as his causality existing out of relation to space and time.

We proceed with our *résumé*. A survey of the phenomena of the actual world soon transports thought backward to a beginning. That the existing *order* had a beginning, is a thesis less debatable than the creation of *matter*. The leading representatives of science are in accord with each other and with the showing of sacred Scripture on this point. Little less contrariety of conviction now obtains in reference to the limitation of cosmical existence in the opposite direction. Science and revelation, with one voice, prophesy an end. If science conduct us backward to a condition of matter which, for her, must be regarded as a beginning, what has she to testify in reference to the nature of matter, and thence, by inference, in reference to the origin of matter? This question affords the author the opportunity to bring science to the witness-box, and the verdict made up from its testimony is alternative: either matter is simply a phenomenon of force, and, therefore, referable to an original creative entity as its ground, or else it is to be regarded, in each of its atoms, as a "manufactured article and a subordinate agent," "precluding the idea of its being eternal and self-existent." This, let it be understood, is the verdict of recent science. Here, let the person troubled about the atheistical tendencies of modern science take hope again, and trust to the voice of God which he hears, as Socrates heard it, perpetually uttered in his own consciousness. Science—*physical* science—affirms that all its data—its *ultimate* data—*are things created.*

Holding thus to the creation of time, space, and matter, and to the finiteness of the existent order, what was the *method* of its beginning? That some motive or sufficient reason for creating was necessary to condition the divine will to activity, is maintained both on purely metaphysical grounds, and on the admissions of philosophers and scientists. The doctrine of Final Cause, then, instead of being exploded, is acquiring new strength, under the sanction of such names as Laycock, Sir William Thomson, Bacon, Müller, and even J. S. Mill. "The highest law of the universe," concludes our author, "must be a *teleological* idea, to which all nature-forces and all causal connections are subordinated. This ultimate purpose forms,

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as it were, a complete net-work of higher teleological connections above the web of mere aiteological connections which pervades the universe." As to the nature of the supreme teleological law of the universe, finite intellect may judge inadequately or erroneously; but our Christian Scripture reveals its character as a purpose to "communicate of the divine blessedness to intelligent, personal being." Reasoning from this fundamental principle, it must be inferred that the self-manifestation of God in creation would be *gradual*, *cumulative*, *conservative*, and *harmonious*. A critical examination of the sacred narrative in reference to its general purpose and its literary character shows that this *à priori* inference is sustained; and an inquisition of the facts and conclusions of science demonstrates a complete consonance with the meaning educed from the sacred text.

In drawing out the parallel chronologies of Genesis and geology, we notice but one point which is open to adverse criticism. With Lange and many others, Dr. Cocker recognizes only the first verse of Genesis as belonging to the "exordium;" we feel quite confident the real exordium embraces the first and *second* verses. What is the subject of the statement in the opening of the second verse? The EARTH. "And the *earth* was formless and empty." Now, according to the author, this was before the creation of light—the luminosity of the matter out of which the earth was to be fashioned. Is such an interpretation reasonable? Next, the succeeding clauses depict events *in relation to the earth*. "And darkness was upon the face of the abyss; and the spirit of God brooded upon the face of the waters."* Now, this was an "abyss" revealed in the condition of the *earth* just mentioned, and these "waters" belonged to the *earth* and not to outer space. It is only in the *third* verse that the primordial fact in creation is enunciated; *this is the beginning of the narrative*. The statements of the second verse are to be regarded as detached glimpses—foreshadowings—of some of the mighty events which

* Our author says "vapors," and quotes Lange: "The waters of verse two is quite another thing than the water proper of the third creative day; it is the fluid (or gaseous) form of the earth in its first condition." Now, its first condition was not liquid—if that is what is meant by "fluid"—and an incandescent gaseous fluid would be a singular condition of matter to which to apply a term immediately afterward applied to *waters*. This is a virtual arraignment of the good discrimination, and, so far, the authority of the narrative.

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are to pass before us in the hymn; as when in the proemial passage of "Paradise Lost" Milton sings:—

> "Of man's first disobedience and the fruit
> Of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste
> Brought death into the world, *and all our woe*,
> With loss of Eden," etc.

Here, as is universal with the epic poets, some salient facts of the narrative are preannounced. We always picture the sacred writer as gazing upon an inspired vision. The first and highest fact of all is the disclosure of God as absolute originator. Next, as the panorama of creation passes rapidly before him, his attention is particularly arrested, 1. By the formless and empty condition of the arid, scorching surface of the primeval crust; 2. By the chaos—the disorder of, and the absence of correlations in, the features of that surface, and the promiscuity of the aërial envelope; 3. The darkness which hid the earth when the gathered mantle of aqueous vapors excluded the ancient sunlight; 4. The ocean precipitated, and myriad forms of life *hatching* from the waters vivified by the "brooding" "Spirit of God." Of these conspicuous features of the divine work he makes a memorandum and then returns to the beginning, to recount the series of events in its completeness and order. And thus he begins: "God said, '*Let light be;*' and light was."

No difficulty arises from the use of the word evening, on the theory that the first day began with the creation of light. "Evening" and "morning" are not here equivalent to darkness and light; they are practically expressive of the "beginning" and "end" of a demiurgic day. If the "evening" of the first day means the darkness which preceded the creation of light, what means the "evening" of the second day, which followed the creation of light? We think the interpretation here suggested to be demanded equally by critical exegesis and by science.

The next question which arises concerns the present relation of the Creator to the creation. The key-note of the discussion respecting the conservation of the world is struck in the copious citations from sacred Scripture and the authorities of the Church, which represent God as continuously exerting a conserving efficiency, without which creation would sink immedi-

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ately into non-existence. Divergent from such a recognition of immanent divine power are the views of "certain advanced thinkers," which our author now proceeds to examine. The first school, represented by such writers as Professor Tyndall, Dr. H. Bence Jones, and Dr. Bastian, hold to "the absolute inseparability of matter and force." While subscribing to the doctrine of primordial creation, they maintain that the phenomena of the universe are perpetuated through the inherent and unwasted energy imparted to matter in the beginning. The second school, represented by such men as Professors Owen, Huxley, and Baden Powell, "deny the ultimate distinction between matter and force, and regard both as phenomenal manifestations of some 'unknown substratum'—a supramaterial *physis* (φύσις) which is identical with the divine substance." This is a phase of thought which verges toward Pantheism. "A third and intermediate school assumes the existence of a plastic nature (*vis formativa*) intermediate between the Creator and his work, by which the phenomena of nature are produced." This hypothesis was propounded by Cudworth, and probably possesses a close affinity with the old theory of the *anima mundi;* but it may be doubted whether the "animating principle" of Harvey, the *materiæ vita* of Hunter, or the "organic force" of Müller, or the "plastic force" of the schoolmen, are similarly intended to imply the existence of any separate intelligence. The theory has been lately reproduced by Dr. Laycock and Mr. Murphy, under the name of "unconscious organizing intelligence." To what, it may be asked, does this intelligence pertain? If to matter, the theory means Atheism; if to spirit, it means Pantheism.

Now, every conception of the world which makes it self-supporting, self-evolving, with Deity standing merely as a remote unapproachable prefix, however sanctioned by any theology which styles itself orthodox, is essentially atheistic, and in conflict with Scripture; but happily, also, a conception which is incompatible with the deductions which we are compelled to draw from the data of reason and science. In the defense of this thesis our author displays an admirable familiarity with the theories and speculations of physical science, and gives us, we think, the two most charming chapters of his work. Our limits do not permit even an abstract of his method, and we

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can only commend this masterly discussion to the studious attention of those who desire to acquaint themselves with the real positions of the scientists named, and the relations which their science sustains to the biblical doctrine of immanent divine efficiency.

The forms under which Dr. Cocker discusses the leading theories which he opposes are—1. The hypothesis of natural law; 2. The hypothesis of active force communicated to matter at its creation; 3. The hypothesis of a plastic nature. His own views may be summarized as follows: 1. Matter is not a mere phenomenon of force, but is an entity of a purely passive character, serving as the recipient and vehicle of force; 2. It consists of ultimate continuous atoms or molecules; 3. Force cannot be a property of matter; it is an attribute of spirit alone; and spirit-force is the only force in the universe; 4. All the forms of energy manifested in the universe are only transformations* of the one omnipotent force issuing from the one fountain-head of power—the *Divine Will;* 5. All the phenomena of molecular life (bioplasmic phenomena) are the result of the immediate presence and direct agency of God.

Thus the final conclusion is, that "God is not the *transitive*, but the *immanent*, cause of the universe. . . . His ceaseless energy produces all the phenomena of nature." Is not this identification of the dynamical life of the universe with God, Pantheism? To this question he replies: "The theory which represents the Deity as the transitive cause of the universe—a Δημιουργός mechanically fashioning the materials supplied to his hands, and then leaving it to the working of its own inherent forces—is rank Deism. The hypothesis which regards the Deity as *no more* than the dynamical life of the universe—an informing and organizing soul associated with matter—is naked Hylozoism. The theory that reduces all existence, material and mental, to phenomenal manifestations of one eternal, self-existent substance, which evolves itself according to an inward law of necessity, and which is elusively called God, is Pantheism. But the doctrine which embraces the two conceptions of *transcendence* and *immanence*, and, while it teaches the imma-

* On the theory of immanent divine agency, the "different forms of energy" are not "*transformations*" of one divine will-force; they *are* the divine will-force in its various self-imposed modes of activity.

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nence of God in matter, proclaims the infinite distinctness in essence between matter and God, and the infinite omnipresence of a personal God above and beyond the limitations of matter, is Christian Theism."

If we recognize the world as created and sustained by divine power, and accept the testimony of revelation that the free and loving impartation of happiness to other conscious being was the final cause of creation, we reach the inquiry, What has been the method of God in the treatment of his rational creatures? What are the phenomena and laws of the providence of God in human history? The conclusion developed from the discussion of this question sets man as an objective point in the geological transformations of the earth, and its successive *faunas* and *floras*, and in the final configuration of the terrestrial surface, and establishes a parallelism between the educational development of the race and that of the individual; transferring the work of human education, in each successive stage, to a new theater, until at length, the stages of Oriental, Hebrew, Greek, and Roman civilization being passed, the Christian civilization seems destined to be fully unfolded and perfected upon a continent presenting, physically and politically, the freest scope for the activity of the appointed agencies of human perfection and happiness.

Descending to a discussion of the question of special providence and prayer, the author strikes what he announces as "the most sharply-defined issue between Science and Religion —in fact, the only real issue at the present time." We are inclined to think this statement quite correct. The old issues of Atheism, Materialism, and Pantheism have vanished in smoke, since we discover it to be impossible to settle upon any well-accepted doctrine of science, from which a simple deductive inference does not usher us into the presence of a personal and adorable Divinity. The discussion of prayer considered from the stand-point of science, is conducted with characteristic learning and conclusiveness; and we think any clergyman, placed under the necessity of vindicating prayer from the aspersions of Professor Tyndall, may find here a mine of pertinent suggestions. "In prayer," concludes the author, "the intelligent believer does not invoke a different power from that which is manifested in all the forms of physical energy which

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are manifested in nature; he does but invoke the *same* power, and the *only* power which is the source of all causation, and produces all the processions of phenomena."

The last two chapters are devoted to a discussion of the moral government of the world—its ground, its nature, conditions, method, and end. The *first* subjective condition of moral government is intelligence. In discussing this condition, the author is led to place a definition upon conscience. He does not view it as a distinct faculty of the mind, but rather as the "common field in which is revealed the operation of all our faculties in their especial relation to moral law." It is thus: (1.) "The *reason*, intuitively apprehending moral ideas and laws." . . . (2.) "The *understanding*, apprehending the relation in which we stand to God, to our fellow-beings, and to self as a moral personality endowed with reason and freedom. (3.) The *judgment*, comparing the acts of a voluntary agent . . . with the immutable ideas and laws of the reason, and affirming this is *right* and worthy of praise and reward, or that is *wrong* and deserving of blame and punishment. (4.) A particular state of the *sensibility*—the painful or pleasurable emotions which spontaneously arise in the presence of right or wrong in our actions, or in the actions of our fellow-men."

In reference to this analysis, we cannot avoid raising the query, In what do the intelligential elements differ from reason, understanding, and judgment, in their exercise upon non-ethical data? Is there any adequate ground for dissociating the moral intuitions of the reason from intuitions concerning modality or quantity—except with the view to a classification of the intuitions? And does the understanding, in seizing upon relations which may constitute the *data* of an ethical decision, become a different faculty from that exercised upon relations of utility, efficiency, or congruity? Or does judgment, in rendering its decisions? In every case we respond negatively. There is only a difference in the *subjects* upon which these faculties are exercised. In the analysis of the author, the sensibility is the only power which is *sui-generis*, and this he does not view as subjectively distinct from the general sensibility. His conception of conscience is neat and intelligible, and we quite agree with him that *such* a conscience is not a separate faculty of the soul; it is only a

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certain co-ordination of activities upon ethical *data;* it is a dethroning of conscience as an autonomy, and a diluting and weakening of it to a mere complex of functions. In all this, the theory is a violation of the universal convictions on this subject. We think, in respectful disagreement with him, that the composite activity which he views as a function of a conventional conscience, *does* involve an element which constitutes the natural conscience, and one for which we have no name unless we call it conscience. There is no sensibility but this ethical element which constitutes the feeling that "I ought" or "ought not," and which becomes pleasurable or painful according as act agrees or disagrees with that which judgment has pronounced right. Conscience proper, we think, is *not* a discerning faculty, and pronounces no judgments; but when once the discernments have been made and the judgments pronounced by the intellect, conscience, as a feeling * of a peculiar kind, prompts to actions conformable to the judgments pronounced, and accompanies the contemplation of an act with pleasure or pain, according to its conformity or non-conformity with the prompting.

The *second* subjective condition of moral government leads to a discussion of the freedom of the will, the outcome of which (would that space permitted a complete outline of these two chapters) is as follows: Will is original, uncaused cause: it is not caused by motive; "motives may be reason *for* action, conditions under which it acts, but they are not causes *of* action;" or, in the language of Dr. Whedon, "for its own effect, will or the willing agent is a complete cause; as complete a cause as any cause whatever; and every complete cause produces its effect *uncausedly.*" These enunciations, it seems

* Religion may be defined as *the feeling of the existence of the All-Cause, and of his inevitable grasp upon us, and paternal interest in us.* The "feeling" is primarily, intuitive knowledge; it is strengthened and sanctioned by ratiocinative knowledge. The "grasp" felt inspires reverence, awe, fear, desire to please, supplication. The "paternal interest" prompts to gratitude, love, praise, and prayer. The *fear* of God, in the ethnic religious scale, must necessarily precede the *love* of God. The latter is based on a knowledge of what God has done and proposes to do *for us.* Hence lowest savages know only a malevolent deity. All the powers of the soul are made ministers to the demands of the religious feelings. Hence religious systems, rites, creeds, institutions, enterprises—all inspired by the unvarying religious feeling, but all reasoned out and executed by finite and erring intelligence.

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to us, cut to the marrow of the subject, and harmonize the fact of universal motivity with the fact of conscious freedom.

One cannot complete the thoughtful perusal of this work without a feeling of high admiration and profound satisfaction. There has passed before his mind a vision of heavenly beauty. The grand conclusion shines in upon him like a divine illumination, and he feels absorbed in an atmosphere of supernal radiance and tender love. It is a vision of God, of his own free will resolving to create a world and populate it with beings physically adapted to it, but yet in his own spiritual image—beings to be made happy; a vision of God *in* the world, maintaining it, communing with it, admitting himself into the consciousness of his beloved intelligences; speaking to them in the voiceless whispers of reason, in the radiant beauties of the field and the sky, or in the awful voices of the storm and the earthquake, and the collapse of planetary systems; God *with us*—Immanuel—strengthening and cheering, lifting us up and pitying us in our distresses, watching for the whispered prayer, responsive to the hymn of adoration, enfolding us with his love through all the journey of mortal life, and then, when the light of the cerulean heaven fades in our glazing eyes, revealing us to ourselves in the midst of a light which mortal eyes cannot behold, and which floods with ineffable glories that other world from which we are now shut—not by distance, but by life.

An author who can bequeath his readers an impression like this has earned a title to gratitude, to fame, to an eternal reward.

Art. VII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

Baptist Quarterly, April, 1876. (Philadelphia.)—1. The Logos. 2. The Assyrian Canon. 3. The Church. 4. The Pioneer Baptist Statesman. 5. Mortal or Immortal. 6. Forgiveness and Law. 7. Progress in Theology.

Bibliotheca Sacra, April, 1876. (Andover.)—1. The Cyropædia of Xenophon; Its Historical Character, and its Value in the Illustration of Scripture. 2. Horæ Samaritanæ; or, a Collection of Various Readings of the Samaritan Pentateuch compared with the Hebrew and other Ancient Versions. 3. The Relation of Theology to other Sciences. 4. The John Carter Brown Library. 5. On the Reading "Church of God," Acts xx, 28. 6. Relations of the Aryan and Semitic Languages. 7. Dr. Hodge's Misrepresentations of President Finney's System of Theology.

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CHRISTIAN QUARTERLY, April, 1876. (Cincinnati.)—1. The Preacher's Need of Mental and Moral Science. 2. Unconscious Enemies of Christianity. 3. The Essential, the Important, and the Indifferent. 4. About God and Creation. 5. The Resurrection of Christ. 6. The Instability of Science, and the Incomparable Stability of the Bible. 7. Genesis and Geology. 8. The Question of the Hour.

CONGREGATIONAL QUARTERLY, April, 1876. (Boston.)—1. William Alfred Buckingham. 2. The Doctrine of Sanctification at Oberlin. 3. David Bacon. 4. Ministry and Churches of New Hampshire. 5. Congregational Theological Seminaries in 1875–76. Congregational Necrology.

NEW ENGLANDER, April, 1876. (New Haven.)—1. Reasoned Realism. 2. The Value of Classical Studies. 3. Intercollegiate College Regattas, Hurdle-Races, and Prize Contests. 4. John Dwight of Dedham, and his Descendants. 5. Sons of Liberty in 1755. 6. The Recent Troubles at Eton College. 7. Are all Criminals Insane? 8. Theory and Method of Preaching.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER, April, 1876. (Boston.) 1. The Lowndes Family of South Carolina. 2. The Hon. Marshall P. Wilder's Address before the New England Historic, Genealogical Society, January 5, 1876. 3. A Yankee Privateersman in Prison in 1777–79. 4. Record-Book of the First Church in Charlestown, Mass. 5. Brief History of the Register. 6. Extracts from the Diary of the Hon. William D. Williamson. 7. The Proprietors of the Sudbury-Canada Grant. 8. Marriages in West Springfield. 9. Documents Relative to the Expedition to Port Royal, 1710. 10. Abstracts of the Earliest Wills in Suffolk County, Mass. 11. The Folsom Family. 12. Notes on American History, No. 7.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, April, 1876. (Boston.)—1. Dr. Cutler and the Ordinance of 1787. 2. Montezuma's Dinner. 3. The Consular System of the United States. 4. Chief Justice Chase. 5. The Reform of Local Taxation.

QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH, April, 1876. (Gettysburgh.)—1. Recent Studies in Christology. 2. The Cosmology of Paradise Lost. 3. Importance of Teaching the Bible to the Children. 4. The Truth's Testimony to its Servants. 5. The Ministerium. 6. The Theology of the Seventeenth Century. 7. The Roman Catholic Question.

THEOLOGICAL MEDIUM, a Cumberland Presbyterian Quarterly, April, 1876. (Nashville, Tenn.) 1. Sources and Sketches of Cumberland Presbyterian History. 2. The Old Irish Church. 3. Who Was Melchisedek? 4. Religion and the Constitution. 5. Christianity as an Element in Education. 6. The Doctrine of Causes, No. 2.

English Reviews.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, April, 1876. (London.)—1. The Three Creeds. 2. Messianic Views of the Modern Jews. 3. The Means and Measure of Holiness. 4. Fragments on Preaching. 5. The Negative Tendencies of the Age. 6. Salvation and Baptism: An Excursus on 1 Peter iii, 21. 7. The Physical Cause of the Death of Christ. Translated Article: Theiner's Acts of the Council of Trent.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, April, 1876. (New York: Leonard Scott Publishing Company, 41 Barclay-street.) 1. Connop Thirlwall, Bishop of St. David's. 2. Recent Scotch Novels. 3. Railway Profits and Railway Losses. 4. Lord Mayo's Indian Administration. 5. Lindsay's Merchant Shipping and Ancient Commerce. 6. Lord Albemarle's Reminiscences. 7. Capponi's History of the Republic of Florence. 8. Secondary Education in Scotland. 9. Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay.

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LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1876. (New York: Leonard Scott Publishing Company, 41 Barclay-street.)—1. Green's History of the English People. 2. Sir William and Caroline Herschel. 3. Plate and Plate Buyers. 4. Taine on the Old Régime in France. 5. Kashgar, Pamir, and Tibet. 6. The Keppels: Fifty Years of My Life. 7. Utilitarianism and Morality. 8. Mr. Swinburne's Essays. 9. Church Innovations.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1876. (London.)—1. Vedic Sanscrit. 2. The Threefold Crucifixion in the Galatians. 3 The Spiritual Conflict before and after Regeneration. 4. The Bonn Conference. 5. Christian Populations in Turkey. 6. Comparative Missionary Statistics. 7. Charles Wells. 8. Opium in India and China. 9. Assyrian Discoveries.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, April, 1876. (New York: Leonard Scott Publishing Company, 41 Barclay-street.)—1. Our Colonial Empire. 2. The Legal Position of Women. 3. Scottish Universities. 4. Ouida's Novels. 5. Rousselet's Travels in India. 6. "Free-will" and Christianity. 7. The Civil Service.

The following notice by a skeptical reviewer of a skeptical author, whose two works issue from New York, indicates that our American writer is no very reliable champion of unbelief:

Dr. Inman's pathetic preface would of itself disarm criticism; but his work on "Ancient Faiths and Modern" really contains a number of accurate and important facts calculated to lead the reader to a more historical estimate of Christianity. We are no admirer of his former work on "Ancient Faiths Embodied in Ancient Names," in which he commits as many acts of treason against philology as there are pages in the book. The present work is, happily, not based on names, but on published collections of myths and legends, and on translations of sacred books, which can be verified. Of critical tact, indeed, there is little or no display; but the argument, though quite in the rough, is effective. Christianity is not an unique religion, but rooted in nature worship, and its sacred books are a medley of "gold, silver, precious stones, hay, stubble." There still, however, remains the question, What is it that gives the biblical literature and the biblical religion its strange fascination to the children of the West? Granted that it has grown up naturally, granted that it is equaled or excelled in many points by other religions, is there not an undefined something which justifies its claim to be the religion of the highest races of the world so long, that is, as they need a religion? And is this undefined something really undefinable? Dr. Inman appears to deny this stamp of superiority, but he writes in the spirit of the advocate, and has no true sympathy with the religious spirit in any of its manifestations. His own sketch of a religion of the future, on page 473, is of the most unidealistic character.—P. 240.

The following gives us one of the latest specimens of palæontology:—

The excavations carried on in the cave known as the Kessler-loch, near Thayngen, in Switzerland, by M. Merk, brought to light a great number of traces of the existence of prehistoric man in this

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locality; and Mr. Lee has rendered good service to the English student by publishing a translation of the excellent memoir in which M. Merk recorded his discoveries. The fauna of the cave clearly shows its occupation to belong to the reindeer period, and is remarkably rich, nearly all the species found in the whole of the Belgian caves having been furnished by this single locality, while several which do not occur in the more northern district are found in the Swiss cave. The most numerous remains are those of the horse, reindeer, wolf, Arctic fox, Alpine hare, and ptarmigan. The only human bone found at Thayngen is the collar-bone of a young individual; but the works of man's hands in the shape of implements of stone and bone, and ornaments of bone, stone, and brown coal, were exceedingly abundant. The stone implements are all of palæolithic type, but those fabricated from the bones and horns of various animals are often elaborately worked and ornamented, reminding us of those from the south of France, so well described and figured in the "Reliquiæ Aquitanicæ of MM. Lartet and Christy, the publication of which has lately been completed by Professor Rupert Jones. Among other points in common between the Swiss and French relics, we have the occurrence of a good many engraved representations of animals. The figures found at Thayngen are chiefly of the horse and the reindeer; there is also an outline of the hinder part of an animal resembling a pig, and a sculptured fragment representing the head of the musk sheep, (*Ovibos moschatos;*) outlines of a fox and a bear are open to some doubt as to their genuineness. Mr. Lee's translation is furnished with a few notes and an appendix, and illustrated with impressions of the original plates.—P. 259.

It will be here seen that while we have implements whose rudeness is supposed to indicate the most degraded barbarism, we have them mingled together with specimens of apparent semi-civilization. What does this juxtaposition prove other than that the cave dwellers were unskillful flint workers, but skillful horn-workers and gravers?—that is, the remains indicate character rather than time. If the flints prove extreme antiquity the horns prove extreme recency, and so cancel the argument.

Of Mr. H. H. Bancroft's great work on "The Native Races of the Pacific Races of North America," in five volumes, we have the following notice:—

Of the volumes which contain the results of Mr. Bancroft's zeal, outlay, and labor, it is impossible to speak at all adequately here. Very rarely indeed, in modern times, has so mighty a task been undertaken, and no one could have faced it without the spur of patriotic feeling in addition to the conditions of energy and wealth. It is, of course, easy to pick holes in this work, as in any other

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which covers so much ground; but the judicious critic ignores trifling faults in a work which comprises all that has yet been learned or suggested on a vast subject, and which will be for a very long—perhaps for all—time an indispensable companion to every student of American archæology. Our own Lord Kingsborough anticipated Mr. Bancroft in spending unmeasured toil and money on the antiquities of America, to his own ruin, alas! Mr. Bancroft, the head of the great Californian publishing house, has broader shoulders fortunately. His volumes do not look so costly as Lord Kingsborough's, the great outlay on which was caused by their reproduction, in color, of the Mexican picture-writings; but their compilation must have involved no less expense, while they are more useful. Mr. Bancroft's modesty is as conspicuous as his energy; he professes to have limited himself to the collection of known facts, leaving to others the construction of theories. The earlier part of this work was noticed in our recent article on *Savage Life*, (April, 1875.) Of the three volumes before us, the first (vol. iii) treats of myths and languages. These myths, most numerous and various, are well classified under the chief points, on which we find ourselves in contact with the supernatural or unknown. Merely noting that the Ahts of Vancouver Island possess a Darwinian theory that men "first existed as birds, animals, and fishes," we pass on to the languages, which are hopeless in number and variety, though Mr. Bancroft thinks that they may be assembled into three great families. Volume iv treats of antiquities, fascinating and awing us with its many wood-cuts of the weird, long-abandoned buildings and monuments of Central America. In this portion of the work Mr. Bancroft owes much (as he acknowledges) to Stephens, Squier, Catherwood, and to M. De Waldeck, who went to America for Lord Kingsborough, and who died a centenarian at Paris last year. With these wondrous buildings and their graceful ornamentation, and the vast quantity of hieroglyphics, some of which are of a date later than the European conquest, it is maddening to think that the superstitious intolerance of the Spaniards has made the knowledge of these nations and their records a thing past hope. In looking at the views of Copan, Uxmal, and Palenque, we are forcibly reminded of the monuments of Southern India. The constant use of relief, and the faulty and singular style of design, are common to the two regions, as is also the frequent rectangular *façade*. A still more striking resemblance is found in the richness of the architectural details, the character of which is also like. The Indian sitting posture, too, is found in America, notably in the famous bean-relief at Palenque, the figure in which sat (for it is now destroyed) with one leg bent up, exactly like the Hindu Mahadeva. The sloped ceilings of Uxmal and Palenque are singularly like the well-known Etruscan Regulini Galeassi tomb. *Das Buch ist ein neuer Beweis der Allgemeinheit des Phallismus, oder wenigstens des allgemeinen Eifers der Gelehrten den Phallismus überall zu finden. Im Lateinischen zu sagen id quod Teutonice diximus; hoc opus demonstrat*

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aut phallum ubique in veneratione habitum esse aut saltem doctos velle venerationem phalli semper et ubique invenire.—Pp. 272, 273.

The whimsical delicacy of the reviewer in giving in two languages, and not in English, his notice of the diffusion, real or imaginary, in ancient America of the obscenest of all the old world idolatries, is amusing. We may have occasion to recur to this most singular and mysterious matter in our October number.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, April 1, 1876. (London.)—1. Jonathan Swift. 2. Ignatius—his Testimony to Primitive Conceptions of the Christian Religion. 3. The Progress of Reform in Russia. 4. "The Bible Educator." 5. Disestablishment in New England. 6. Poor-Law Relief in and out of the Workhouse. 7. The Atonement. 8. The Present Aspects of the Church Question.

We called the attention of our readers not long since to the very able work of Mr. Southall on "The Antiquity of Man." The obstacle to the popularity of this volume is the very fullness of its work and the massiveness of the book. In reading the following notice of this work from a former number of the "British Quarterly," it must be remembered that this Review is generally somewhat Darwinian and intensely English. The closing sentences are, therefore, the reluctant concessions of a possible evolutionist and a most real John Bull.

The author of this work is enthusiastic for his cause, but his discretion and judgment are scarcely at all times equal to his enthusiasm. He enters the lists against those he terms the "scientists" with the greatest ardor and gallantry, and he deals them many a hard and heavy blow; but he endeavors to occupy too much ground. As with Americans generally, his plan—like every thing in the country—must be on a big scale. The result is, that while we have abundant materials drawn together, often of great value, they too frequently assume the appearance of a miscellaneous collection, without the unity of connection that distinguishes a true book. We cannot say that Mr. Southall's "Recent Origin of Man" is free from this blemish, notwithstanding his evidently assiduous labors in connection with it, and the zeal with which he fights for his views. The Transatlantic aspect of the work, moreover, will militate against its acceptance on this side, though the forms of expression to which critical English readers will object be in themselves as justifiable as many in use at home. Those who are not deterred by these blemishes may be assured that they will find a formidable array of arguments in "The Recent Origin of Man" against modern theories which have come to be generally accepted, but are seen on a closer examination to be without sufficient evidence. The readiness with which the most comprehensive theories are built upon the most slender

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array of facts is made manifest repeatedly by Mr. Southall. The announcements of science with regard to the antiquity of man are shown to have been premature, and to have been constantly varying, so that every few years some scientific novelty—generally an old foe with a new face—is presented as the final solution of the mystery of the universe.—P. 228.

German Reviews.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR WISSENSCHAFTLICHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal for Scientific Theology.) Edited by DR. HILGENFELD. First Number. 1876.—1. HOLTZMANN, The Development of the Esthetic Idea of Religion. 2. ZELLER, The Peter Question. 3. HILGENFELD, Peter in Rome. 4. HARNACK, Contributions to the History of the Marcionetic Churches. 5. GRIMM, The most recent Investigations on Consul Lucius.

1876.—Second Number. 6. HILGENFELD, Hegesippus. 7. GORRES, The Martyrdom of Abbot Vincentius of Leon and his Companions. 8. TOLLNER, Servetus' Pantheism. 9. KOHLER, Rabanus Maurus as Writer. 10. RONSCH, Contributions to the History of the Itala. 11. A. BAUR, Interpretation of Matt. xix, 23–26.

The old question, Has the Apostle Peter ever been in Rome? constitutes in the second and third articles of this number the subject of a friendly and learned controversy between Professor E. Zeller, the historian of Grecian Philosophy, and Professor A. Hilgenfeld, the editor of this journal. No new material has been used by either of the two writers, and no new points of view could, therefore, be gained; but the two sides of the controversy are here presented by equally eminent writers in a lucid and exhaustive manner. Hilgenfeld defends the traditional view that Peter has really been in Rome, and chiefly relies on a passage in the First Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, which speaks of the martyrdom of Peter at Rome. Zeller denies the cogency of this argument. He admits that the first canonical Epistle of Peter assumes the presence of Peter at Rome during the persecution of the Christians, but he claims for this epistle a very late origin, about the time of Antoninus Pius. The controversy consequently turns upon the time when the Epistle of Peter was written. Here the testimony of Eusebius that Papias, who lived and wrote before that time, had made use of this epistle, is a point of great importance. Zeller impugns the testimony of Eusebius, and denies that Papias had any knowledge of the epistle. The controversy has little to do with the Roman Catholic legend of the episcopate, or even primate of Peter at

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Rome. The assumption that Peter held at any time the office of bishop of Rome is as decidedly denied by Hilgenfeld as it is by Zeller, and, in general, by all writers who are not Roman Catholics. According to Hilgenfeld, Peter did not go to Rome until the Roman captivity of Paul, between the years A. D. 62 and 64.

In the fourth article, Dr. Harnack, of the University of Leipsic, gives some contributions to a history of the Marcionitic Churches. The essay comprises: 1. A critical review of the report of the Armenian bishop, Esnig, on the Marcionites, on the basis of a better German translation than the first one given in 1834 by Dr. Neumann, (*Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie.*) The report of Esnig acquaints us with Marcionites, whose doctrinal system has remained uninfluenced by that of the Manicheans. 2. An account of an important Marcionitic inscription found in Syria, in which a Marcionite church edifice is called *συναγωγή*. A special treatise is added on the meaning of the word *συναγωγή* in the ancient Church, which is said to be identical with *ἐκκλησία*. 3. An authentic document on Marcionitic psalms. 4. An investigation of the value of the *Carmina Pseudotertulliani adversus Marcionem;* or, a History of the Marcionites in the West.

In the sixth article, Professor Hilgenfeld reproduces all the fragments of the lost work of Hegesippus, entitled *Ὑπομνήματα*, or, Memorials of the History of the Church from the Birth of Christ to the Time of Eleutherus, Bishop of Rome, who succeeded Anicetus in A. D. 170. These fragments are of great importance, as Hegesippus was one of the earliest writers on Church history. His reports bear a Judaizing coloring, and the Tübingen school sees in him a determined antagonist of Paul.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR KIRCHENGESCHICHTE. (Journal for Church History.) Edited by Dr. TH. BRIEGER, Professor at the University of Leipsic. First volume, first number. *Treatises and Essays:* 1. WEINGARTEN, The Origin of Monasticism in the Post-Constantine Age, (First Article.) 2. REUTER, Bernhard of Clairvaux. 3. RITSCHL, The Origin of the Lutheran Church. *Critical Reviews:* The Works on Church History published in the Year 1875. The History of the Church to the Council of Nice. By A. HARNACK. *Analecta:* 1. TSCHAKERT, The Spuriousness of the Pretended Dialogues of d'Ailly: De quærelis Franciæ et Angliæ, and De jure successionis utrorumque regum in regno Franciæ. 2. VOIGT, Cristoph Walther, the Proof-reader of Wittenberg. 3. SCHAEFER, A Contribution to the History of Protestantism in France.

This is the first number of a new periodical of Protestant theology. It is wholly devoted to Church history, and takes

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the place of the "Journal for Historical Theology," edited by Kahnis, which was discontinued at the end of 1875. The publisher announces that for the present it will not be published in periodical intervals, but that as soon as possible four numbers will be published annually, which will constitute a volume. This first number is incomparably superior to any number of the former periodical. The three essays are all from Church historians of established reputation, and of general interest. The first article, by Professor Weingarten, of Marburg, investigates the origin of monasticism, and undertakes to prove that it did not originate, as is generally assumed, during the persecution of the Christians by the Emperors Decius and Diocletian, but after Constantine. The accounts of Paul of Thebes, "the first hermit," as he is generally called, are, according to Professor Weingarten, exclusively based on a work of Jerome, *De Vita Pauli Monachi*, which is one tissue of absurd miracles, and utterly unworthy of an earnest historian's attention. The foundation of monasticism by St. Anthony, the patriarch of Cœnobites, rests likewise on very unreliable reports. The principal source of information concerning him is a work entitled *Vita Antonii*, which is generally ascribed to St. Athanasius. A number of distinguished historians have previously endeavored to show that this work has either not been written at all by Athanasius, or has been much interpolated. Professor Weingarten argues with the former, and finds in the genuine works of Athanasius sufficient proofs that he cannot be the author of the work, *Vita Antonii*. Having rejected as unfounded and untrustworthy the traditional accounts of the origin of monasticism, the author begins his investigation into the real origin of this peculiar institution. The article will be completed in a following number of this journal; but we already see that he finds the origin of monasticism in the service of the Egyptian god, Serapis, on which recent discoveries in Egypt have shed a new light. He states that in connection with the service of Serapis a monastic system was organized, the history of which can be traced, by means of authentic documents, through many centuries. He calls attention to the fact that the first traces of Christian monasticism are met with in the neighborhood of famous temples of Serapis, and that many names of the

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ancient Serapis temples again occur in the early history of Christian convents.

The sketch of Bernhard of Clairvaux is from the pen of one of the most distinguished Church historians of Germany, Professor Reuter, in Breslau.

The review of the literature published in 1875 relative to Church history of Dr. Harnack is a work of great merit and interest. It surpasses in point of completeness any thing of the kind that has been attempted in other departments of theology, and, if regularly continued, will make this new journal very valuable to all who take an interest in Church history. The works reviewed are chiefly German, with some French, English, and Dutch. They are grouped into five chronological sections: 1. The Apostolic Age; 2. The Post-Apostolic Age; 3. The Gnostics; 4. Literary History of the Ancient Church, from Justin to Eusebius; 5. Political and Constitutional History of the Church to Constantine.

French Reviews.

REVUE CHRETIENNE. (Christian Review.) February, 1876.—1. NAVILLE, The Educational Question. 2. SABATIER, Father Hyacinth, (Second Article.) 3. MASSEBIEAU, New Communication on Cordier.

March.—1. REUSS, Jerome Savonarola. 2. PENEL, Ethics and Progress. 3. GOGUEL, Aid and Charity in their Relations with Social Questions. 4. CREISSEIL, The Church Question and its Solution.

April.—1. BERSIER, A Collection in the Apostolic Age. 2. MATTER, The Conflict between Science and Religion. 3. MASSEBIEAU, The last Play of M. Augier and the Question of Divorce. 4. PRESSENSE, Some Remarks on the Religious Movement inaugurated by Mr. Pearsall Smith.

The article by Naville, an old and regular contributor to the *Revue Chretienne*, on the educational question, treats on the proper relation of State and Church to schools, with special reference to the recent legislation of Switzerland. The *Revue Chretienne* has been known for years as being decidedly opposed to the legislation of Germany and Switzerland on religious matters. Though the new laws are chiefly intended to guard against the dangers which the leading statesmen of these countries anticipate from Rome, the *Revue Chretienne* regards them as incompatible with the spirit of religious liberty. The new educational laws in Switzerland appear to Naville in the same light. He charges them with endangering the liberty of private instruction, and with monopolizing the education of

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the entire rising generation in the interest of a party which he believes to be hostile to Christianity. Entering into a discussion of the question of denominational and undenominational schools, the author rejects the entire exclusion of the religious element from the public school as injurious to the pupils, and advocates that the fundamental principles of Christianity, in which both Protestants and Catholics agree, be made the basis of the public school system. To illustrate his idea of a Christian, undenominational, public school, he refers at length to a flourishing school, in the Canton of Fribourg, in which a liberal Catholic priest, Father Girard, during the years 1804 and 1823, carried through this principle. In view of the great interest which in all civilized countries is taken in what the author justly calls the great educational question of the day, this article of Naville's will find many attentive readers, though his views, in the present state of European society, have no prospect of adoption.

ART. VIII.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

THE year 1875 will be memorable in the Church history of Germany for the introduction of the synodal constitution into the kingdom of Prussia. Of the eight old provinces which constituted the kingdom before the annexation of Schleswig-Holstein, only two, the Rhine province and Westphalia, have long been in possession of synods; the six eastern provinces were until 1874 without any representative assemblies, and wholly governed by royal consistories. The Prussian Government has for some time been preparing the introduction of synods into these provinces, and the convocation of a general synod for all the eight provinces. A practical beginning was made in 1874, when "circle synods," (*kreis-synoden,*) consisting of clerical and lay members, were organized in all the circles, (subdivisions of provinces.) In the spring of 1875 the first provincial synods, consisting of clerical and lay delegates from the circles, assembled in the eastern provinces, and on November 26 an extraordinary General Synod met in Berlin to discuss the draft of a new church constitution, which the Supreme Ecclesiastical Council of Berlin (*Oberkirchenrath*) had prepared. The Synod was composed of clerical and lay delegates chosen by the eight provincial Synods, and of thirty members appointed by the king. The United Evangelical Church of Prussia has three large parties which widely and irreconcilably differ in their doctrinal views: 1. The Lutheran, or "Orthodox-confessional," Party, which contends for the strictest adhesion to the Lutheran symbols

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of that portion of the Church which originally was Lutheran; 2. The Middle Party, which is anxious to preserve the union between the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, and is opposed both to extreme Lutheranism and liberal Rationalism; 3. The Liberal Party, which professes the rationalistic views of the Protestant Union, (*Protestantenverein.*) The present government supports with its entire influence the Middle Party, which, partly in consequence of this influence, was successful in most of the provincial Synods at the election of delegates. Without this influence, it was thought the majority of the delegates might have belonged to the orthodox-confessional Lutherans, who enjoy the energetic support of the aristocracy, and displayed in the provincial Synods a much greater strength than was anticipated. Nearly all the thirty members appointed by the king belong likewise to the Middle Party, which, therefore, controlled at the General Synod a considerable majority. The Liberal, or Rationalistic, Party made a very poor show, as no more than three of its members were elected, two by the provincial Synod of Brandenburg, and one by that of Silesia. The General Synod elected as president Count Stollberg Wernigerode, one of the foremost statesmen of Prussia. Although only thirty-nine years of age, Count Stollberg has been for two years president of the Upper House of the Prussian Diet, and was early in 1876 appointed German embassador at the court of Vienna. The expectation is quite general in Germany that he will be the successor of Prince Bismarck as Chancellor of the German Empire. The office of vice-president was filled by the election of Pastor Dr. Nieden. The draft of a church constitution, which had been prepared by the Supreme Ecclesiastical Council, was adopted, with some amendments, by 134 against 62 votes. When the officers of the General Synod had an audience with the king, he again emphatically expressed his determination, as he does on every suitable occasion, to adhere to the faith in which he had been baptized and confirmed, and to protect the United Evangelical Church.

The Church which, by the adoption of this constitution, will enter upon a new career, is the most numerous and powerful Protestant body of continental Europe. According to the official statistics, which the Supreme Ecclesiastical Council of Berlin caused, in 1874, to be collected and published, the United Evangelical Church embraced in the eight old provinces of the Prussian monarchy a population of about 12,250,000 persons, or 61 per cent. of the entire population. A majority of the population belongs to it in the four provinces of Pomerania, (97 per cent.,) Brandenburg, (95 per cent.,) Saxony, (93 per cent.,) and Prussia, (70 per cent.;) while in the four other provinces, Silesia, (47 per cent.,) Westphalia, (45 per cent.,) Posen, (32 per cent.,) and the Rhine province, (25 per cent.,) it is numerically inferior to the Roman Catholic Church. The number of churches, chapels, and meeting-houses is 9,412, giving one place of worship for every 1,304 evangelicals. The largest number of Churches is found in Saxony (2,604) and Brandenburg, (2,391,) the smallest in the Rhine province, (561,) Westphalia, (436,) and Posen,

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(325.) The highest per centage of churches to population is likewise found in Saxony, (755 persons to one church.) The other provinces follow in this order: Pomerania, (988,) Brandenburg, (1,138,) Posen, (1,573,) Rhine province, (1,620,) Westphalia, (1,850,) Silesia, (1,855,) and Prussia, (2,824.) In the city of Berlin there were at the close of 1873 only 63 churches and chapels, or one to every 12,646 persons belonging to the United Evangelical Church. The number of clergymen is 6,581, giving one clergyman to every 1,865 persons. The proportion of clergymen to population is most favorable in Saxony, most unfavorable in Prussia. In Berlin there are 6,928 persons to one clergyman.

The new Prussian provinces of Schleswig-Holstein, Hanover, and Hesse-Nassau have as yet each a separate Church constitution. But here, as well as in the smaller German States, an organic union of all the Protestant State Churches of Germany, with an Imperial General Synod, is desired by many, and resolutions to that effect are annually passed by a number of ecclesiastical assemblies.

Hitherto the only official bond of union between the Protestant Churches of the German States have been the meetings of delegates of the supreme ecclesiastical boards of the several States, which under the name of Evangelical Church Conferences have been biennially held at Eisenach. In 1875 an extraordinary meeting of the Conference was held to deliberate as to what attitude the Churches should observe in view of the recent introduction of civil marriage. The Conference was unanimous in recognizing all marriages concluded in accordance with the new civil law as fully valid, and resolutions were passed to make in the ecclesiastical marriage formularies those changes which the obligatory priority of the civil marriage act necessitates.

Though not officially united, the German Churches co-operate in a large number of religious societies. The three great parties more and more separate from each other, and try to improve the efficacy of their party organization. One of the oldest and largest religious societies of Germany is the Gustavus Adolphus Society, the object of which is to aid in the establishment and maintenance of Protestant congregations in Catholic countries. It is under the control of the Middle Party. Its annual meeting was, in 1875, held at Potsdam. The annual income was reported as 231,000 thalers, (a thaler being equal to seventy-two cents,) which were distributed among 1,184 congregations. Since the foundation of the Society 4,012,000 thalers have been divided among 2,486 congregations. During the past year 112 new congregations were added to the list of those receiving support, and 21 were stricken off as having become self-supporting. The Society embraces 1,207 local associations, 380 women's associations, and 6 students' associations. Among the recipients of aid are congregations in all parts of continental Europe and in several countries in South America, and the reports from the different countries constitute one of the most interesting features of the annual meetings. Of special interest, in 1875, were the reports from Spain, Italy, and Brazil.

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The Liberal, or Rationalistic, Party has its chief organization in the Protestant Union, (*Protestantenverein,*) which, in September, 1875, held its ninth annual meeting at Breslau. Representatives of one hundred and twenty-five local associations were present at the meeting, which was also attended by the deputies from the Swiss Reform Union, the Protestant Union of Holland, and the Unitarians of England and the United States. A declaration was adopted that the deplorable indifference in religious matters of a large portion of the Protestant people was partly caused by the wretched condition of the present form of divine worship, which needed an immediate and radical reform. The principles on which this reform should be based were the subject of a protracted discussion.

ART. IX.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

A new work on the relations of Galilei with the Roman Court, by K. von Gebler, (*Galileo Galilei und die Römische Curie.* Stuttgardt, 1876,) is represented by competent critics as the most thorough and correct account of this interesting subject which has yet been published in Germany. The new documents which have recently been published by M. de l'Epinois and S. Gherardi have been carefully used, and the entire extensive literature on the subject has been compared. With regard to one of the controverted points, the minutes of Feb. 26, 1616, which the Inquisition produced in the second trial, and which represented Galilei as promising to the Commissary of the Inquisition, and in the presence of a notary and witnesses, that he would entirely abandon the Copernican theory, and in no way teach it in future, this author agrees with those who regard the minutes as a forgery. Professor Reusch, of Bonn, the editor of the "Theologische Literaturblatt," who some time ago published a very interesting essay on the subject, (it appeared first in the "Historische Zeitschrift," and subsequently as a pamphlet,) adheres to his view that the minutes were genuine, but had no legal force as they had not been signed. The same scholar, in a recent number of his journal, (*Theolog. Literaturblatt*, April 9, 1876,) gives a full account of a new Italian book by Pieralisi, (*Urbano VIII. and Galileo Galilei.* Rome, 1875,) which publishes some new documents, and has not yet been used by Gebler. Pieralisi undertakes to prove at great length that Galilei was never tortured, a view in which both Gebler and Reusch concur. The opposite view had, in 1873, been defended by the Italian deputy, Mazzoleni, and has quite recently found another supporter in the Waldensian clergyman, Revel, (in the Protestant Italian Journal, "Rivista Christiana," April, 1876.)

A new edition of the Apostolic Fathers, (*Patrum Apostolicorum Opera.* Leips., 1875,) which promises to be superior to any former, has been begun by Drs. Gebhardt, Zahn, and Harnack. It was originally under-

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taken as a revision of the valuable edition of the Fathers by Dressel, (first edition, 1857, second edition, 1863,) but the changes and additions are so many that it may be looked upon as an entirely new work. The first number, which has just been issued, contains the Epistle of Barnabas, the Epistles of Clemens Romanus, the fragments of Papias, and the Epistle to Diognetus. The editors give a complete list of all the works relating to any of the fathers, and thoroughly discuss all questions as to authenticity, time of compilation, etc. According to them the Epistle of Barnabas was compiled between 71 and 132; the (first) Epistle of Clemens between 93 and 97; the so-called second epistle of Clemens between 160 and 200; the epistle to Diognetus between 170 and 300. The editors were unfortunately not able to avail themselves of a very important discovery which has been made in Turkey, namely, the first complete Codex of the two epistles of Clemens. Hitherto these epistles were only known from the incomplete and damaged Codex Alexandrinus, which Patriarch Kyrillos Lukaris, of Constantinople, well known in history for his friendly disposition toward Protestants, sent as a present to England. Now the Metropolitan Philotheos Bryennios, of Seres, in Macedonia, has published (in Constantinople, 1875) the complete edition of the epistles, from a manuscript made in Jerusalem in 1056, and preserved in Constantinople. The same Codex contains also the Epistle of Barnabas, and the Epistles of Ignatius. Prof. Hilgenfeld announces that his new edition of the Epistles of Clemens, which will appear during the summer of 1876, will contain all the new matter contained in the edition of Bryennios.

Of the best edition of the Christian apologists of the second century, the *Corpus Apologetarum Christianorum Sæculi Secundi*, edited by Professor Otto, of Vienna, which, in 1872, was completed by the publication of the ninth volume, the first volume, containing the works of Justin, appears in a third edition. The first volume has just been published, (Jena, 1876.)

The want of a thorough work on the venerable Bede has long been felt, and now been supplied by Prof. Karl Werner, one of the best authorities on the Church authors of the Middle Ages, (*Beda der Ehrwürdige und seine Zeit.* Vienna, 1875.) The first chapter of his work treats of the history and condition of the Anglo-Saxon Church previous to the time of Bede; the second, of the Anglo-Saxon convent schools—the convent school of Wearmouth Yarrow, where Bede spent his life as a far-famed writer and teacher. The following six chapters are an exhaustive treatise on the literary activity of Bede. The author announces that his work on Bede will be followed by others on prominent ecclesiastical writers of the Middle Ages.

FRANCE.

An interesting contribution to Christian patrology is a work by B. Aubé on S. Justin, (*S. Justin, Philosophe et Martyr.* Paris, 1875.) After a brief account of the first persecutions and the moral condition of the

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Roman Empire at that time, he treats of the life and age of Justin, of the circumstances under which the two Apologies were written, of the philosophy of Justin in its relation to Stoic Platonism, and especially of the mutual relations and analogies of the Christian Doctrine and of Paganism, according to St. Justin.

A work from the same author on the persecutions of the Christian Church, (*Histoire des persécutions de l'église jusqu'à la fin des Antonins*, Paris, 1875,) is regarded as one of the most important publications on Church history which have appeared in 1875. After giving two introductory chapters on "Dissensions in the Primitive Christian Church," and "Sufferings of the Christians Previous to the Persecutions of Nero," the author describes in the six following chapters the character and the history of the persecutions under Nero, Domitian, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius. An appendix contains two essays on the legality of Christianity in the Roman empire during the first century, and on the martyrdom of St. Felicitas and her seven sons. The work is written in an attractive and fascinating style, and based on a most thorough acquaintance with all the sources of information.

The literature on the Council of Trent has received a most valuable addition by the publication of a work of Dr. Döllinger, (*Ungedruchte Berichte und Tagebücher zur Geschichte des Concils von Trient.* Nordlingen, 1876.) As the title indicates, it contains a number of reports made, and diaries kept, by bishops and officers of the Council. All of them are now published for the first time. Among the documents of the volume is a report on the preparation for, and the beginning of, the Council from Serpando, general of the Order of St. Augustine, subsequently cardinal; a diary of the Council by Massarelli, the secretary of the Council; a report on the progress of the Council by Gonzalez de Mendoza, Bishop of Salamanca, and a diary by Bishop Pseaume of Verdun.

A new work on the manuscripts of the Hebrew Bible in the Imperial Library of St. Petersburgh, by Harkavi and Strack, (*Catalog der Hebräischen Bibel-Handschriften*, St. Petersburgh, 1875,) gives a curious account of one of the most remarkable literary forgeries of the age, which is all the more interesting as it concerns manuscripts of the Bible. The manuscripts referred to form the most valuable collection of the kind in any public library. There is only one of still greater value at Tchufut Kale, in the Crimea, but that will probably be also purchased by the Russian Government for the Petersburgh library. Both these collections were made by the almost incredible zeal of a Caraite Jew of the Crimea, Abraham Firkovitch, who died in 1874 at the age of eighty-eight years. Even when more than eighty years old, this man undertook long journeys to the East to search for new manuscripts. His attention was specially devoted to the genizas, or cellars, beneath the synagogues, in which the Jews frequently conceal old damaged manuscripts of the Bible, in order that they may decay without being violated by the hands of man. It is natural that valuable discoveries can be made in these places. Unfortunately, Firkovitch tried to enhance the real value of the discovered

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manuscripts by the most shameless forgery. He changed the dates in the signatures of the copyists, and in the notes concerning the sale or donation of the manuscripts, and, besides, made many additions of his own. According to the falsifications made by him, some of the manuscripts even belonged to the time before Christ, while a very large number was compiled during the first ten centuries of the Christian era. If genuine, these discoveries would have been of an astounding character, for thus far we had only a few manuscripts belonging to the tenth century, and not a single one of an earlier age. It was, therefore, natural that the genuineness of these remarkable manuscripts should be looked upon with suspicion; but a noted Orientalist, Professor Chwolson, vehemently defended them, and even Tischendorf censured the rashness of the doubters. But several other members of the Russian Academy noticed the obvious discrepancies between some notes of the manuscripts and well-known facts of history, and the new work of Harkavi and Strack proves the fraud, that has been committed in a manner which leaves no room for further doubt.

The first good biography on Bernardino Ochino, one of the most celebrated Italian Protestants of the sixteenth century, has been recently published by Benrath, (*Bernardino Ochino von Siena.* Leipsic, 1875.) Ochino was a Capuchin monk, and vicar-general of his order. He was not only the glory of his order, but was regarded as one of the first pulpit orators of Italy. By reading the works of the German Reformers, and by his personal acquaintance with Valdez, the foremost representative of the Reformation in Spain, he became convinced that the pope was the antichrist. He fled to Switzerland; was for five years pastor in Augsburgh, when Charles V. demanded his surrender; sought, in 1547, refuge in England, where he obtained considerable influence under Edward VI.; was again compelled to flee by the edict of Bloody Mary; became pastor in Zurich, from where he was expelled on the charge of heresy; fled to Poland, and had, at the age of seventy-seven years, to leave this country again to escape persecution by the Catholics. German papers praise the work as one of the best written biographies relating to Church history.

Art. X.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

Daily Christian Advocate. Folio. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1876.

It was a happy, though unintentional, coincidence, that the General Conference of our centennial year should be held in Baltimore—"old Baltimore"—redolent with so many reminiscences of our past history. With "old Baltimore" we had our battles in the days of slavery; but they have passed, leaving nothing but fraternal and honoring memories behind them. And the members of this

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General Conference will, we believe, cherish a cordial recollection of the various Methodisms, once *one*, but now *divided*, there residing. Sectionally and denominationally distinct, an era of peace is dawning, looking to a future of spontaneous spiritual oneness, in which former and present denominational boundary lines will lose much of their significance.

The earlier public sessions of such a body seem dilatory and employed in trifles. But during these early sessions the real work is being distributed and performed by the great Committees. These Committees are truly sub-Conferences, which take each its share of business, and thoroughly and earnestly consider it; and their report is the result of their best brain labor. Those reports cannot be completed until the latter part of the session. Then they come in rapidly, and as these often require little more than the sanction of the Conference, masses of business are finished which have been industriously matured during the whole session. The earlier public sessions do, indeed, furnish room for an abundance of trivial propositions, which are referred for due entombment to the proper Committee. In particular, the soft-brained brother who proposes to mutilate the Apostles' Creed by abolishing that grand old word "Catholic," put in his usual quadrennial appearance, illustrating how enduring is the generation of innocents.

The addresses of the various delegations were a most interesting feature of the session. Of course, the first in honor were Messrs. Rigg and Pope, both from their high personal reputation, and from our reverence for the island Church who is the mother of us all. Most heartily received, also, was the frank and manly address of our fine old Calvinistic foe and brother, Dr. Patton, from the Presbyterian Church. With Dr. Patton we staunchly hold to *a* creed, and fully recognize that our two creeds are not one; but these necessary differences of the understanding lie in a stratum altogether below that higher concord of the Spirit in which we are one. The modifications made by Augustine, and still more trenchantly by Calvin, are a special phase, but no fundamental change in the great, immutable, generic theology of the Church. The addresses of the fraternal delegates from the Church South were eloquent and hearty, and heartily received. Such arrangements were made as will, we trust, establish fraternal relations forever, to be confirmed by a catholic union of the various bodies of, at least, American Methodism.

Perhaps no more touching words were addressed to the Confer-

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ence from a sister Church than came from the African Methodist Episcopal Church, under signature of Bishop Payne and others:—"*Most reverend Brethren:* With joy we hail the day that once more permits us, as fellow-laborers and sufferers in the bonds of Christian faith, to greet you in the capacity of Church counselors assembled. Heretofore, by our connectional standing, we have realized the strength of our relationship. You have seemed nearer to us than any other great body of Christians in the world, because we have drawn life from your doctrines, models from your laws, and grace from your examples. Your Methodism has been our Methodism; your pioneers our pioneers. The realizations of times gone by are stronger to-day than at any preceding period. We feel in Christ that we are brethren by blood, by denomination, by doctrine, by our peculiar law. You and we all stand upon the apostolic principles of John Wesley, and, as Methodists, practically ought to be near each other. We should feel the pulsations of only one heart. May God, for his own glory and the good of his Church, draw us to one common center!"

This Conference was conservative-progressive. Special efforts had been made to render it a Conference ready for fundamental changes. The essays in the editorial columns of one or two of our leading Advocates more than four years ago, in favor of quadrennializing the Episcopacy, had been followed by the maintenance of doctrines in Church polity heretofore almost unheard of in our Methodism. Under so powerful an influence a general spirit of questioning almost every point in our system arose. A discussion ensued, unjustly characterized by the "Independent" as "a furious newspaper war;" unjustly, we say, for it was, though an earnest, an eminently fair and courteous discussion. Yet the movement brethren did, in some sections, carry the discussion into the delegate elections, producing in some instances unfortunate results. Sensational announcement appeared in the "New York Herald" of a whole programme of fundamental changes, followed by nearly as sensational an announcement in the "Independent." Of course all such outside pyrotechnics were conducive to reaction. If we are specially sensitive against any thing, it is against sensational pressures from any outside or hostile sources assailing our Church institutions. Still it was not reaction from the discussion of change that mainly produced the result. The fact was, that as the discussion advanced the clearer it became that the changes were, in themselves, not only reversive of our system, but, as partial changes, unproductive of the expected good results.

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Quadrennialization and abolishment of episcopal ordination did not venture to utter a word for themselves. Modifications of the Presiding Eldership were decided to require a constitutional change. We believe this last to have been strictly the true ground. Yet it stands clearly on record that either and all these changes can be constitutionally made. Our Episcopacy, our Presiding Eldership, and even our Itinerancy, exist by the voluntary will of the Church, and must justify their existence by the results they produce. But there are some things which nominally ought to be held settled. "Progress" is a very fine word; but it depends entirely on the direction the progress takes, whether it is a very fine thing. Stability is also, in its place, a blessing and a condition of success. There must be axioms in reasoning and fundamentals in institutions. The reason why the English people possess constitutional freedom and the French have seemed incapable of that attainment is, that the former hold their foundation stable, while the latter can blow up and blow down a constitution at two successive puffs. It will stand to the recorded honor of this our centennial General Conference that it has placed some things, not among the immutables, but among the reasonably permanent. Not that any future discussion is to be at all suppressed or held disloyal; but a perpetual questioning of settled points will present little inducement. Inside innovations and outside assaults may give themselves a settled repose.

The evils of Conference "patronage," and of canvassing for the election of officers of the Church, and especially of the intrigues of self-seeking candidates, have called out some very strong expressions both before and during the Conference. How far these evils justify the vivid pictures and intense language employed we have had no personal means of actually knowing. We have never been a member of any General Conference by whose vote we were placed in our present position. Our visits to the Conference have usually been brief, and under disqualification for mingling in the discussions, public or private. A just sensitiveness, no doubt, that should make self-seeking or "log-rolling" fatal to a man's claims, cannot be too stringently maintained. On the other hand, any exaggeration and over-talk upon this subject, which we are inclined to believe exist, are unjust and injurious. There must be a rational amount of discussion as to the fitness of men, and the wishes of sections to be represented by the men. It is a very captious ethic which denounces this fair discussion as "electioneering," and a spurious piety that styles it "the prayer-meeting

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superseded by the caucus." It can hardly seem probable that in the present General Conference, where so large a number were elected unanimously and of course, "electioneering" was a prominent trait. Our own belief ever has been that the support of a "clique," or any strenuous efforts to attain place by management, has generally been fatal to a man's ambition. Near the close of the first quadrennium of our editorship, a gentleman, not a member of our Church, said to us, "I suppose you are leaving no stone unturned to secure your re-election." Our reply was, "I have not lifted my finger for such a purpose. It is not with us as it is in politics. When a man among us is known to be intriguing for a place he is very sure to be defeated. Our only way to secure re-election is to perform our duties well." We did suppose this reply to be truth. And if it be true, then the over-vivid pictures on this subject are not only false but calumnious. We mean not so much calumnious against the officers elected; but calumnious against our General Conference and our ministry. It is a serious business to teach our people and the outside world that our ministry, especially the most eminent in its ranks, is a set of intriguing politicians. We fear that this has been thoughtlessly done by some of our best thinkers.

The striking statement is made that there was one general officer of the Church to every ten members of the General Conference! How correct the arithmetic of this awful statement, we have not done the cyphering to ascertain. But we have a still more sensational statement to make. Every member of that General Conference was a salaried officer of the Church; elected, we know not by how much self-seeking, electioneering, and caucussing, in the Annual Conferences, lay or clerical! And every individual, of at least their clerical constituency, being a pastor, was a salaried officer of the Church, elected or appointed by "patronage," lay and clerical, to the office and place he fills. So that this numerical proportion of the General Conference officers of the entire Church, covering the whole United States and more, whose business covers the coming four years, to the members of the General Conference seems to lose something of its impressiveness. The world is full of "officialism" and "patronage." Our various systems—political, literary, mercantile, and industrial—are systems of "officialism" and "patronage." Every regular work for recompense is an "office," and every selection of the workman is "patronage." In order to go out from the system of office and patronage you must needs go out of the world.

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These general utterances against "officialism" and "patronage" seem to be forming into a *platform* looking to a fundamental change of our Church constitution. Such platform in its glimmering outlines seems to be limned in an article headed "General Conference Patronage" in "The Methodist" of May 27. So gallant has been the support rendered by that paper, under both its former and its present editor, to the polity of our Church when assailed for long years by our "great official," that we are not ready to impute any purposed disintegrationism to its utterances. Whether such possibility is not foreshadowed in the following, among many other sentences of that article, our readers can decide:—

As a rule, the only effective check upon the evils of patronage is to destroy patronage. When Mr. Gladstone opened the civil service of England to competitive examination, he opened the purest political epoch England has known. There is among us a struggle between a system that creates patronage and one that renders it practically impossible. The Church has long hesitated, and is still hesitating, between the two ways. On one road every newspaper is published by an official editor, and in every benevolence the gifts of persons flow through official channels. On the other, newspapers depend for their support upon the measure in which they command respect, and diverse channels for benevolence are digged. Neither way is *now* the best way. Existing facts compel compromises. But the Church will some day have to choose between those two ways, and those who prefer what may be shortly termed officialism may well take care lest startling cases of corrupted patronage do not lead to a settlement of the issue under the force of a resistless impulse rather than under the slowly-matured conclusions of reason. The Church wants to keep a pure Church life, and whatsoever smells of corruption is doomed to destruction, slowly or swiftly, as it may fall under our judgment or wither under our righteous wrath.

On this passage and its previous paragraphs let us note:—

1. It misstates the issue here prospected. The issue is not as to the existence or non-existence of "patronage," but as to the hands that shall dispense said "patronage." In its very terms of statement "The Methodist" prefers to take the "patronage" sooner or later from the General Conference and place it in the hands of some self-elected individual or association. Of this last method of "patronage" an eminent instance exists in one of the ablest papers of our day, which styles itself "The Independent." In this establishment there is a larger amount of "officialism" and "patronage" than in any one periodical of our Church. And all that "officialism" and "patronage" are in the hands of one man, whom we name with entire respect, Henry C. Bowen. If we rightly recollect, in the days of its youth and weakness it acted as organ for the Congregational body. But when the great ability of its proprietor had made it strong, it shook off that "patronage" and set up for itself. It is a rare specimen of suiting itself to a variety of customers, and so fills, for better or worse, perhaps, a need of the day. But its "officers," or rather *employés*, take all their

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official life from one man. They are selected, perhaps, in his back parlor. If he chooses to strike the "evangelical" department from its columns and substitute an "atheistic" one in its stead, it needs but his stroke to do it. And so it becomes powerful by courting the current of the day and precipitating its rapidity. As an arena in which opposing opinions may state their case, one such paper may have its "mission." But is it a model for the periodicals of our Methodist Episcopal Church?

But what we wish here to specialize is, that in changing to such a system we do not "destroy patronage;" we only take it from the Church and surrender it to an individual or a company. By the one system the editors are the hired men of the proprietors. Their owner perhaps bargains with them in his sanctum, and to his pleasure must they submit. By the other method it is the Church in public counsel, who selects the editor from all her men in open day, and by fair ballot. Such a method makes these editors officers not of one man, but of the whole Church. The Church has control of the doctrine they teach. And there can be no great corruptive action or effect in the matter which does not come from the previous corruption of the Church herself. Against any such change, now and ever, we stand the firm opponent, until we see reason for disintegrating and abolishing the Church itself.

2. The article we have quoted evidently has only the editorial offices in view, but all its statements strike not only at our editorships, but at our connectional system. Its logical sweep abolishes the Methodist Episcopal Church. To "destroy patronage" you must "destroy" not only our periodical system, but our episcopacy, our missionary organization, our itinerancy, and our very ministry itself; nay, you must destroy our colleges and universities, for all are "officialism" from top to bottom, and all dispense "patronage." And if you are going to do the work of destroying "patronage," etc., do it honestly and thoroughly; carry it into our political and industrial institutions and land yourself in communism. And, finally, let the proprietors of "The Methodist" renounce all "patronage," and its editor all "officialism," and the "self-denying ordinance" will be complete.

3. As to the uninspired prophecy about "cases of corrupted patronage," by which something or other "is doomed to destruction," the editor is indebted to his vivid imagination for his facts. We do suppose that even the proprietor of an "Independent" may be the object, truly or falsely, of the most terrible pub-

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lic scandal; but is that a reason for destroying the system of "independent" papers? If a bishop, or an editor, or a book agent is guilty of corruption, the proper judiciary is amply prepared and ready for his arraignment. Every man of our official body is under careful supervision, as Mr. Bowen is not. If the allusion, however, be to a "corrupted patronage" by the General Conference in the election of a bishop or an editor, we take it that the Church will not for such an instance destroy the General Conference, or the Episcopacy, or even the elective franchises of the General Conference. That would be like Peter Pindar's blockhead, who burnt his barn in order to destroy its "patronage" of a nest of rats. Happily we do not, as a Church, act under any such paroxysms as the editor descries in our future.

We confess to some personal feeling in this matter. We have been six times elected to the quadrennial office which we fill, and it is the satisfaction and glory of our life that those elections have not been the choice of a mere private corporation in their evening upstairs conclave, but deliberately made by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church of these United States, after a pure and unbargaining canvass each time of the whole Church, by repeated unanimities, and always, after the first election, by overwhelming majorities. And we will take our turn at offering a prophecy, which shall be also a prayer, that we may be followed by a long line of successors, elected with equal purity, by the same body, to attain a far higher success in the performance of their duties.

Commenting and Commentaries: Two Lectures addressed to the Students of the Pastor's College, Metropolitan Tabernacle, together with a Catalogue of Biblical Commentaries and Expositions. By C. H. SPURGEON, President. 12mo., pp. 200. London: Passmore & Alabaster. 1876

As a bluff and burly evangelist for the London crowds, Spurgeon has been very effective; but when he starts for a biblical critic he steps outside of his qualifications both of intellect and education. A laughable illustration of this are the two following contrasted opinions of Whedon's Commentary; the former extracted from his "Sword and Trowel," and the latter from this volume:—

Hodder & Stoughton have done well to try this work in the English market; many a Sunday-school teacher will feel himself a rich man when he has this volume in his possession.

Dr. Whedon lacks common sense, and is no expositor. He is furiously anti-calvinistic, and as weak as he is furious.

The secret of this ludicrous self-stultification, we suppose, is that the first was his notice of the first volume, and the second of the

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third volume, which has the infinite presumption to furnish an anti-calvinistic interpretation of Romans. The two notices cancel each other, and the zero that results is, of course, the value of Spurgeon's opinions on the subject.

Cyclopædia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature. Prepared by the Rev. JOHN M'CLINTOCK, D.D., and JAMES STRONG, S.T.D. Vol. VI, Me–Nev. 8vo., pp. 997. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876.

This great work travels with so majestic a steadiness down the alphabet that we cherish a serene hope of living to see its Z. We see no decline in the ability of its articles or the fullness of its plan. No previous Cyclopædia covers its ground. It is a library of rich, accurate, and modern learning within its departments. In the present volume the most elaborate articles are Methodism and Methodist Miracles, Missions, Monasticism, Mormons, and Musical Instruments. The psychological articles, however, as that on Liberty in the last volume, and those on Mind, Motive, and Necessity in this, are rather slender performances.

The Central Idea of Christianity. Revised Edition. By JESSE T. PECK, D.D., one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church. 12mo., pp. 396. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1876.

This work, of which a new and revised edition is just published, has long been accepted among us as a standard on the subject of Holy Living. The subject is presented in a rich variety of aspect, in a mellow, lucid, and often eloquent diction. Holiness of heart and life is present as both a duty and a blessing. He emphasizes rather the deep and serene style of Christian life than the vocal and over-demonstrative; that which beams out from the pure and conscientious deportment, rather than that which would be unperceived were it unproclaimed.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

Early Man in Europe. By CHARLES RAU. Illustrated. 8vo., pp. 162. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876.

Unfortunate is the book whose very first sentence is a stupendous untruth. Such is the misfortune of the book before us, and the sentence is in the following words:—

> All races of the earth, it is now well understood, were at a certain period of their existence so little advanced in the arts of civilization that necessity compelled them to employ wood, bone, horn, shells, but especially *stone*, as the materials for manufacturing their simple tools, weapons, and objects of personal adornment.—P. 11.

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Now the country which all tradition affirms to have been the cradle of the human race, Babylonia, the plains of the Euphrates, furnishes no excavated prehistoric *stone* whatever, and no physical evidence of any period when metal was not used. All the natural phenomena, as well as the archæology and all ancient memories, agree in affirming that a man here began, and began in possession of civilization. It is for pseudo-scientific romancers like Mr. Rau to show, as there is nothing in his book to show, that the earliest European man was autochthonic, and did not immigrate as a stream westward from this primordial oriental center.

What is true of Babylonia is also true of Egypt. There are no prehistoric stone implements in Egypt. Stone implements are there found; not, however, embowcled in the earth, but in tombs, and in use with instruments of other material. So that Mr. Rau's first sentence is a flagrant misstatement. In the first primeval centers, where history finds primeval man, all the evidences are that primeval man was civilized man.

A second leading sentence on the second page is like unto the first, and likewise false:—

> Thus we have for the Old World three succeeding phases of human development —the Ages of Stone, Bronze, and Iron—which demonstrate that man slowly and gradually emerged from a condition of utter barbarism, and ultimately, after long-continued struggles, advanced toward the highest state of modern refinement.—P. 12.

That men do exist at different times in such different conditions is no doubt true. There are men in the stone grade now. But that these three grades have so existed in Central Europe, or anywhere else, as to furnish any chronological measure, or any proof than "man" (meaning, of course, the race) "slowly and gradually emerged from a condition of utter barbarism," Mr. Rau does not show, and we believe it is out of his power to show. It may be freely conceded that a greater roughness of flint workmanship, confirmed by other evidences, may indicate a less civilized, and so an earlier date. But races do recede in civilization as well as advance: so that the rougher may be the earlier implement. And it is preposterous to claim the power of telling how long it will take a people to pass from a chipped flint to a rubbed and smoothened one. Sometimes very poor stone implements are made, either from haste or from unskillfulness, contemporaneously with better ones; the former will be, alack! *palæolithic*, and the latter *neolithic*. And when a tribe sinks into utter barbarism and mental imbecility its stone tools are very likely to be as stupid as every thing else about them. So far as the

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implements are a measure, they are rather a measure of the grade of skill, than a measure of time. The poorer classes will often use stone where metals are in use by the rich and royal. Some tribes of ultra-conservative character will retain old habits and implements long after improved modes are in their reach. There are sections of people in Norway who lived for many centuries in full communication with the users of iron, and *yet persisted in the "stone age" until the beginning of the eighteenth century!*

Mr. Rau seems not to have heard from Schliemann. Schliemann dug on the hill of Hissarlik for the Homeric Troy, and he found more Troys than he had calculated. He found with his spade four successive cities as he descended. The lowest, which was of course chronologically, the *first*, presented him with a rich abundance of weapons and tools made of bronze, copper, diorite, granite, greenstone, flint, and lava; that is, *metal and stone were primordially used together.* The second city is identified by Schliemann as the Homeric Troy. There he found a higher civilization, but the same abundant use of both metal and stone. So that *here we have two successive blended metal and stone ages!* City the third, and chronologically later, is *almost exclusively stone!* The metal age thus is ancient and the stone age is modern! So that we have demonstrably this whole theory of stone antiquity reversed, and laid flat upon its back.

Now if, as is almost unquestionable, this second city was the Homeric Troy, we know approximately its date. It was not far from 1300 B. C. So that we have here a *stone age* about the era of King David preceded by two metal ages. We have a right, therefore, to ask: Was it want of knowledge, or a want of fairness, that prevented Mr. Rau from noticing a fact presented before the intellectual world so conspicuously, and so destructive of his chronological theory, as this excavated Troy?

Mr. Rau gives a list and description of the so-called "extinct animals," with whose bones the remains of man have been found so associated as to indicate contemporaneity. He does hint very slightly that some of these lasted to rather a late period; but he does not furnish any thing like a fair view of the great body of evidence which shows that most of these animals lasted late into the historic period, indicates that some of them are not even now "extinct," and so invalidates all their value as measurers of time. He mentions and describes the mammoth, the Irish elk, the rhinoceros, the reindeer, the hippopotamus, the cave-bear, the cave-lion, the cave-hyena, the urus, and the musk-ox. Now the urus, the rein-

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deer, and the Irish elk, there is good reason to believe, lived in Europe as late as the twelfth century, and the aurochs to within a century ago. As to the mammoth and elephant, their bones are found in similar latitudes in America in such conditions as to justify the opinion that they lived within the date of late European history. The cave-lion was not perceptibly different from the present species of lion, which existed in Thessaly, Greece, so late as the time of Xerxes. The cave-bear still exists in our grizzly bear; and the cave-hyena Lubbock identifies as little different from the existing spotted hyena. The hippopotamus and the lion were found by Schliemann in company with the swine, delineated on the pottery of the Troad. Association of human bones with animal in Europe does, therefore, not carry man back beyond the oriental historic period. The biblicist can draw on more than five thousand years to account for European man; he does not absolutely need four thousand.

Be it noted that there are good proofs that some animals of centuries ago were adapted by special modifications to the climate they had to endure. Of this fact Mr. Rau has the fairness to make the following concession, a concession very fatal to his theory of human antiquity:—

> The climate of Europe, as we already observed, must have been more rigorous at that period than at present. Yet the cave-lion and hyena, and particularly the hippopotamus, elephant, rhinoceros, etc., would seem to indicate a warm rather than a cold climate. The question is certainly a perplexing one, from whatever point it may be viewed. The reader knows that the elephant and rhinoceros of that period, unlike the almost hairless species of our day, *were covered with a dense fur consisting of wool and hair, which enabled them to endure an arctic temperature.* The tiger of Southern Asia, it is adduced, has been seen in Siberia as far north as the fifty-second degree; and in the North of Africa hyenas are known to prowl about the highest regions of the Atlas Mountains, where during winter a severe cold, with ice and snow, is reigning. Of the extinct carnivores, moreover, the bones only have been found, and nothing is known of their external covering, which may have been suited to a cold temperature, and the same argument is brought forward in reference to the hippopotamus.—Pp. 30, 31.

There are two other vital points, however, on which Mr. Rau omits to make, as he should, similar fatal concessions, namely, the value of *stalagmite* floors, and of *peat* formations as *measures of time.* In regard to the former he makes the following correct statement:—

> Limestone rocks are remarkable for being traversed by many fissures and cracks, presenting natural conduits through which the atmospheric water is carried into the interior of the mountains. This water possesses the quality of dissolving to some extent the lime with which it comes in contact. In reaching the caves, it trickles from the roofs and the sides, and, having evaporated, deposits its contents in the shape of thin layers of carbonate of lime wherever circumstances favor that process. The incrustations adhering to the roof, which gradually have acquired the form of icicles, are called *stalactites;* while those on the floor appear like conical or

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columnar elevations, designated as *stalagmites*. Often these pendent and rising formations have met, presenting pillars or buttresses, or have assumed other strange shapes, in which the tourist, who views them by the flickering light of a torch, imagines to recognize curtains, cascades, organs, statues, altars, and other odd figurations which his fancy may suggest. How many thousands of years were required for building up these sometimes colossal accumulations of calcareous matter cannot be determined, considering that the increment may not progress in an invariable ratio even in the same cave; but in order to show how slowly the deposit sometimes increases, we will mention that in the celebrated cavern of Adelsberg in Illyria, names and dates traced in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries can be deciphered even at present, the incrustation formed since that time not having acquired a thickness sufficient to hide those inscriptions.—P. 38.

Now, while giving this last proof of the great slowness of stalagmite formation, why could he not also state the proofs of its great rapidity? That rapidity depends upon the amount of lime, of water, and of carbonic acid present. And when these conditions are present a floor a foot thick could be produced in half a century. There are instances in which human remains are covered with thick stalagmite floors, and that has been quoted as proof that they had lain there millions of years, whereas it does not prove two thousand years.

From the peat bed at the Somme, calculating its growth to be infinitesimally slow, Mr. Rau quotes Sir Charles Lyell as deducing a period frightfully long. And yet Mr. Rau must know that the growth of peat depends upon conditions which can render it very rapid, conditions really existing, not now but in earlier times, in this very Somme valley.

Equally slender and one sided is Mr. Rau's account of this celebrated instance of the banks of the Somme, where the proof of the antiquity is based on the great depth, thirty-six feet, of the implements. The excavator, Mons. Boucher de Perthes, is the original and main authority. And his testimony destroys, over and over again, all the value of the proofs of high antiquity. In his successive diggings de Perthes tells us he found at the depth of twenty feet a Roman amphora; at twenty-four feet he found an ivory statuette which he believed to be that of St. Lawrence; at thirty-five feet he found pieces of Roman copper. All these finds, and more, demonstrate that these banks have been deposited since the Roman era began in France. There are ample geological proofs that they are not twenty-five hundred years old.

We do not say that there are no strong proofs of the pre-Adamic man, but we do say that these phenomena in Europe are not among the proofs. It is not proved by the phenomana of extinct animals; nor the rudeness of stone implements; nor the depth at which they are buried; nor the stalagmite floors; nor the peat layers that cover them. On the contrary, the facts go to indicate that the

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so called cave-men, and lake-village men, are derived from the East by immigration, some perhaps before and others after the flood. Mr. Rau's book may be commended as giving, in very smooth and courteous style, a very superficial view of the whole case.

Mr. Rau on his closing page states the conclusions for which his reasonings are intended to prepare us:—

> Primitive man sometimes has been described as a pure and happy being, subsisting without exertion on the spontaneous gifts of nature, and enjoying perfect exemption from all those ills which have fallen to the lot of later "degenerate" mortals. Ovid, among other poets of classical antiquity, draws a charming picture of man's state during the infancy of his existence, calling that period the Golden Age of the world. Such conceptions of primeval perfection are certainly very beautiful, but they appear utterly mythical when measured by the standard of modern science. The European of the Drift Age, who fought with the lion and the bear for the possession of a cave, cannot have been a happy and morally perfect being. The extreme rudeness of his mode of life precludes that possibility; a hunter of the lowest grade, he was among men what the carnivorous beast is among animals. We must assign to him the position of a savage, but of a savage as far below the buffalo-hunting Pawnee as the latter is removed from the cultivated representative of the Caucasian race.—P. 162.

Of course Mr. Rau is too polite to shock our superstitious prejudices by saying *Moses* in place of "Ovid," and *garden of Eden* instead of "Golden Age." But as he has furnished no valid disproof of the truth of that tradition of a primitive paradise, asserted by so unanimous a consent of ancient history, we stand with Moses and Ovid.

We give the last sentence of Mr. Rau's book, which we believe to be, like his first sentence, a falsity:—

> "This," says Carl Vogt, "was the paradisean state of primitive man, as narrated to us by those silent witnesses, the stones and bones. From such a low condition has the human species gradually extricated itself, in a bitter struggle for existence, which it was well able to maintain by being gifted with a larger amount of brain and intelligence than that possessed by the surrounding animal world."—P. 162.

To show what kind of an authority Carl Vogt is, that is, what his predispositions on a question so nearly affecting biblical authority are, we give another quotation from him, for which we are indebted to the "British and Foreign Evangelical Review":—

> We know of no creation, either in the beginning or in the course of the world's history, and regard the idea of an extramundane self-conscious Creator as ridiculous. Freewill does not exist, neither does any amenability or responsibility, such as morals and penal justice, and, heaven knows what else, would impose upon us. It is impossible to demonstrate the admissibility of punishment. At no moment are we our own masters, any more than we can regulate the secretions of our kidneys.—P. 306.

Similarities of Physical and Religious Knowledge. By JAMES THOMSON BIXBY. 12mo., pp. 226. New York: Appleton & Co. 1876.

Mr. Bixby's volume might be divided into three parts. In the first part he discusses the nature of the collision at the present day

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between what are supposed to be science and religion. In the second he shows that all the difficulties found in the true religion are found in science. In the third he shows, what he supposes to be, the true genesis and basis of religion in the mind of man, and so authenticates its validity and truth. The work is an interesting and valuable contribution to current thought, but its main value lies in the second of these three parts.

The chief cause of the hostility between science and religion (or, as we should say, between a class of scientists and religion) he believes to be the fact that theology is often confounded with religion. This is a language very current with a certain class of thinkers at the present day. The old encyclopedists of a former century used to say that all religion was the invention of priests. But the most fluent assailants of Christianity in our day profess a belief in religion and repudiation of theology. If, however, you investigate what "religion" it is they accept, you will find that its shape is Proteus and its color is chameleon. Herbert Spencer reveres religion, but holds that it consists in maintaining the reality of his newly-invented fetish, the Unknown Absolute. Any thing that as religion oversteps or varies from the precise acknowledgment of this ghostly and ghastly phantasm is irreligious. Stuart Mill believes that a true religion is perfectly consistent with pure atheism. Mr. Bixby, however, maintains, ably and beautifully, a religion which believes in God, in immortality, and in prayer. He believes that Jesus was the most inspired of all religious teachers. He then has a theology. And in his argument he shows, we think, clearly, however inadvertently, the necessity of a creed, a theology, to a religion. Evidently, though unconsciously, he believes with us, that though theology is not religion, it is the necessary vehicle and form of a religion. Take away all doctrinal truth and no religion is left. He differs from us simply in the number of the articles of his creed.

The religion with which Mr. Bixby proposes to reconcile science is a religion of a very scant pattern. It rejects the Trinity, the incarnation, and all those specific and inspiring truths with which a Wesley or a Moody stirs the hearts and reforms the characters of men. He rejects miracles, and so holds religion within the bounds of lower nature. He hustles the Bible into the same crowd with the Vedas and the Koran. He deals unceremoniously with the Church and all her history. If his were all the religion that can be reconciled with science, his work of mediation we should hold to be of little value. Happily, how-

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ever, his argument in the second part as truly authenticates the Trinity with all its results as it does his own slender creed.

In the second part he compares science and religion in respect to their *methods*, their *objects*, and *their degrees of certainty*, and finds that science can in these vital respects claim no exclusive superiority over religion.

1. As to *methods*. It is untruly claimed that science sustains herself in the use of sense-observation, induction, deduction of experimental tests, and verification, while religion deals in intuitions, authority, and analogy. Science plentifully relies upon intuition, and in fact geometry and arithmetic are purely intuitional sciences. We know the existence of an external world only by intuitional faith. Then there are what he does not, but we would, call Primordial Assumptions rather than intuitions, that lie at the basis of all science. Such assumptions, uncognizable by sense, are the indestructibility of matter, the uniformity of nature, the laws of motion, the persistence of force, and gravitation. These principles cannot be proved; they are not intuitively seen, like a geometrical truth, but they are *assumed by faith*, and must be assumed before we can commence any course of physical reasoning.

2. As to *objects*. It is falsely claimed that science deals with pure mundane and sensible objects, while religion alone mounts into the immaterial, the transcendental, and the infinite. Science dwells amid invisibilities and infinities. No physicist ever saw that parabola which he affirms that a rifle-ball describes; no chemist ever saw oxygen. There are musical notes illimitably above and illimitably below what human ear has ever heard. Who ever saw a molecule, much less an atom? Geometry is familiar with infinities. Does not science deal with those unseen infinities, time and space? Who ever saw gravitation, and who doubts its unlimited extension? What about Force? Who ever saw it? If it be limited to objective matter, how does it pass through pure space? And who can draw a boundary line around its extension? Who has seen, can measure, can reconcile the contrarieties of the luminiferous ether? And we may here add, as Mr. Bixby does not, why should the mind which dwells amid these mysteries and irreconcilabilities launch any sarcasms at the Trinity or the Incarnation? Trained by conceptions like these, science ought readily to accept those divine mysteries, transmitted by the Church of ages, as verified by the sacred records, from the Incarnate himself.

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3. As to *certainty*. It is falsely claimed that science is exact, certain, immutable, and religion uncertain and changing. All science is but approximation. The best geometrical figure falsifies its definition and its name. Induction is a process of examining a few specimens and guessing at all the rest. Kepler's laws are not exactly true. The minutest atom indicates complexities that science can only conjecture. There is no perfect time measure; no perfect space measure; no "physical constant" whatever. Nobody knows that the sun will rise to-morrow. And then science is continually false and changing. Where is astrology, alchemy, and the *elixir vitæ?* The rise and fall of so-called sciences are like the rise and fall of empires. The corpses of dead sciences, killed by time and truth, strew the pages of history. The scholar who learned his science fifty years ago must largely unlearn it and learn it anew to-day. While Mr. Bixby's entire book is written with great beauty of style, fertility of illustration, and courtesy of manner, it is these three chapters which we would mainly recommend to our readers. The four closing pages, on the mutabilities of science, are specially suggestive.

And, now, in what divine contrast with these mutabilities of science stands the immutability of the central theology of the Catholic Church of all the Christian ages! From the time of Christ himself down to this hour that theology in its great structural outline has never changed. The dogmas of God, infinite, all-wise, eternal; of the Trinity, three personalities in one essence; of the Incarnation, true God and true man identified in one Christ; of the fall and the redemption; of the forgiveness through faith in Christ; of the immortality of the soul and eternal retribution; all these have stood through more than eighteen centuries unchanged. They will "stand acknowledged while the world shall stand." Temporary and local additions have been often made to them. Special views and theories have often been proposed in regard to them. But bring us to-day the catechism of St. Petersburgh, the decrees of Trent, the articles of England, the platform of Geneva, and the symbols of Augsburgh, and these dogmas are all there. St. Irenæus and John Wesley earnestly alike maintained them. This theology stands "as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be." Subordinate differences, leaving free play for human thought, there ever have been. The same article has worn a different phase to different ages and sections of the Church. And the body of Articles is held generically rather than specifically and minutely. Yet in their great generic range they have

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ever been the same. The changes demanded by advancing science, be it well noted, are *not changes* IN THEOLOGY, but *changes in special biblical* EXEGESIS. In the latter, changes ever have been frequent. Various interpretations of many parts of the sacred text have left large scope for commentary and discussion. Blundering scientism has often mixed its alloy in with those interpretations and produced blundering exegesis. The false science of the day incorporated with such interpretation induced Lactantius and others to deny that there were antipodes, and later interpreters to deny the motion of the earth. For these errors the scientists are to blame. And Exegesis holds herself free to borrow new light from any quarter, whether from history, psychology, physiology, or any other science. And in all these departments, burdened as the text has been by the errors of science formerly imposed upon it, she sets her interpretations right when science confesses her mistakes and comes right. These were aside errors, having nothing to do with the immutable type of Christian theology. That stands unshaken and indestructible.

And from her high place of calmness this theology can utter free words of cheer to the true scientist, the earnest delver after truth amid the visible works of God. The abused theologian is often himself a pioneer in physical discovery. The biblicist is not compelled to revise his interpretation of the text of the Bible half as often as the scientist is compelled to revise his interpretation of the text of nature. These reinterpretations of nature leave nature unchanged; so do our reinterpretations of the particular text leave our immutable theology untouched.

Comparative Zoology, Structural and Systematic. For use in Schools and Colleges. By JAMES ORTON, A.M., Professor of Natural History in Vassar College; Author of "The Andes and the Amazon." 12mo., pp. 396. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876.

Natural history, as a mass of accumulated facts, commenced with Aristotle under patronage of Alexander the Great. But it was not until the publication, in 1693, of John Ray's "Synopsis" that the facts began to take the form of classification and symmetrical "science." The successive great lights of the science were Linnæus, Buffon, Lamarck, culminating in Cuvier. The principles pervading the great mass of living beings were by Cuvier so traced that the mass assumed the form of a structure. The genius of Darwin has startled the thinking world with the theory, full drawn and ably supported, that the pervading, explaining, and unifying

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principle of the whole structure is *genetic*. His followers are beginning to proclaim in confident tones that no systematic zoology can survive which is not based on embryology. The whole world of life, animal and vegetable, is one great indivisible family, of which man is but the most successfully aspiring individual. He is the millionaire, and all the rest are his "poor relations."

Professor Orton's book, however, states the systematic facts, and avoids the advocacy of theories. Wonderful analogies do pervade the ranks of life. Resemblances and gradations characterize the whole structure. Though incapable of being forced into absolute regularity, willful exceptions continually plaguing our clean generalizations, the living world is still a great enjoying and suffering *unit*. St. Paul reveals a glimpse of that *unit* in those words of wonderful pathos, "The *whole* creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now." But whether Darwin completes Paul, whether the unity is genetic, Professor Orton declares not.

The philosophers who have denied *life* to the vegetable are clearly contradicted.

> At present any boundary of the animal kingdom is arbitrary. "Probably life is essentially the same in the two kingdoms, and to vegetable life faculties are superadded in the lower animals, some of which are here and there not indistinctly foreshadowed in plants." "It must be said that there are organisms which at one period of their life exhibit an aggregate of phenomena such as to justify us in speaking of them as animals, while at another they appear to be as distinctly vegetable."—P. 27.

From the living structureless animal forms he deduces the following inferences as to the relation of life and organization:—

> The animal series, therefore, begins with forms that feel without nerves, move without muscles, and digest without a stomach; in other words, life is the cause of organization, not the result of it. Animals do not live because they are organized, but are organized because they are alive.—P. 30.

As to the nature of life we have the following statements:—

> In the modern view, life is a system of functions, or the sum total of living phenomena. Many of these phenomena are evidently manifestations of the common force of nature, acting either mechanically, chemically, electrically, or osmotically.
>
> Still the combination of elements into organic cells, the arrangement of these cells into tissues, the grouping of these tissues into organs, and the marshaling of these organs into plans of structure, call for some further shaping, controlling power to effect such wonderful co-ordination. Moreover, the manifestation of feeling and consciousness is a mystery which no physical hypothesis has cleared up. The simplest vital phenomenon has in it something over and above the known forces of the laboratory.—P. 29.
>
> The recent experiments of Robert Hamilton tend to prove the existence in every highly developed organism, of two lives: a life resident in every atom of the structure, however complex, and another life for which we fail to find an expression. But the latter is the life which keeps together the structure as a whole: it is the life that selects the nutrition best suited to its individual self; it is the life that has to do with the continuation of the species; lastly, it is the life to which the

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molecular lives, which make up the structure, are subordinated; and when this nameless life departs, those myriad lives, no longer co-operating, start on an independent course.—P. 369.

Professor Orton writes in a clear and attractive style; his pages are richly illustrated with explanatory engravings, and we may cheerfully not only recommend the study of this young science to our "schools and colleges," but we commend his exhibit of the science to the notice of teachers and professors.

Families of Speech. Four Lectures delivered before the Royal Institution of Great Britain in March 1869. By the Rev. FREDERIC W. FARRAR, D.D., F.R.S., Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen. 12mo., pp. 137. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1873.

Dr. Farrar is the author of the well known and very valuable Life of Christ, and the present little manual exhibits the same swelling gorgeousness of style as that work. He is also author of the Morrissian Prize Essay on the Atonement, and of a volume of Cambridge University Sermons, the leading sermon of which is on the Fall of Man. Not having seen either of the last-mentioned volumes, we are unaware what are his views of the Atonement and the Fall. The present work is a very interesting, though too magniloquent an introduction to Linguistics. The Lectures imply an unknown but immense antiquity of man. Half a page is made brilliant with a series of sharp pleasantries upon the opponents of Mr. Darwin, although we have found no express declaration of adherence to the derivation theory of species. We should infer, however, that though the author may be orthodox in his theology, he is free in his exegetics, and considers a large share of at least Genesis as nothing above deutero-canonical.

Of "families," he allows but two leading ones—the Aryan and Semitic. Very justly he rejects the name *Turanian* as applicable to a family, since it covers a countless list of families, who are as different in speech from each other as the Aryans were from the Semites. He adopts the more significant term Allophylian, which justly covers all *others* than the two above-named races.

Of the origin of the two great races, the following is the best account he feels competent to give:—

Not far from each other—the one in the regions of Armenia, the other along the great Oxus valley—appeared in the dimmest dawn of commencing human development two races, fairer in complexion, stronger and more beautifully organized in physical constitution, and with spirits incomparably more finely touched to fine issues, than any other races which the world had to that time seen. At periods varying from three thousand to two thousand years before our era a vast division took place in the Aryan race, and whole tribes, destined hereafter to be the fathers of mighty nations, streamed away victoriously in successive waves, first toward the north and west, and later toward the east and south. They became subjected

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to different laws, the western tribes advancing farthest in material and intellectual prosperity, the eastern feeding themselves on profounder conceptions in the midst of a remarkable simplicity of life. Meanwhile, at about the same period, the other great race also began to move in immense migrations. In the person of Eber it entered Mesopotamia; in the person of Joktan it entered Arabia; in the person of Abraham it entered Palestine. Indifferent, except in those branches of it which were half Hamitic, to the great arts of war and peace, to this race was it mainly given to keep alive the revelation of the Unity of God and the eternal majesty of the moral law. After a long history, somewhat monotonous, and but rarely triumphant, there arose in the bosom of this race a new and diviner revelation which it rejected, but in the very act of rejecting imparted to the western descendants of its sister race, and then sank gradually, but with one reviving and reactionary effort, into contented subordination. In the hands of this western race the Holy Fire began to burn brighter and yet more bright, and in their great commercial and military progress they reached their long-forgotten and then unrecognized brothers of the east. In the hands of these eastern brothers they saw, as it were, the *crepundia*—the family tokens—which had remained almost intact in their possession, and which once had lain in the common cradle. But before those *crepundia* were recognized there was many a fierce struggle, many a blood-stained battle-field between these brothers, who saw in each other only aliens. After a separation of four thousand years, after having traversed an immense circle of the globe, the younger Aryan returns, not solely to *rule* over the elder, not only to rekindle his torch at the sacred flame which had once glowed on the ancestral hearth, but to teach him—in requital, it may be, for many injuries—the lessons of a superior wisdom, a purer justice, and a loftier morality—above all, to teach him that body of sacred truth, which was long the special glory and amulet of the Hebraic Semite, but which, when once it had been imparted to the Indo-European family, was fostered by Grecian genius, and supported by Roman power, and deepened by Germanic thought, and illustrated by Italian art, and disseminated by the energy and empire of England, and should now be inscribed upon the common laburum, which a race—formed indeed of separate nationalities, but animated by a sublime unanimity of purpose—should regard it as their highest object and their providential mission to render visible and glorious through a redeemed and regenerated world.—Pp. 105, 106.

The epoch of the migration of the Aryans from their common hope he places at A. D. 2000, which is the age of Abraham. Abraham was the eighth from Noah, so that for eight generations the Japhetites remained in their common home in the land of Shinar, or the plateau of Iran.

Of the most ancient and so least developed Allophylian tribes, "which rise like isolated mountain peaks out of broad primeval seas of impenetrable mist," he gives the following description:—

We may say generally that a large number of them belong to the lowest, palæozoic strata of humanity. They were the people whom the Aryan and the Semite overcame in internecine warfare, and oppressed with inextinguishable hate; peoples whom no nation acknowledges as its kinsman; whose language, rich in words for all that can be eaten or handled, seem absolutely incapable of expressing the reflex conceptions of the intellect, or the higher forms of the consciousness; whose life seems confined to a gratification of animal wants, with no hope in the future and no pride in the past. They are for the most part peoples without a literature and without a history, and many of them apparently as imperfectible as the Ainos of Jesso or the Veddahs of Ceylon; peoples whose tongues in some instances have twenty names for murder, but no name for love, no name for gratitude, no name for God. Every civilized nation has found them, and even savage nations have traditions or relics of yet more savage predecessors. The Kelts, the New Zealanders, the North American Indians, all knew or believed that they had

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ousted a race of previous inhabitants; and even among the immemorial Chinese there yet linger, in Formosa and Hainan, and among the hills, the relics of an aboriginal population, whom they call by the significant name of Miautszee, or *children of the soil.* And indeed these races once covered the soil like the primeval forests, which served by their deciduous leaves to prepare the earth for a later and richer growth. The Egyptians spoke of the *Νέκυες*, or Dead-ones, who had preceded them; the Canaanites called them Rephaim, a name which the Hebrews adopted as their word for ghosts. In the thirtieth chapter of Job you will find an almost savage description of one such Troglodyte race, and their life described as a dark, solitary, squalid subsistence on roots and mallows in the desolate wilderness, "whose fathers I would have disdained to set with the dogs of my flock, who cut up mallows by the bushes, and juniper roots for their meat. They were driven forth from among men, among the bushes they brayed, under the nettles they were gathered together." . . . The climax of hatred in describing these autochthonal peoples with whom their early poems show that they had a long and terrible struggle, is found in the language of the Aryans of Hindostan. Among them the Aborigines whom they dispossessed are called Locust-eaters, Hole-dwellers, Raw-eaters, Rejectors of Indra, Monkey-tribes, Snakes, black, noseless, faceless demons, of squat stature and inarticulate speech. In the Hindoo theatricals to this day Mr. Hunter informs us that they are introduced on the stage as the demon inhabitants of the lower regions, with human faces but serpent tails, and sometimes with broad hoods, which represent the expanded neck of the *cobra de capello.*—Pp. 115–117.

The volume presents several ethnographical charts and maps, which are a great convenience to the reader.

The Life and Growth of Language. An Outline of Linguistic Science. By WILLIAM DWIGHT WHITNEY, Professor of Sanscrit and Comparative Philology in Yale College. International Scientific Series. 12mo., pp. 319. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1876.

The young student and popular reader interested in linguistics are obliged to Professor Whitney for this handy summary and compact posting-up in that science. For simplicity and clear conciseness of style it stands in favorable contrast with Dr. Farrar's over-eloquent book. Though a specialist in this department, the professor speaks with the modesty of true science. He is careful to caution his readers from expecting too much. He warns us that the science is very unfinished, and even when finished will not answer all questions, nor rule over all other departments of thought. Thus upon the attempt of Bunsen and others to settle the chronology of our race by philology we have the following statement: "As for the time, [when the Aryan race was undispersed,] the less said about that the better, in this transitional period of opinion as to the age of man on the earth. The question whether the first man was born only 6,000 years ago, or 12,000, or 100,000, or 1,000,000, as the new schools of anthropology are beginning to claim, is one of which the decision must exercise a controlling influence on that which we have here in view. As for the testimony of language itself, there is none, of any authority; the philologists will doubtless claim that they do

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not see how to compress the growth of Indo-European language into the shortest of the periods named, but they have not yet found a rule with which to measure the time they actually need. To give even a conjecture at present would be foolish."—P. 192.

Equally negative is the professor as to the finding in philology any due proof of the original unity of language. With perfect propriety he does not look to Genesis for any guidance on this question; with propriety, we say, because it is a matter of great interest to know what result investigation can throw up irrespective of Genesis. Yet as to the question of a discoverable primitive of language Genesis is indifferent. When we take up Genesis, the narrative of Babel (confirmed as it is by Assyrian discoveries) must be held as historical. And being held as historical, no interpretation can decide by it whether the primitive is still existing or whether it is obliterated. Either supposition is allowed by the text, so that Genesis is unimpeached by either supposition.

The most interesting word, etymologically, in our language, as we think, is *alphabet*. The tyro in Greek knows that it is identical with the first two letters of the Greek alphabet, *alpha* and *beta*. If he be also a tyro in Hebrew, he also knows that the two Greek letters are identical with the first two letters of the Hebrew alphabet, *aleph* and *beth*, which signify *ox* and *house;* the objects of which the letters are an abridged picture. And so the next two Greek letters in row, *delta* and *gamma*, are the Hebrew *daleth* and *gimel*, that is, *door* and *camel*. And the Greeks confessed that they derived their letters from Cadmus, that is, *the East*. They also said that the alphabet was Phenician—that is, Hebrew; for the Phenician language was Hebrew. The tyro also perceives that each name of a letter begins with that letter in its spelling. Daleth is the first letter of the word *door*. And so through the alphabet, each visible letter is an abbreviated picture of an object of whose name that letter is the initial element. And if the tyro has a smatter of hieroglyphic lore he knows that such is also the Egyptian method. The hieroglyphic is a brief picture of an object beginning with it. So that the Hebrew alphabet is the appropriation of the Egyptian method to the Hebrew language by some Egyptian-Hebrew man. Moreover, linguists remark that the objects of the Hebrew alphabet are selected from pastoral and not from city life. Gesenius also says that they are in strictly Hebrew rather than Syriac words. What Egyptian-Hebrew shepherd, now, do we know in history who lived at the right age to be the author of this invention? The answer is Moses in the land of Midian.

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And it is a remarkable coincidence that the earliest mentioned act of writing mentioned in history was performed by Moses. All this does not prove that Moses was the "Cadmus" who invented letters, but it does show that in him all the points meet necessary for such an invention more than in any other known character in history.

The Modern Genesis; being an Inquiry into the Nebular Theory of the Origin of Planetary Bodies, the Structure of the Solar System, and of General Cosmical History. By Rev. W. B. SLAUGHTER. Small 12mo., pp. 298. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1876.

A *nebula* is a mist or fog. The nebular theorist maintains that the original state of the entire system of worlds was that of a very thin fog extending through the entire space occupied by the present stellar system. So very thin, indeed, was this vast fog, that it would take several cubical miles of its separate particles to weigh a grain. But either by diminution of the heat separating these particles, or by natural attraction, this fog would form into an immense ball, and this ball would not only continually condense and become smaller and more compact, but would begin to whirl itself around. It would go on whirling itself around faster and faster until it would finally whirl around so fast as to fling a circular rim from off its edge. This circular rim would also whirl round on itself and become a smaller ball, and also whirl around the big ball evermore. Then the big ball would keep whirling, and whirl off another rim, which would become in like manner a doubly whirling ball to the end of the chapter. And that was the way the worlds were made.

Biblicists have generally made little objection to this theory, quietly waiting until it was proved. Indeed, immediately after its general propagation it was taken by some as a solution of the difficulties of the Mosaic "genesis." Perhaps the most ingenuous of all such solutions is furnished by Professor Guyot, of Princeton, based on this theory, as will be found in the proceedings of the late Evangelical Alliance. But the accredited author of the theory, La Place, held it to be so clearly atheistic that he told Napoleon, "I have no need of the hypothesis of a God." Herbert Spencer makes it the premise of his evolutionism, and Büchner jubilates over it as modern science playing into the hands of atheism.

In spite of the disqualifying "Rev." prefixed to his name, Mr. Slaughter excludes all biblical reference, and meets the issue on scientific grounds. Truth is truth, in science as elsewhere, even

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though uttered by a clergyman. And in this theory he meets a difficulty at every step. He does not, indeed, stop to ask how this *nebula* came to be there as primitive raw material for the future worlds; but admitting that the fog would form into a ball, he denies that there is any thing to set it whirling. All the condensation would tend to the center, forever forming a colder, solider, and smaller ball, lying entirely still. Next, if it did whirl, could it ever whirl so fast as to whirl off a rim? And if it did whirl off a part of itself, why should it stop until it whirled off the whole of itself? And, then, if a ball could thus fling off a part of itself, the part would fly in direction from the equator of said ball, and so all the planets ought to be in the plane of the equator, which they are not. And so in regard to velocity of the planets, their densities, etc., Mr. S. maintains that the planets contradict the demands of the theory. If so, we think the planets are correct. We go with the planets.

History, Biography, and Topography.

Florida: Its Scenery, Climate, and History. With an Account of Charleston, Savannah, Augusta, and Aiken; a Chapter for Consumptives; various Papers on Fruit-culture; and a complete Hand-book and Guide. By SIDNEY LANIER. With numerous illustrations. 12mo., pp. 336. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1876.

In spite of a considerable amount of forced rhetoric, Sidney Lanier, the author of the Centennial Cantata so much criticised, has furnished us a very readable and reliable presentation of Florida. Without over-coloring, save in occasional strains which the ordinary reader can easily discriminate as poor poetry interspersed through pages of passable prose, we have geographical descriptions, statistical masses of facts, sanitary counsels, agricultural and pomological dissertations, and accurate pictorial engravings, furnishing for the pleasure tourist, the refugee from the northern winter, the invalid in search of a sanitary clime, and the immigrant prospecting for a home and a competence, the information he needs. A little experience of some of the regions he describes enables us to say with assurance that whenever Mr. Lanier writes level prose he writes probable truth.

As the night of slavery and the clouds of civil war clear up, Florida, with all her drawbacks, appears to view, a revelation and an inestimable acquisition. Her drawbacks are patent to the eye. She is a gift of the sea; a long marine sandback, projected many miles into the semi-tropical regions, lined by the Atlantic on one

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side and creating the Gulf on the other. She has been over and over again swept and razeed by wars; wars between races, religions, and nationalities, lasting for three centuries, down to the Seminole War, which almost extinguished civilization, and, finally, down to our civil war, of which the scars are still fresh. Hence her aspect in prominent localities is utterly forlorn, suggesting decay and barrenness. And the eye that selects and combines these aspects into a general picture will report to you that Florida is an imposture. But there are other points of consideration that reveal her as a boon and a blessing.

It is within the last three years that Florida has awakened to an opening view of her capabilities, and of the true direction her energies should take. Deprived by the war and the abolition of slavery of her cotton culture, her people were as ignorant as lost children by what means to secure a living. Northern enterprise has at length come to point the way. The "Florida Agriculturist" was started, and placed under the admirable editorship of Mr. Codrington, a Yankee by birth and a West Indian by education, who unites in its columns the New England acuteness with an ample knowledge of semi-tropical agriculture, and thereby makes it a noble educator of Floridian enterprise. A State Fruit Growers' Association was formed under admirable management, and conventions were by it held where every man contributed his stock of knowledge of the possible productions of the State and the best methods of cultivation. It is a significant proof of the great freedom of the State from belligerent or sectional bitterness that Mr. P. P. Bishop, an eminent Baptist minister from Auburn, N. Y., was spontaneously chosen president of this association. Indeed, Northmen and Southrons, Federals and Confederates, here mix together in a thoughtless and jovial way, utterly oblivious of any past "unpleasantness," or of differences of birth-place. The most enthusiastic Floridians are often the Northerners. The result is unity of effort, the rising of a buoyant hope of a prosperous future, the formation and commencement of plans of vegetable and fruit culture, and the arrangement of cheap transportation by which Florida shall deposit the earliest products of her year in the markets of New York, Boston, and Chicago. It would doubtless grieve the very central heart of our friend, Dr. Bledsoe, of the "Southern Review," to see how all his theories of "the benign doctrine of secession," and of the eternal opposition between our northern and southern polarities, are vanishing away from the minds of these unappreciative people, to be

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succeeded by golden visions of orange groves and measureless fields of sugar-cane pouring untold wealth into their pockets.

Mr. Lanier's "various Papers on Fruit-culture" are extracted, with honest credit given, from papers read before the Association. The principal products discussed are the orange, the grape, and the sugar-cane.

The word "orange" is just now the sweetest sound in the language to a Floridian's ear. He has just discovered that *his* orange is the sweetest and juiciest in the world, able to drive every rival from the market. The principal paper on this fruit, read by Mr. A. J. Harris, of Ocala, reports that it takes eight or ten years to produce the first orange from the seedling, and from five to seven years more to attain a full remunerative crop. We suppose that means that if you plant a grove to-day you may find it pay splendidly fifteen or seventeen years hence. But there are scattered through the State patches of wild trees which may be budded with the sweet orange and save a few years. But orange-planting is work for only the young men, or for old men who care for posterity. And the means of living must be meanwhile obtained from other sources. But one of the most eminent orangeists of Florida, Prof. J. H. Fowler, in a public lecture, estimates a good orange-tree in full bearing as worth from ten to a hundred dollars annual value. "A thousand mature trees are a competence for any man." Col. Hart, of Pilatka, reports that from a single tree he gathered forty-five hundred oranges, netting him about a hundred and fifty dollars. Undoubtedly a thousand such trees would be a fortune. Mr. Harris reports a tree in Marion County bearing ten thousand five hundred oranges in a single season. The main orange belt is between the twenty-eighth and thirtieth degrees of latitude. There is romance in the vision of this belt laid out in groves. No culture is so Oriental, so ideal, so aristocratic, as that of this wonderfully beautiful fruit. What a lucky man, twenty years hence, will be the Floridian Prince of Orange!

And Florida is the true land of the sugar-cane. Nearly the entire State lies farther south than the southern boundary of Louisiana, and by that much is better cane land. The cane seldom or ever tassels in Louisiana, but tassels in Northern Florida. And the farther south you go the taller is the stalk. In northern Florida it averages five feet in height; in middle Florida seven feet; in Southern Florida from nine to twelve feet. Senator Yulee carried to Washington a cane of seventeen feet; and

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the shore of Lake Worth produced a cane of twenty-two feet. You plant it like corn, but it does not require, like corn, an annual planting. It *rattoons*, that is, reproduces from its root fresh stalks, for two or three years in northern Florida, and seven or eight years in the Southern. The annual profits are cited at three or four hundred dollars to the acre.

Mr. Albert J. Bidwell of Arlington, while waiting for the maturity of his orange grove, gets livelihood from flower and grape culture. His floral display vindicates Florida's claim as potentially "the land of flowers." He supplies for northern florists many a specimen that cannot be easily obtained this side Italy. As pioneer in grape culture he reports that there is a large variety of grapes easily to be raised in Florida, and, what is very important, two months earlier ready for market than any other grape. He expects to realize from twenty to forty cents per pound, while the Northern grape-grower gets but ten. And what is true of the grape is true of every variety of table vegetables. The sole condition for successful culture, cheap and sure transportation, is being rapidly established; and vast areas of Northern Florida are prospectively coming under culture for supplies. Florida is to be our winter garden.

And space fails us to tell of the banana, the fig, the olive, the cocoanut, and thirty or forty more semi-tropicals, rare and curious, which Mr. Codrington enumerates, as hitherto unknown to our people, but lying in our near future. In all these we reverently believe as we are told, and will still more firmly believe when we see them.

But to the invalid and the sexagenarian, upon whom the northern winter lays a relentless strain, Florida is a new resource. Most persons, as age begins to chill the blood, need the mercies of a milder climate. Professor Moses Stuart, when age in years had scarce commenced, in the severe winters of Massachusetts, was obliged to cry, "I shiver in these winds; I have lost all resisting power." Florida was not then invented, or she might have added decades of vigor and usefulness to his life. Alternating between the banks of the St. Johns and the sea-shores of Maine, Professor Stowe is able to expel both winter and summer from his year, and live in almost a perpetual June. And of this continuous semi-tropical life, north and south, the most sanitary point is that it is a *life in perpetual open air*. The system is vitalized by an ever-fresh current of oxygen. Florida is always being swept by the exchanging breezes between the Atlantic and the Gulf. And even

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in her summer, which is her rainy season, the air is daily freshened by the showers soon absorbed by her sandy soil.

Aristophanes' Apology. By ROBERT BROWNING. Pp. 324. Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co.

This is another of those mysteries that allure the student, but do not come within the range of the common reader. If ever poet was caviare to the multitude, Browning is he. Wordsworth had points many in common with the masses. Shakspeare had, and Milton. Browning delights to vail himself in a cloud, and to occasionally flash his inner glory through rifts in the darkness. Yet his purpose is not to be cloudy. No poet ever took more common themes, sometimes too common. "Fifine at the Fair" is the story of a ballet girl: "Red Cotton Night cap Country," of a *blase roué* and his mistress playing wanton and *religieuse.* Yet each is full of sharpest lines and thoughts. Some of his poems are the grandest in modern language. "Rabbi Ben Ezra" has no equal as a poem of human life. "Death in the Desert" is the grandest defense of Christ and Revelation against modern skeptics in verse or prose. It is the dying talk of the Apostle John concerning Christ. Especially does he favor classic themes. This is one of them. Euripides is dead. Balaustion, a worshiper of his, possesses one of his tragedies. Aristophanes and she get into a discussion as to the comparative merits of comedy and tragedy, in which much sparkling thought is evolved; and she finally reads Euripides' drama of "Hercules," as a proof of his superiority. How if she had read Aristophanes' "Clouds?" Had Browning translated that he would have come nearer his genius. At least he could have given both. The grossness of passages could have been omitted, and the rushing, raging power of his choruses been splendidly given.

Anywhere you open these pages you see rifts and flashes amid clouds and darkness. How beautiful, on the first page, this farewell to Athens by Balaustion:—

> "Athenai, live thou hearted in my heart:
> Never again may these repugnant orbs
> Ache themselves blind before the hideous pomp,
> The ghastly mirth which mocked thine overthrow.
> Fire should have flung a passion of embrace
> About thee till, resplendently inarmed,
> (Temple by temple folded to his breast,
> All thy white wonder fainting out in ash)
> Some vaporous sigh of soul had lightly 'scaped,
> And so the Immortals bade Athenai back!"

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How magnificent the description of the sea:—

"What if thy watery plural vastitude,
Rolling unanimous advance, had rushed,
Might upon might, a moment,—stood, one stare,
Sea-face to city-face, thy glaucous wave,
Glassing that marbled last magnificence,—
Till fates' pale tremulous foam-flower tipped the gray,
And when wave broke and overswarmed and sucked
To bounds back, multitudinously ceased,
And land again breathed unconfused with sea,
Attiké was, Athenai was not now!"

So every page. Thus the next:—

"Why should despair be? Since, distinct above
Man's wickedness and folly, flies the wind
And floats the cloud, free transport for our soul
Out of its fleshly durance dim and low,—
Since disembodied soul anticipates
(Thought-borne as now, in rapturous unrestraint)
Above all crowding, crystal silentness,
Above all noise, a silver solitude.
O nothing doubt, Philemon! Greed and strife,
Hatred and cark and care, what place have they
In yon blue liberality of heaven?"

The brilliant defense of Aristophanes, as a satirist and critic needful to his age and all ages, is as luxuriously wanton in fullness of expression and imagery as a tropical wilderness:—

"I dose each culprit just with—Comedy.
Let each be doctored in exact the mode
Himself prescribes: by words, the word-monger—
My words to his words,—my lies, if you like,
To his lies.
Every word is false,
Looked close at; but stand distant and stare through,
All's absolute indubitable truth.
Behind lies, truth which only lies declare."

And thus, ever metaphysical, ever abounding in quip and turn, and turns and fancy ever possessed by a deep, calm, strong soul, this seer and sayer sings his song. If any Greekist wants to know the fullness of that tongue, let him read Browning. If any one would see a translation which is not as dead as a dead language, like Cowper, and Bryant, and Derby, and is as musical and full of life and finish as the grand original, let him read "Herakles," in this volume. Milton never equaled these choruses in

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music and flow. Their intervoluted fullness just suits Browning's nature. How neatly this opens:—

> "Even a dirge, can Phoibus suit
> In song to music jubilant
> For all its sorrow: making shoot
> His golden plectron o'er the lute,
> Melodious ministrant."

And this speaks to every parent's heart:—

> "Don't fear I shirk
> My children's service! this way, men are men,
> No difference! best and worst, they love their boys
> After one fashion: wealth they differ in—
> Some have it, others not; but each and all
> Combine to form the children-loving race."

Whoever wishes to study poetry should read Browning; whoever prefers mere sentiment, tagged with rhymes, or strung on rhymes, must needs seek elsewhere. H.

Life and Letters of the Rev. John M'Clintock, D.D., LL.D., late President of Drew Seminary. By GEORGE R. CROOKS, D.D. Large 12mo, pp. 410. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1876.

The life of M'Clintock by Dr. Crooks will be a classic in our biographical literature. It is a labor of love, a tribute of reverence to a noble character. The task was, no doubt, easy, from the freshness of the writer's recollections, from the contributions of M'Clintock's friends, such as Longacre, Biglow, and Mrs. Robinson, and from his habits of copious journalizing and epistolizing. His years of early education, his professional career, his editorial period, his metropolitan pulpit performances, his foreign residence, and his presidency at Drew, are all fresh and vivid in many a living memory.

Dr. Crooks touches with a delicate pen the differences of view on the slavery question, and this is no place for us to state any issue. Dr. M'Clintock's disengagement from the "Quarterly Review" was an advantage to him, as it impelled him into a broader and higher field of action. However his position on the slavery question lost him the sympathy of our advancing Church, it secured him the powerful support of our metropolitan laity, who were zealous to heap honors on one who carried his honors so gracefully. Then followed his transatlantic residence, which was the most brilliant period of his life, in which he unfolded as a preacher, a patriot, and an antislavery leader, in a manner well deserv-

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ing of the ovation which our New Yorkers offered him on his return.

Dr. M'Clintock's natural advantages were great. His was a most manly person; a high-toned bearing, suggesting the ecclesiastical dignitary; a mellifluous voice and natural enunciation, rendering it a pleasure to hear any words from him whatever; and a taking magnetism, that won even those who were firmly his opponents. He was, as has been said, "many-sided," and but for the disease and debility that flung their Promethean fetter upon him through his whole life, he would have unfolded from every one of his many sides an activity which would have made him great in manifold directions. But it was his to bear, with what resigned serenity he could, the tantalizing consciousness of great capacities hemmed in and made abortive by one stern incapacity. This touching fact, together with the early close of his career, sheds, in spite of his buoyant spirit and the cheerful tone of his biographer, an air of sadness over the narrative. As worthless as the coldest pessimism represents it would be this our suffering life, were it not that there is revealed a nobleness even in suffering and sorrow which nothing but suffering and sorrow could reveal. And there is a wisdom demonstrating itself to be divine in the fact that the great Representative of our race summed up our sorrows in Himself. Who but the greatest and most divine of sufferers should be our symbol?

Educational.

Athenagoras. Edited for Schools and Colleges. By F. A. MARCH, LL.D. With Explanatory Notes, by W. B. OWEN, Adjunct Professor of Christian Greek in La Fayette College. 12mo., pp. 262. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876.

This is third in a series of Christian classics in Greek and Latin, founded in an endowment for that purpose by Mr. Benjamin Douglas. It was preceded by a volume of Latin Hymns, and Selections from Eusebius, (already slightly noticed in our Quarterly.) Tertullian, Justin Martyr, and Augustine are to follow, and still others in series. Whether adopted in College classes or not, we think there are hundreds of scholars who will welcome these specimen Christian classics; and all the more for the Notes and other appended aids. Professor Packard of Yale speaks, in a late "New Englander," in opposition to their introduction into colleges. He believes that the Pagan classics by introducing us to a more widely different world from the present, yet not too foreign, is a great enlargement to the mind, truly demanded in our course of educa-

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tion. There are philosophy and force in the reasoning. And yet the Christian world in the Pagan world of the Antonines is a world about as diverse from ours as the Pagan world of Augustus. In a true judgment, divested of prejudice, we think there is no Pagan author who handled the Latin language with such force and fire as Tertullian; there is no writer among the Pagan classics of so marked a character; and his age and position in his age constitute a *new diversity* that might well be added to the educational course.

Athenagoras is alone among the earliest Fathers in the classic purity of his Greek. In reading Clement, Justin, and the others, we find a Hebraism that must have sounded oddly to the Attic Greek. But we have wondered with what sensations Plato would have read Athenagoras. He is with great propriety selected in the course; and the editing and notes are what the student could wish. We welcome this series and wish it complete success.

Three classes of thinkers have found an interest in depreciating the Fathers. The first are the Calvinists, who find the Fathers condemning predestination and necessitated will as stringently as the modern Arminians and with the self-same arguments. The second are the anti-episcopals, who untruly imagine that the Fathers sustain prelacy. Undoubtedly they do prove that episcopacy, in more or fewer Churches, did originate in the apostolic age, but they do not prove its obligatory character, its necessity to the validity of a Church, or its strict universality at the beginning. The third class is the skeptics, who impugn the Fathers to destroy the authority of the New Testament books. And they find the "evangelical" writers playing into their hands beautifully. The first infidel book we remember to have read was by Abner Kneeland. And his main instrument for knocking the props from under the New Testament was Daillé on the "Right Use of the Fathers." He was able to prove by that work that the said Fathers were few and scanty, weakheaded, mendacious, contradictory, and largely spurious.

The most curious fact is that this very "evangelical" class, after having demolished and abolished the Fathers, are ready to turn around and quote these very Fathers, for their own purposes, as high authorities. When it is necessary to sustain infant baptism, or immersion, or the Sunday sabbath, or the canon of the New Testament, these same Fathers, who have so lately been sent to the penitentiary for perjury, are dressed up and brought into court as valid witnesses. And how appalling are the conse-

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quences of this antipatristical rant! Were, indeed, the early faithful Church—the Church of the Catacombs and the martyrdoms—fools, liars, and heretics? Were the leaders who defended the Church against paganism, who kept the canon inviolate, who maintained the apostolic tradition pure and incorrupt against the terrible deluge of Gnosticism, and who gave us the Apostles, Creed, no authorities? Has there never been a Christian literature before the Reformation? Is Christianity, then, a failure? Now for one condemnable thing in the apostolic Fathers we will find a dozen condemnable things in Luther, Calvin, and the other reformers. We would far rather take the apostolic age as the guide of our faith than the Reformation age. Though no way a coordinate authority with the canon, the early writers are the best aids in accepting and interpreting the canon that the past centuries afford.

Homeric Synchronism. An Inquiry into the Time and Place of Homer. By Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P., Author of "Juventus Mundi." Pp. 284. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876.

The eminent statesman has invented a new science and called it "Homerology." His enthusiasm for those most wonderful products of the human mind, the Homeric poems, attracted first by their esthetic splendor, employs itself in minute analysis of their linguistic qualities, and in the indications of the land and age in which the poet lived. Mr. Gladstone, with no little reason, accepts the Troy that Schliemann has exhumed. He peremptorily denies that Homer belongs to the Greek-Asiatic islands or mainland. He was an Achaian of European Greece. The late discoveries in Egyptology render possible a knowledge of Homer's relations to Egypt; and as we have some clear *data* of Egyptian chronology, we ascertain approximately the age of Homer's existence. The result places his age slightly earlier than the ordinary chronology. It is refreshing to see the noble ex-premier luxuriating in studies at once so elegant and erudite, exhibiting an example so few are competent to follow.

Miscellaneous.

Memoir of Norman M'Leod, D.D. By his Brother, the Rev. DONALD M'LEOD, B.A. Two volumes. 8vo., pp. 360. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1876.

The grand figure of Norman M'Leod is admirably represented in these magnificent volumes. His singular combination in harmony of what are often supposed to be incompatible traits renders his life a study and a lesson.

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Laws Relating to Religious Corporations. A Compilation of the Statutes of the Several States in the United States in Relation to the Incorporation and Maintenance of Religious Societies, and to the Disturbance of Religious Meetings. By Rev. SANFORD HUNT, D.D. With an Address on Laws Affecting Religious Corporations in the State of New York. By HON. E. L. FANCHER, LL.D. 12mo., pp. 273. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1876.

Every pastor needs a law-book. So varying are the laws of the different States that our itinerancy, that knows no limits, needs a knowledge of the laws of each. His work has been carefully compiled and duly sanctioned by high legal authority. It is the minister's lawyer.

Christian Baptism: its Subjects and Mode. By S. M. MERRILL, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. 12mo., pp. 311. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1876.

Bishop Merrill has here furnished a popular, brief, and inexpensive work to meet the wants of the ordinary inquirer. As such the style is lucid, and the argument logically stated. Pastors will find it a handy manual for practical use.

History of the Wesley M. E. Church of Brooklyn, L. I. By GILBERT E. CURRIE. 12mo., pp. 315. New York: N. Tibbals & Son.

Rightly claims to be a "pioneer" book. It is the history of the founding and progress of a single Church, in which events and personages of a magnitude proportioned to the history may find themselves duly immortalized.

Is "Eternal" Punishment Endless. By an Orthodox Minister of the Gospel. 16mo., pp. 102. Boston: Lockwood, Brooks, & Co. 1876.

Written in behalf of that class of thinkers who sympathize with the evangelical Church, but doubt the doctrine of eternal conscious misery. It takes ground in behalf of "nescience." Future punishment is revealed; but no unequivocal revelation is made of its precise nature or duration.

The Age of Elizabeth. By MANDELL CREIGHTON, M.A., Late Fellow and Tutor of Merton College, Oxford. With Maps and Tables. 16mo., pp. 244. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co.

This is an admirable series of historical works, small in form, yet written with full erudition by eminent masters of the field from a modern stand-point. They are a lot of history in a nutshell.

History of the Intellectual Development of Europe. By JOHN WILLIAM DRAPER. In two volumes. 12mo., pp. 434 and 435. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876.

This work we noticed and disapproved at its first publication, and do not find it at all improved in the present edition.

The Church Record. 8vo., pp. 165. New York: Nelson & Phillips.

An improved edition of a work which every pastor needs.

Barnes's Notes on James, Peter, John, and Jude. Revised edition. 12mo., pp. 400. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1875.

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The Holy Bible According to the Authorized Version, (A.D. 1611.) With an Explanatory and Critical Commentary and a Revision of the Translation. By Bishops and other Clergy of the Anglican Church. Edited by F. C. COOK, M.A., Canon of Exeter. Vol. VI. Ezekiel, Daniel, and the Minor Prophets. 8vo., pp. 750. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1876.

Exodus; or, The Second Book of Moses. By JOHN PETER LANGE, D.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Bonn. Translated by Charles M. Mead, Ph. D., Professor of Hebrew Language and Literature at Andover. 8vo., pp. 206. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co.

The Gospel and Epistles of John. With Notes Critical, Explanatory, and Practical. Designed for both Pastors and People. By Rev. HENRY COWLES, D.D. 12mo., pp. 390. New York: Appleton & Co.

The Believer's Victory Over Satan's Devices. By Rev. W. L. PARSONS, D.D. 16mo., pp. 310. New York: Nelson & Phillips.

Open Letters to Primary Teachers. By Mrs. W. F. CRAFTS. 12mo., pp.. 204. New York: Nelson & Phillips.

Spiritualism on Trial. Containing the Arguments of Rev. F. W. Evans in the Debate on Spiritualism between him and Mr. A. J. Fishback. 12mo., pp. 432. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

Select Poems of Thomas Gray. Edited, with Notes, by WILLIAM J. ROLFE, A.M. 12mo., pp. 143. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876.

Stray Studies from England and Italy. By JOHN RICHARD GREEN. 12mo., pp. 361. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876.

Words: their Use and Abuse. By WILLIAM MATTHEWS, LL.D. 12mo., pp. 384. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1876.

Principia; or, Basis of Social Science. By R. J. WRIGHT. 8vo., pp. 524. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1876.

Harper's School Geography. Richly Illustrated. 4to., pp. 124. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Benjamin Franklin. A Picture of the Struggles of our Infant Nation One Hundred Years Ago. By JOHN S. C. ABBOTT. Illustrated. 12mo., pp. 336. New York: Dodd, Mead, & Co. 1876.

Familiar Talks to Boys. By Rev. JOHN HALL, D.D. 12mo., pp. 98. New York: Dodd, Mead, & Co.

On Fermentation. By P. SCHUTZENBERGER, Director at the Chemical Laboratory at the Sorbonne. Twenty-eight Illustrations. The International Scientific Series. 12mo., pp. 331. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1876.

The Fall of the Stuarts and Western Europe from 1678 *to* 1697. By Rev. E. HALE, M.A., Assistant Master at Eton. With Maps and Plans. 16mo., pp. 248. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co.

The Greeks and the Persians. By Rev. GEORGE W. COX, M.A. 16mo., pp. 218. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co.

The Crusades. By GEORGE W. COX, M.A. With a Map. 16mo., pp. 225. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co.

Free, Yet Forging their own Chains. By C. M. CORNWALL. 12mo., pp. 575. New York: Dodd, Mead, & Co. 1876.

Lena; or, The Stark Family. A Sketch of Real Life. From the Swedish of H. Hofsten. By CARL LARSEN. 12mo., pp. 250. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1876.

The French at Home. By ALBERT RHODES. With numerous Illustrations. 16mo. pp. 256.

The Crew of the Dolphin. By HESBA STRETTON. 16mo., pp. 232. New York Dodd, Mead, & Co.

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METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1876.

ART. I.—RECENT ORIGIN OF MAN.

[FIRST ARTICLE.]

The Recent Origin of Man, as Illustrated by Geology and the Modern Science of Prehistoric Archæology. By JAMES C. SOUTHALL. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1875.

This work presents the most complete statement yet made in one volume of the facts bearing on human antiquity. Though the author is comparatively unknown to science, and lays little claim to discoveries made by himself, he has, with great industry and honesty, collated about all the known facts on this subject, and condensed them into one thick volume. Besides his industry, he brings to the work a clear style, a keen, analytic mind, and a thorough honesty of purpose. In consequence of these qualities, the treatise far exceeds in value to the general student the better known, but older and less complete, works of Sir Charles Lyell and Sir John Lubbock.

When a new field of discovery is opened up, its explorers are often betrayed by their enthusiasm into many crude inferences. If at the same time they happen to be swayed by a strong prejudice, they seem to know no limits to their extravagance. This is precisely the situation of many writers on "prehistoric man." Excusably enthusiastic over their interesting discoveries, many of them have superadded a strong desire to make their facts tell against evangelical Christianity. It is not fashionable for them to avow this in set words, but they manifest their anxiety for it, and the consciousness that their readers expect it, in a thousand ways. They have strained

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their facts in the most unnatural ways for proofs of an enormous human antiquity. Determined on their end, of exceeding the traditional six thousand years, they make no account of discrepancies among themselves, and have contradicted each other to the extent of millions of years. When investigators thus lose their balance of judgment, and rush, like a flock of sheep, after a predetermined conclusion, they are sure to commit enormous blunders.

In the present discussion they have misunderstood the facts, and erred in stating them; and from data thus warped have drawn conclusions so loose and inconsequent as to excite the amazement of candid investigators. This may seem like harsh language; but the writer of this review, in examining the localities and following up the tracks of the anthropologists, has found so much that is false in fact, and fallacious in reasoning, that he is impelled, in the interest of science, to solemnly protest against such loose and unscientific methods.

In the midst of all this willful confusion Mr. Southall comes forward with the book under review, and, going with a clear analysis through the whole mass of real and false discovery, endeavors to separate the proved from the unproved, and to reduce the chaos to order.

The facts bearing on this subject are derived from the following sources: 1. Megalithic monuments and tumuli. 2. The relics of pile dwellings in certain lakes. 3. The shell mounds. 4. The peat bogs. 5. The bone caverns. 6. The river "Drift" of England and France. 7. Miscellaneous localities. From these sources a vast number of relics of ancient men have been exhumed, such as knives, arrowheads, spear-heads, hatchets, needles, swords, spurs, helmets, shields, pottery, woolen and leather clothing; articles of food, like barley, dried fruit, burnt bread; also coins, jewels, medals, and other objects too numerous to mention. The materials of them are flint, and almost every other kind of stone, wood, bone, ivory, leather, wool, flax, bronze, iron, lead, gold, silver, etc.

The examination of them has led to the belief that in Western Europe there was a time when the ancient savages were unacquainted with metals, and never polished their flint implements, but shaped them exclusively by chipping. This is termed the Palæolithic Age, and is set apparently at any

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vague period in the past which suits the fancy of writers. Some of them talk of millions of years.

At a time believed to be later the savages are supposed to have been still unacquainted with metals, and still to have used chipped flints; but they chipped with a nicer skill, and occasionally went to the prodigious labor of polishing flint axes by rubbing them for many a weary day on slabs of sandstone. This is called the Neolithic Age, or sometimes the Polished Stone Age. This is vaguely set by some at about ten thousand years ago.

In the next period the natives had acquired the knowledge of copper and tin, but not of iron. They still used flint, but supplemented it with bronze, an alloy of copper and tin, which is capable of being tempered almost like steel.

Finally, some time after the siege of Troy, and before the Christian era, the age of iron came in, when steel, by its superior excellence and cheapness, drove bronze implements mostly out of use.

As applied to actual discoveries, Mr. Southall believes that this distinction of ages is largely imaginary. He does not deny that there was a time when the early men of Europe had little or no metal, nor that there was a period when bronze was frequently used, and iron absent or scarce; but he believes that a clear distinction of ages can only be believed in by one who resolutely shuts his eyes to the fact that flint implements continued to be used down to a few centuries ago along with bronze and iron, and that innumerable articles of metal, and even coins of the Roman emperors, have been found in localities assigned to the Stone Age.

Megalithic Monuments and Tumuli.

Commencing with the megalithic monuments and *tumuli*, he proceeds to examine the recorded facts. The *tumuli* are closely connected with the great stone monuments, and evidently in many cases were built by the same people. This is shown both by the character of the remains, and by the fact that the two kinds of works are often combined, there being many megalithic tombs with the earth heaped in *tumuli* over them.

The megalithic monuments and *tumuli* are widely spread, existing all over Western Europe, in Northern Africa, in Pal-

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estine, in Arabia, in the Black Sea regions, in Tartary, in India, in Australia, and in North and South America. The labor involved in constructing such groups as are found at Stonehenge and Avebury, in England, was immense. Avebury consisted, first, of a circular wall of earth nearly three quarters of a mile in circumference, and inclosing in its interior a broad, moat-like ditch. Around the edge of the circular plateau inclosed by the ditch stood about one hundred huge stones, each fifteen to eighteen feet high and thirteen feet thick. Within this circle of stones stood two other circles of less dimensions. From the outer inclosing wall a grand avenue of stones ran perfectly straight for nearly a mile. Advocates of human antiquity have assigned this great work to the Neolithic Age, that is, to one of the periods when metals were unknown, and implements were made of stone. Now an antiquarian of two hundred years ago records that a "square bit of iron" was found under one of the stones in pulling it down, and Roman coins were found in and about the circle; while in an adjacent *tumulus*, which is a part of the general system of the works, an iron bridle-bit and fragments of armor were exhumed. The antiquarian, Mr. Ferguson, thinks that Avebury commemorates the battle of Badon Hill, fought A. D. 520.

Stonehenge is a smaller circle, but more artistic in structure. Its upright stones were connected by cap-stones, extending from one upright to another. The blocks prove the existence of metals by the fact that, though very hard, they are hewn into mortices and tenons, for retaining the cap-stones in position. Now against the supposition of a very enormous antiquity for Stonehenge must be placed the following facts:—

1. That there is written tradition of its origin. Geoffrey of Monmouth, writing in the twelfth century, says that it was erected about A. D. 462, in memory of English noblemen slain by Hengist. 2. In the time of King James the then Duke of Buckingham excavated under the great central trilithon, and found "a great many bones of stagges and oxen—arrowheads, and pieces of armor eaten out with rust," thus showing that the work belongs to the age of iron. 3. Sir R. C. Hoare excavated in the same place, and found Roman and British pottery and a large arrowhead of iron. Mr. Cunningham found, at the depth of three feet, near the "altar," Roman pottery. Finally,

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after the great trilithon fell, in 1797, Roman pottery was found in the earth which fell into the hole.

Similar facts are found in the dolmens (megalithic tombs) and *tumuli*. Those of Great Britain present in the same structure a mixture of stone, bronze, and iron implements, and frequently furnish coins of the Roman empire. Still more singularly to contradict the extravagant claims of antiquity, these coins are always of the later, and never of the earlier, emperors. Along the old Roman wall, and in various other Roman works, coins are abundant which reach back to the earliest emperors, but in the dolmens and *tumuli* none but the later emperors are represented. This important fact suggests the obvious inference that the works are later than the conquest of Julius Cesar, and probably made their appearance with the Saxons, and Danes or Norsemen. In one of them a large bronze ornament for a sword belt was found, bearing the following inscription in Runic characters: DOMNAL SELSHOFOTH A SOERTH THETA, which, translated, reads, "Domnal Sealshead owns sword this." Mr. Stephens refers it to about the ninth century after Christ, and Mr. Vigfusson to the eleventh century.

In other regions of the North similar facts exist. In a *tumulus* of the American mound-builders on the Atlantic coast an iron sword with an oaken hilt was exhumed. (See Smithsonian publications.)

In Denmark the cromlechs have yielded skeletons with well-woven woolen garments still unrotted in that damp climate, and yet Mr. Worsade claims for them an antiquity of twenty-five hundred years! Mr. Southall thinks they belong to the fifth century.

In Italy there are specimens of *tumuli* extending somewhat farther back, reaching, in our author's opinion, perhaps a very few centuries beyond the Christian era.

In India, the natives on the Khassia Hills, north of the Ganges, still erect megalithic monuments to the dead, which are almost exactly like those of England and France, and stand in thousands over their country.

It appears plainly that Mr. Southall has the best of the argument so far as megalithic monuments and *tumuli* are concerned, and that these works, though very interesting, are very far from being "prehistoric."

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The Lake Dwellings.

In the winter of 1853–4 the water of the Swiss lakes was unusually low, which led to the discovery, at Meilen, on Lake Zurich, of a quantity of ancient piles standing in the mud of the bottom, and of numerous fragments of pottery, stone implements, etc., scattered among them.

Further investigation showed the existence of great numbers of such localities in the margins of the Swiss lakes, and to some extent in the lakes and marshes of other countries. The inhabitants of these villages drove piles in the bottoms of the lakes at a moderate distance from the shore, and on them constructed platforms of timber, and upon the platforms built their houses. Their communication with the shore was by a narrow bridge, which probably contained a draw-span. They also used canoes.

The very highest antiquity is not claimed for these pile villages, but it is maintained that the earlier ones belong to the Neolithic Age, and go back, in the opinion of Sir John Lubbock, Professor Gillièron, and M. Morlot, at least six thousand or seven thousand years, while the later ones came down to the Roman times. No relics of mammoth nor of the reindeer were found among them.

That no prehistoric antiquity can be claimed for pile villages merely because they are such, is evident by the fact that they both appear in history, and are still in existence. Herodotus describes in detail the pile dwellings of his day in Lake Prasius; and a friend of Sir John Lubbock, living in the region, informs him that the fishermen on that lake still adhere to the custom. Hippocrates (*De Noribus*, etc., xxxvii) describes similar dwellings on the Phasis, (now Rioni.) In a similar manner, Abulfeda, the geographer, writing only about five centuries ago, describes the Christian fishermen living in the same manner in the Appamæan Lake, (hence called the Lake of the Christians,) along the Orontes, not very far from the north-east corner of the Mediterranean Sea. Similar structures exist in numerous islands of the East Indian Archipelago; and the city of Mexico, when first founded by the Toltecs, was a pile-village.*

* "Prescott's Conquest of Mexico."

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In spite of these perfectly established facts, and of the admitted numerous Roman relics in the Swiss pile villages, a writer says of these old Swiss villages that "they and their handiwork had sunk into oblivion before the Romans conquered Helvetia."

The distinction of the stone, bronze, and iron ages, so far as the pile villages are concerned, is an assumption without very definite proof. There were only a few in which the examination could be made in any other way than by dredging, which does not admit of careful observation as to the superposition of the relics of one age above those of another. Hence the writers speak of a "stone-age village," a "bronze station," or an "iron station," instead of successive strata in one place.

Practically, if they chance to find no metal, they refer the village to the stone age; if they find stone and some bronze articles, they call it a "bronze station;" and if they find any iron, they refer it to the Iron Age, however much stone or bronze there may be present. All three were often found together inextricably mixed, and not unfrequently stone implements were found abundantly with iron, and without any bronze. The following stations will give a fair idea of the discoveries:—

ROBENHAUSEN.—This was one of the few cases in which it was possible to examine successive strata. There were three layers, but no metal was found in any of them, hence they were all referred to the Stone Age. Fires had occurred in the dwellings, and perishable articles by being charred had been preserved from decay. They found down to the lowest stratum not only stone implements, but woven cloth, corn, apples, pottery, and flooring of the houses. In the next stratum the same thing occurred with the excrements of cows, sheep, and goats. All these things show that the people were by no means savages, yet this is set down as one of the very oldest of the Swiss stone-age settlements.

No actual articles of metal were discovered; but Dr. Keller says, in his work on the subject, that "the settlers, as has been supposed before, were in early times acquainted with copper and bronze, *for traces of these metals have been met with in the lower beds of the stone-age settlements.*

There were also various wooden articles, namely, a yoke, a flail, combs, a shoemaker's last, a large tub, and ladles, "showing an astonishing skill in carving." These things reveal a pretty well civilized agricultural people, who still, however,

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used many stone implements. What there is about them which can prove a prodigious antiquity is more than we can tell. There seems no evidences of it, yet it is reckoned one of the oldest pile villages.

WANGEN.—This is another stone-age station, and yielded great quantities of corn, flax, "baked cakes of bread," and other proofs that "the inhabitants were pre-eminent as agriculturists and handicraftsmen." No metal was found, but some of the stone axes were perforated with holes for the handles. Mr. Southall thinks this conclusively proves the existence of metallic drills, but others contend that wooden drills by the help of wet sand will accomplish the work. American Indians drilled holes in stone implements by a hollow piece of cane filled with sand, which cut a circular groove, and removed a cylindrical core of stone. Something similar was obviously possible to these early Swiss villages, so that the drilling does not prove metal; yet when we find relics of a people who imported a favorite stone from Asia; who raised apples, flax, and corn; who threshed with a flail, and stabled in buildings over the lake goats, sheep, and cows; who carved elegant ladles for their dairies; who had yokes for their cattle, combs for their hair and lasts to make shoes on, it is not perfectly logical to assume that they were utterly ignorant of metals, merely because the excavations brought out no metallic tools, but only "traces of copper and bronze."

If we run briefly through the other principal stations we find as follows:—

LAKE OF CONSTANCE—WESTERN SHORE.—"Bronze Age Station," (so-called.) The articles were bronze celts, an iron knife, iron arrowheads, an iron fish-hook, flint implements, and pottery made without a wheel.

EASTERN SHORE.—*Nussdorf.*—Numerous implements of flint, fifty axes of nephrite imported from Asia, fifty perforated stone axes, drilled with a hollow tube, (probably of metal,) and remains of horses.

Maurach.—Stone implements, and a copper ax.

Unter Uhldingen.—Several hundred stone, bronze, and iron implements, with Roman pottery, and fragments of eleven glass goblets, and a glass slab. This shows that stone, bronze, iron, and glass were used at one and the same period.

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Sipplingen.—This is reckoned a bronze station on account apparently of a single copper ax; yet there were found over three hundred stone implements, an iron lance-head, three iron arrowheads, two iron sickles, one iron sword, two iron cylinders, and one iron Roman key.

La Tène on Lake Neufchatel.—Numerous flint implements and flakes, fourteen bronze articles, fifty splendid iron swords, one iron scabbard inlaid with silver, Roman pottery, coins of the Roman emperors Claudius and Tiberius, coins of Marseilles, a gold coin of Helvetia, and a bad counterfeit of a coin of Philip of Macedon. Also, several cheap coins of ruder sorts.

Lake Geneva.—*Morges.*—Bronze celts and swords, an iron poignard, and a silver object.

Les Roseaux.—Stone, and bronze, and iron implements. Dr. Keller says the place was not inhabited long, yet the implements of all the three ages occur in it together.

It is not necessary to quote further details. The objects of stone, iron, and bronze are inextricably mixed; but yet it is to be observed that the western stations, which from their location had free trade with the Roman colony at Marseilles, furnish most specimens of iron and bronze, while those far off in the east appear to have used metals less and stone more. This is as might be expected in tribes dependent on trade for metallic tools.

On the whole, it appears impossible to classify the Swiss lake stations according to the three ages. It may be claimed that the three ages existed there, but that the articles were mixed by dropping on a common lake bottom, so that the difference of time is obliterated. Possibly this is so, but this very explanation concedes that the rule of three successive ages cannot be there made out. The fact is probably that stone and brass were in use long after iron had made its appearance. Bronze weapons have been found in the trenches of Cesar's camps, and doubtless stone, bronze, and iron were in use together, just as stone and iron are used by tribes to-day in America, though iron was introduced nearly four hundred years ago.

The opinion of Morlot and Lubbock, that the pile dwellings have a *minimum* antiquity of six thousand or seven thousand years, appears to be based on a calculation of Professor Gilliéron, of the college at Neuveville.

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Sir John Lubbock gives the following account of the calculation to obtain a date for the lake habitation at the Pont de Thièle:—

This stream connected the Lakes of Neufchâtel and Bienne. During the first part of its course the valley is narrow, and the bridge, close to which the lake habitation has been discovered, is situated at the narrowest spot. A little farther down the valley suddenly expands, and from this point remains of the same width until it joins the Lake of Bienne. It is evident that the valley so far as the bridge over the Thièle was once occupied by the lake, which has gradually been silted up; and if we could ascertain how long it would have taken to effect this change, we should then know approximately the age of the remains (of the lake dwelling) found at the Pont de Thièle. The Abbey of St. Jean, which stands in the valley about three hundred and seventy-five meters from the present shore of the lake, is about seven hundred and fifty years old. It is possible that it may not have been built exactly on the edge of the lake; but even if this was the case, the gain of land will only have been three hundred and seventy-five meters in seven hundred and fifty years. Professor Gillièron does not compare with this the whole space between the convent and the lake dwelling, because in the narrowest part of the valley, in which the latter is situated, the gain may have been more rapid; but if we only go to the point where the basin contracts, we shall have a distance of three thousand meters, which would, upon these data, indicate a *minimum* antiquity of six thousand seven hundred and fifty years.

Sir John Lubbock grows eloquent over this proof; but Mr. Southall quietly upsets the whole calculation by calling attention to the fact that *Roman pottery and tiles* were among the articles found in this lake dwelling, which were certainly deposited within nineteen hundred years.

We shall have occasion again to show the utter carelessness of Sir John Lubbock in indorsing scientific blunders, provided they only prop up the theory of human antiquity.

The Kjökken Möddings, or Shell Heaps.

Along the eastern shore of Denmark lived an ancient tribe of fishermen. They gathered from the waters immense quantities of shell-fish, and heaped up the shells with other rubbish near their dwellings. These heaps are the kjökken möddings. The shells are principally those of oysters, mussels, cockles, and periwinkles. The oyster is no longer found in the Baltic, so that it is believed that it is much less salt now than formerly,

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when Denmark is supposed to have been an archipelago which admitted sea currents and tides freely across its bosom. The shell mounds are also found on the Danish islands, in the Channel Islands of Great Britain, in Scotland, in France, as well as along the coast of America, from Nova Scotia to the Gulf of Mexico, and on the Pacific coast. The shell heaps in Denmark contain the bones of the urus, the stag, the wild boar, the roedeer, the dog, the fox, the seal, the otter, wolf, beaver, bear, mouse, and a wild ox smaller than the urus; but there are no relics of the mammoth, the rhinoceros, the musk-ox, reindeer, elk, sheep, or hare.

The implements are of flint, and generally rude in structure, though a few better ones are found. None are polished, and no metals are found. The evidence of an immense antiquity of the heaps rests solely on the unpolished and rude character of the flints, the absence of metal, and the disappearance of the oyster from the Baltic. Professor Worsade argues the antiquity from the unpolished character of the flints, "the remains of a much ruder people than those who erected the large Stone Age *tumuli*, and made the beautiful weapons found in them."

Professor Steenstrup, however, calls attention to the fact that well-worked flints do occur in the heaps occasionally, and that they are not to be expected frequently; for, while the *tumuli* were the honored tombs of chieftains, the kjökken möddings were but the refuse heaps of fishermen. He recalls the fact also that rude implements, as well as fine ones, occur in the *tumuli*. Among such a distant people the metals may have well been absent, or too rare and precious to be lost in the heaps, though well known on the shores of the Mediterranean. The Danish antiquaries admit that iron was unknown there before the Christian era, and bronze may well have been very scarce, and not long in use. The absence of the reindeer seems to show a much more recent people than the old reindeer hunters of the French and Belgian caverns. The urus proves nothing, as that is not a prehistoric animal, and in fact existed in Germany down to the sixteenth century.

Light may be thrown on the age of the Danish shell heaps by examination of those of Britain. The former were far out of the track of all civilized nations, the latter were within reach of Phenician and Roman commerce.

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Mr. J. W. Flower, F. G. S., ("Anthropological Review,") found in the kjökken möddings of the Channel Islands bronze, iron, hand-made bricks, glass, and Roman pottery, including Samian ware. There is no reason for concluding that the Danish heaps are materially older than these. The disappearance of the oyster from the Baltic may well have occurred in the historic period, considering that the changes of level necessary to affect the free flow of sea currents into it would not be greater than have occurred elsewhere in a much shorter time. The oyster has almost absolutely disappeared from the coast of Maine, in the United States, without any change of level, within a moderate period, owing, as is supposed, to the effect of the saw-mills in filling the water with woody particles. The American heaps have yielded stone implements, pottery, copper ornaments, English coins, the bones of an infant wrapped in red silk, etc.

There is absolutely nothing on either continent to show that the shell heaps are "prehistoric" in the sense of "pre-Adamic."

The Bone Caves.

The study of the bone caves is a little complex, but its bearing on the question of human antiquity will be best understood by stating two or three points toward which all the arguments converge:—

1. There has been in Belgium, Northern France, and many other parts of Europe and America, a tremendous water disturbance, a deluge, if you please. 2. This deluge covered all Belgium, and many other regions, leaving a stratum of mud over the previous post-pliocene surface. It also entered the Belgium caves, and laid a floor of mud, which separates the deposits older than the inundation from those formed since and above it. 3. Under the undisturbed mud of this deluge are found the bones and rude implements of men, with bones of the mammoth, the *Rhinoceros tichorhinus*, the cave bear, cave hyena, cave lion, etc., in such relations as to leave little doubt that they were contemporaneous. This was the true Palæolithic, or Post-Pliocene Age. There is no sufficient proof that the mammoth has been seen alive in Europe since. 4. In one important cavern calculations have been made on the growth of the stalag-

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mite covering human relics, from which an antiquity of enormous extent has been deduced.

These are the main points. Many minor ones are brought forward which have value in the eyes of particular men, but they are not generally accepted, and rest on false or dubious assumptions of various kinds.

As to the bearing of the main points, it is claimed that the striking geological changes shown by the inundation, and the change of climate supposed to be shown by the disappearance of the old fauna, require an immense period of time. It is claimed, especially, that the mammoth disappeared at a period far beyond the scope of sacred or profane history, and that to show that men were contemporaneous with that beast settles the whole question.

Mr. Southall gives the details of the discoveries in about every important cave ever excavated for "prehistoric" relics, but the mass of material is too great to be given in detail. It will be better to select as specimens those caverns most valued for proof.

Intrinsically, the best light has been thrown on the palæolithic men of the caverns by Dupont of Belgium, because he not only exhumed a vast number of relics, but found a distinct stratum dividing the Palæolithic from the Neolithic Age, namely, the mud deposit of the Franco-Belgian deluge. He also found the complete skulls and skeletons of the men of that day. He made his excavations under the auspices of the Belgian government, and did his work with great thoroughness. He accepts the usual continental notion of a great antiquity, but apparently his facts are not palatable to the continental archæologists, for in the place of their infinite ages of slow transition from palæolithic to neolithic times, his deluge stratum, called in that country the *Terre a Brique*, cuts the former abruptly off, and introduces neolithic relics suddenly, and without transition, above it. He has also, in common with Dawson and Boucher de Perthes, committed the mortal offense of suggesting that this great inundation (which affected large areas on both continents) may be the identical deluge of history and tradition. The French caves either did not have the advantage of this geological stratum, separating the different ages, or else it was overlooked by the excavators.

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At any rate, MM. Lartet, Christy, and others, seem to rely exclusively on the character of the implements, and the presence or absence of bones of extinct animals and other similar methods to distinguish the periods, all of which are liable to be very deceptive.

The fact is, the determination of ages in caverns is subject to great difficulties. 1. The same streams which excavate the cavern, bring into it from the earth above bones and relics of all preceding ages mingled altogether. 2. These same streams cut into and rearrange the cave earth from time to time, mingling different ages. 3. The men using the caverns may grade the earth in it for their own convenience, excavating one part and filling up another, and burrowing animals supplement the work to some extent. For these reasons it is rare that the relics can be known to be in their original order of superposition; and it is an unusual and special advantage when a wide floor of stalagmite or a complete stratum of *Terre a Brique* subdivides the deposit in a reliable manner into different periods.

Dupont's facts are these: Below the *Terre a Brique* he found human skeletons, with well-developed skulls, of a type now living, and called by anthropologists "Uralo-Turanian." They showed no inferiority of form to the world's present inhabitants. There were countless thousands of flint implements, none of which were polished. There were ornaments of shell and of beautiful stones, such as fluor-spar, and many articles which had been imported from considerably distant regions. There were implements of bone, including elegant bone needles with well-drilled eyes, showing that the people were not naked, but possessed the art of sewing garments. Their fireplaces were found surrounded with the relics of their feasts, and among the rest a joint of the fore leg of a mammoth carefully laid away on a flat plate of stone. This bone was more decayed than the rest, leading to a doubt whether it was laid away as a joint of meat, or simply as a dry bone and an object of superstition or curiosity. However, the bones of the mammoth, the *Rhinoceros tichorhinus*, the cave bear, etc., were abundant, and connected with the relics of men, so as to give the highest probability that they were all contemporaneous. No metals were discovered.

Above the *Terre a Brique* all is changed. The mammoth,

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the *Rhinoceros tichorhinus*, the cave bear, the cave hyena, etc., no longer occur; the stone implements are of a different type, and often polished; articles of bronze and iron are found, as also coins of various countries; and other relics of all ages, even down to the present day. In all this mass of material the chief thing that suggests a great antiquity is the association of palæolithic men with the extinct animals, which simply raises the question whether men are more ancient, or mammoth more recent, than was formerly supposed.

The caves of other European countries, though not generally showing the diluvian mud stratum, have yielded a still greater mass of relics, many of which are apparently truly palæolithic. The caverns of France not only show human bones mingled with those of the mammoth and other extinct animals, but have furnished specimens of the artistic efforts of the cave men. On a piece of reindeer's horn from La Madelaine two fishes are rudely sketched. On another piece is a fish, very rude, two horses' heads, pretty well drawn, and a native man. Another sketch gave a group of reindeer with considerable skill, and easily recognizable.

A sketch was found in Aquataine, drawn on reindeer's horn, representing a male bison pursued by a naked man, who grasped the tail with one hand, and plunged a spear into the animal's side with the other. The man had a beard, and his naked condition is taken as proof that the cave-dwellers had not yet developed to the clothes-wearing stage. Those who take this view have not yet explained what use they had for the numerous and beautiful bone needles found among the relics of their housekeeping. The most famous drawing of all is a congeries of scratches made on the convex surface of a broken piece of mammoth's tusk. This sketch is supposed to be intended to represent the mammoth itself. The engravings given of this celebrated fragment for the most part grossly exaggerate the degree of resemblance. Mr. Southall's copy, a *fac simile* of that in the Smithsonian publications, reverses the position of the animal, and, in common with other engravings, looks far more like a mammoth than the original sketch of the savage did. The writer of this review, after studying with interest several engravings and a plaster cast, was much disappointed when he came to see the original

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ivory. The copies seemed to have had certain lines retouched, in order to show the animal more clearly. After intently studying the original for a considerable time, it seemed doubtful whether the scratches were intended to represent any thing whatever. It was possible to make out the form only by picking out certain lines from a tangled congeries and rejecting others equally prominent. Still a sort of resemblance exists, and if it were intended for a mammoth, it shows unquestionably that the savage had seen the beast alive.

Sir John Lubbock says that pottery was not found in the ancient caves; but he is mistaken in this, for Dupont reports it in Belgium, and other explorers found it in France along with bone needles, flint hatchets, and bones of extinct animals. Efforts were made some years ago to show that the cave-dwellers were a very low grade of humanity in point of brain development; in short, were in a state of transition from the apes. A fragment of skull was found in a cave at Neanderthal which created a profound sensation. This cranium was very low in the forehead, being, as Huxley observed, "the most pithecoid of skulls." However, in spite of its distorted form, it was not very small, and had a larger brain cavity than many men now living. There was no proof of its antiquity, for, though found in a cave, it was not found with the relics of extinct animals. Another skull which created a sensation was found associated with the extinct quadrupeds in a cave at Engis. It, however, showed no signs of inferiority. Professor Huxley remarks, "There is no mark of degradation about any part of its structure. It is, in fact, a fair average human skull, which might have belonged to a philosopher, or might have contained the thoughtless brains of a savage."

The skulls taken out at Bruniquel were well developed, and equal to those of Celtic stock now. Similar remarks apply to the skulls of the cave men of Eyzies. M. Quatrefages says that the male skull of Cro-Magnon "is remarkable for its capacity, and exceeds the average European skull of the present day." In like manner the three "fossil men of Mentone," belonging to the earliest Stone Age, all have fine skulls, and the same is true of the palæolithic skulls exhumed by Dupont from beneath the mud of the great Belgian deluge. If the famous Neanderthal skull, therefore, was really palæolithic, of

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which there is no proof at all; it was merely a monstrosity, and had no more resemblance to other men of that day than analogous monstrosities have now. The palæolithic skulls found are not inferior to those of the average men now living.

There is a famous bone cave in Devonshire, England, called Kent's Hole. In this there are two floors of stalagmite, separated by strata of earth; and human relics, with bones of extinct animals, were found beneath the lowest. Mr. Evans and Mr. Boyd Dawkins, both distinguished investigators, doubt the authenticity of the lowest find of implements, because there were evidences of former excavations, breakages of the floors, and other disturbances of various kinds, which might have mingled the upper and lower relics. However, Mr. Vivian, in the meeting of the British Association for 1871, contended that if the deposition of stalagmite went on formerly as now, it would take a million of years to form these two floors. Mr. Evans more modestly observes that it would probably require thousands of years. Both gentlemen seem to have calculated from very scanty *data*. Wherever water contains carbonic acid, it will take up in solution any carbonate of lime over which it flows. If this solution trickle into a cave the carbonic acid escapes, and the carbonate of lime precipitates as stalactite and stalagmite. The carbonic acid is often exhaled in vast abundance from the deep unknown sources below, and also a steady supply is derived from the decay of vegetation above. The growth of stalagmite will, therefore, vary greatly, according to the varying supply of carbonic acid, lime, and water. At San Vignone, in Tuscany, a spring issues from the rock which deposits six inches of stalagmite every year in the conduit leading from it. At Martin's cave, Gibraltar, a copper plate with the ornamentation of the twelfth century on it was found under eighteen inches of stalagmite. Mr. Clausen broke a hole in the stalagmitic floor of a cavern in Brazil. A few years after he found this hole completely filled up with new material of the same sort. Mr. Boyd Dawkins observed in Ingleborough cave stalagmite which increased at a rate equal to twenty-nine and a half inches in a century. If that of Kent's Hole was deposited at an equal rate, the whole might have been formed since the time of Edward III. Mr. W. Bruce Clarke ("Nature," January 1, 1874) observed in a

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cavern near Buxton stalagmite about an eighth of an inch thick, which had formed in six months on an iron pipe, which is at the rate of twenty-five inches in a century. Mr. Reclus states that at a cave in Adelsberg a skeleton was shown some years ago merely shrouded in a white coating of stalagmite, but is now buried in the thickness of it; and that the skeletons of the three hundred Cretans smoked to death by the Turks in 1822 in the cave of Melidhoni are gradually disappearing under the increasing stalagmite. In the United States, Professor Winchell says that in a lead cave near Dubuque, Iowa, stalactites three feet long have formed in three years. At Idaho Springs, in Colorado, a bath-house was built a few years ago, and the chips, and other objects dropped in the steam, are already covered with stalagmite. In Europe there are places where this fact is made a source of profit, various objects, such as birds'-nests with the eggs, imitation bouquets, etc., are coated thickly with stone by exposing them to the action of the water for a moderate period. They are then sold to visitors as petrifactions.

The fact is, stalagmite has no definite rate of growth. In favorable circumstances it will form in a cave with prodigious rapidity; but any change diverting the supply of water, or cutting off the access of carbonic acid, may arrest it. That any scientific man should ever have imagined that it could be used a sa measure of an antiquity running back through all sorts of changing conditions, is merely one of the many incomprehensible vagaries which have cropped out in the investigation of "prehistoric times."

The so-called "extinct" animals of palæolithic caves are not really all exterminated. The cave bear has recently been identified with the American grizzly, and only differs from the present brown bear of the north of Europe in being larger. Scientific men assert also that the cave hyena is the spotted hyena of Africa, and that the bones of the cave lion are identical with those of the present Asiatic lion. It may be stated in addition that the bones of the modern African elephant have been found in Spanish caves, and also in Italy. It appears, therefore, to be pretty well proved: 1. That the Palæolithic Age was closed out in Belgium and France by a great inundation, which some scientific men think was a part of the

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great historical deluge, and that the first relics found after that are of a different and higher type; and that in Belgium, at least, the Palæolithic Age did not merge slowly into the Neolithic, as has so often been loosely assumed. 2. The mammoth and *Rhinoceros tichorhinus* were contemporaneous with men before the inundation, but, so far as can now be ascertained, have not been seen alive since that catastrophe, their bones not occurring above the inundation mud; but the cave bear, cave lion, cave hyena, hippopotamus, musk ox, and reindeer are identical with animals still existing in other regions. The ordinary phrases about an "extinct fauna" and "the disappearance of the old fauna," and "the introduction of a new fauna," so often appearing in the works of eminent men, in this connection are scientifically false. No fauna has become extinct since palæolithic times. We have merely lost a very few species out of it; neither has any new fauna been introduced, as all our present species, so far as we know, existed then. Now, in view of the fact that during the tranquil times of modern history several species have become extinct, it is not surprising that a few others succumbed during the more violent changes of the ancient period. There is no scientific proof whatever that any enormous time was consumed in the extinction of the *Elephas primigenius* (mammoth) and the *Rhinoceros tichorhinus*. 3. The oldest cave men were physically and mentally equal to the average of the nations now living, having well-developed skulls of good form. The supposed degraded specimens, like that at Neanderthal, are merely individual deformities, in no wise worse than analogous specimens now alive. 4. The paleolithic cave men were artisans in stone, ivory, horn, bone, and wood. They ornamented themselves with paints, crystals, and shells. 5. They made clothing with the aid of needles and thread. 6. They had music, and constructed bone flutes. They also showed some skill in drawing. 7. They trafficked with distant regions, and brought nephrite even from Asia. 8. "They buried their dead with reverence and decency," and seem to have had a religion, but are suspected of cannibalism. They seem to have been in many respects much in the condition of the Esquimo Indians, who, despite their climate, are considerably above the ordinary red Indian of the north and west.

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SOLUTRE.

A great deal of discussion was excited in France by the discovery of a palæolithic village at a place called Solutrè. Successive examinations by Lartet, Pruner Bey, Mortillet, Abbé Ducrost, and others, evolved at first contradictory statements, but further investigation and discovery apparently settled the following results: Solutrè was one of a number of palæolithic camps or villages which existed in France and Belgium. The present relics consist of flat hearths of stone, over and around which are strewed innumerable flint instruments and flakes, some of them very finely wrought, but not polished. There is no metal. With the flints are multitudes of cut and scorched bones and horns, the refuse of their huts or tents and kitchens. The animals are reindeer, stags, foxes, rabbits, cave bears, elephants, horses, etc. The reindeer were very numerous; but as certain parts of the skeleton were usually absent, it was concluded that they were not domesticated, but hunted wild, and only convenient parts brought home. The horses, on the contrary, present in due proportion the bones of every part, showing that they were slaughtered at the village, and were therefore domesticated. The number of horses represented by the bones was estimated at forty thousand.

Many small tombs were found. When the villagers lost a comrade by death they laid him on his hearth, where with natural slabs of stones they built a little tomb for him. They laid his weapons and a supply of food by his side, and covered the whole with earth and *débris*. Among those thus carefully entombed were many old persons, and, in other cases, little children, laid seemingly with a poetic feeling on the warm hearth-stones where they had lived and loved. The skulls were examined by M. Pruner Bey and pronounced to be "Mongoloid," and of a perfect, full, and complete development, without a trace of any approach to the inferior animals. The bones seemed very fresh, and retained a large proportion of their animal matter. It will be remembered that Dupont's Belgian palæolithic skulls were also Mongoloid, ("Uralo-Turanian.")

It would seem, therefore, that the men of Solutrè were of the cave race, or at least contemporary with them. There is nothing to show in years the date of their existence. French

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archæologists fancied that they belonged to the close of palæolithic time, because they found some unpolished, but very finely-worked flints; but such minute distinctions are utterly unreliable, as one tribe or settlement will often do fine work, while another much later may be far more rude in handiwork. These villagers, palæolithic and contemporary with the mammoth, were by no means mere savages. Like their cousins, the modern Mongolians, they were in the pastoral stage of civilization, and derived their principal subsistence apparently from their vast herds of horses, which they doubtless used also for riding and for beasts of burden. It does not appear whether the habitations over the stone hearths were wooden houses or tents.

The Gravel and Peat of the Valley of the Somme, in France.

That great geological riddle, the period of the Bowlder Drift, seems to have preceded the advent of man. From time to time discoveries have been announced that human relics have been found in it, and even under it, but hitherto no such discoveries have stood the test of investigation. Though the Bowlder Drift phenomena may possibly have been active in some countries, while men lived in others, it is difficult to prove it, and in the main we must accept that period as the ancient boundary of human existence. With the close of the Bowlder Drift came in the period, variously called the "Quaternary," "Palæolithic," or "First Stone Age." This was the period of the mammoth, the *Rhinoceros tichorhinus*, the cave bear, and probably also of the American mastodon. This "Quaternary" or "Palæolithic" Age in Belgium, in many parts of the United States, and in various other regions, was terminated by the coming on of the tremendous deluge of the Lœss. Whether some part of this catastrophe constituted the deluge described in tradition and in Scripture cannot at present be determined; but in Belgium, at least, neither palæolithic man nor the mammoth were ever seen alive after it. At this period much of the higher ground of France seems to have escaped actual submergence, but to have had tremendous floods rushing down its valleys, depositing vast beds of valley gravel far above the level of the present stream. In these

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river gravels the bones and implements of the palæolithic folk are entombed with the mammoth and the *Rhinoceros tichorhinus*. This is the "Quaternary" gravel, often called by Europeans the "Drift," though later than the Bowlder Drift proper. It is only a river drift.

In the north-west of France runs the little river Somme, in one of these wide, gravel-lined valleys. Thirty-five years ago M. Boucher de Perthes began to find flint implements of a rude character, and ultimately human bones, with those of the mammoth, etc., in these gravels, far above the modern reach of the river, and sometimes more than fifteen feet below the surface. His statements were received at first with incredulity, and many a hot discussion followed. The region around was searched, and more relics were found, and ultimately great numbers were discovered, both in France, England, and in other countries. The relics were all of the Palæolithic Age, and evidently belonged to the same period as those found in the older cave deposits.

The question at once arose about the probable age of these human relics. Sir Charles Lyell ("Prehistoric Times") estimated it at eight hundred thousand years, but Sir John Lubbock thought it not over two hundred and forty thousand years. The following extract from Mr. Evans's "Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain" shows the prevalent style of talk on the subject:—

> But when we remember that the traditions of the mighty and historic city (London) now extending across the valley (of the Thames) do not carry us back even to the close of that period of many centuries, when a bronze-using people occupied this island; when we bear in mind that beyond that period lies another of probably far longer duration, when our barbaric predecessors sometimes polished their stone implements, but were still unacquainted with the use of metallic tools; when to the Historic, Bronze, and Neolithic Ages we mentally add that long series of years which must have been required for the old fauna, with the mammoth and rhinoceros, and other, to us, strange and unaccustomed forms, to be supplanted by a group of animals more closely resembling those of the present day; and when, remembering all this, we realize the fact that all these vast periods of years have intervened since the completion of the excavation of the valley and the close of the palæolithic period, the mind is almost lost in amazement at the vista of antiquity displayed.—P. 622.

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This is a very fine piece of rhetoric, but the inquiring mind naturally seeks for something like facts to support such ponderous assertions. Now the facts are that the history of London reaches back to the Bronze Age, that the Bronze and Neolithic Ages ran on largely together, and as to the Palæolithic Age, its duration is one of the unproved assertions. European *savans*, with all their merits, when they get on this subject seem to largely abandon facts, taking to the wings of imagination, and setting off on a general cloud-race, to see who can most glorify the antiquity of the palæolithic gravel.

The assumption of Sir John Lubbock is this: The little river Somme, perhaps fifty feet wide, began its course before the valley was cut. Little by little he supposes it made a channel with its present amount of water, leaving gravel banks on its sides, and the palæolithic folk lived there, and fished and hunted, and left their implements in those upper gravels. As the ages wore away the river cut deeper into the rock, abandoned its upper gravels, and laid new terraces lower down, and the men moved down also. So cutting its way down, and meandering this way and that, the little creek, with always about its present amount of water, gradually, through hundreds of thousands of years, nibbled out its valley of two hundred feet in depth and a mile and a half in width, and all this time men lived there. After the valley was thus completed the great peat beds began to grow, and thirty thousand years more or less are claimed for them alone.

One source of great errors in Sir John Lubbock and others was, that being absorbed in the study of the implements, they made a very imperfect and loose examination of the physical geology of the valley. M. Boucher de Perthes, who lived in it, and studied it all his life-time, announced that the gravel-beds were the effect of a great water disturbance of a remarkable character. "*Cataclysme qui donna à notre pays sa configuration presente.*" Lyell and Lubbock were habitually opposed to allowing any thing in geology to be done by catastrophes, and so without properly considering the points, which might determine that question, they coolly set aside Boucher de Perthes's carefully formed opinion, and substituted the theory that the results were due to a very long action of the present little trickling stream, and the other *savans* followed suit.

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Professor Andrews, of Chicago, examined the ground, and pointed out the impossibility of Lubbock's theory. Professor Dawson, the celebrated geologist of Montreal, examined the valley about the same time, and came independently to the same conclusion as Professor Andrews. At a later period, Alfred Tylor, F. G. S., of England, (Quarterly Journal, Geol. Soc., May, 1867,) examined the valley very thoroughly, with the help of French civil engineers, and came to the conclusion that the whole theory of Lubbock and Lyell, that the gravels were the slow successive deposits by a small stream, was a pure figment of the imagination, and that the "terraces," marking the supposed successive levels, though figured by Lubbock in an engraving, actually had no existence. The gravel lay in a continuous sheet up the sides of the valley, and Lubbock mistook a few isolated knobs of rock, projecting above the sheet, for a division of it into separate terraces. Our author thus summarizes Professor Andrews's article:—

Dr. Andrews states that the river Somme, at Amiens, is a small stream, apparently some fifty feet in width, meandering along the flat floor of an ancient water-course of much greater dimensions. The valley is about a mile and a half in breadth from summit to summit of the bluffs, and not far from two hundred feet in depth. In the lower part of its course it is purely a valley of erosion, excavated in soft chalk; but above Amiens it expands into wide irregular basins, which are apparently the natural undulations of the surface, which existed before the land rose from the sea, and which are now connected by valleys of erosion, cut from one to another. Upon the floor of the valley, and extending far up the sides, are the famous gravel beds, which sometimes attain a thickness of twenty feet. Upon the low based gravels rests a bed of peat about twenty-six feet thick. Near Amiens Dr. Andrews observed evidence, that at the time the deposit was formed, blocks of ice, or of mixed ice and frozen gravel, three or four feet in diameter, were laid down in the strata, and that these blocks were completely covered, and had other strata laid over them before they had time to melt. There is also proof that the river which did this work had a volume of not less than one thousand times that of the ordinary summer stream of the Somme. The facts are these: The mass of the upper gravels consists of chalk flints mixed with angular fragments, powder of crushed chalk, and rolled chalk pebbles and bowlders, the whole being of a bright gray tint. Upon the gray gravel lies a thin stratum of dark colored gravelly clay. Over this is a brown gravel, and above that the surface stratum of the region, the *Terre a Brique* of France and Belgium, which Dupont found capping over the palæolithic deposits even in the caves. In

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the gray gravel below there are places where the strata above have fallen in, as if a block of ice below had melted out, and let the lower clay seam and the brown gravel over it settle down into the cavity; after which every thing was washed smooth on the surface, and then the *Terre a Brique* laid on, showing that the whole was finished at the Loess Period. A fine example was seen in the upper gravel pits at Amiens. Here the gray gravel was missing for a horizontal distance of about four feet, the space being filled with confused materials from the darker strata above. The sides of the interrupted space were nearly perpendicular, and the thin dark clay stratum, which once had evidently extended across the top of the space, had settled and broken in the center, the parts falling in against the sides of the space below and hanging perpendicularly, the brown gravel above then falling in. The conclusion is obvious that this space was once filled with a block of ice, (containing probably gravel,) and that the deposit of material was so rapid that it was covered over completely, and the thin clay and the brown gravel strata, amounting in all to near seven feet, were laid on above it before the ice had time to melt. As the ice liquefied the strata above settled and fell into its place, and soon afterward the wider flood of the *Terre a Brique* smoothed every thing over at the top.

Sir Charles Lyell, in a rather careless way, noticed similar curious contortions of the strata, and attributed them to ice action, but did not analyze them sufficiently to see their bearing on the size of the stream and the rapidity of the deposit:—

An examination of the gray gravel confirms the idea of ice action. It consists of chalk flints, rolled bowlders, and pebbles of chalk, and broken angular fragments of chalk of every size. Many of the soft chalk fragments have preserved the sharpness of their angles (formed as they were broken from the strata) so perfectly that it does not seem that they could have been rolled a hundred feet on the bottom. They must have been dropped from floating ice, or deposited by ice-fields coming down the stream, crushing the projecting angles of the chalk strata, and leaving the *débris* wherever the irregularities of the channel permitted. The agency of ice is also emphatically indicated by the presence of large boulders of sandstone, some of which weigh a ton. These must have been transported from far up the stream, as the rocks in the vicinity are exclusively chalk. Sir John Lubbock contends that the valley was excavated by the gentle action of the river, through hundreds of thousands of years, with about its present volume of water. Dr. Andrews remarks that the valley is a mile and a half wide at the top, and the present river about fifty feet in breadth. If we allow, with Sir John, considerable increase for spring floods, the water spread over the whole valley might attain at times the depth of half an inch. This is obviously inadequate to the float-

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ing of great ice-fields, and the deposit of gravel beds, containing pebbles larger than a man's head and bowlders weighing a ton. The valley presents none of the characters of one widened by the irregular action of a small stream, now eroding this bank and now that. It is broad, level-floored, and parallel-banked. The stream that excavated it filled it from bluff to bluff, and the gravel deposit, instead of being in separate terraces, laps down the slope like a great blanket.

The conclusions which Dr. Andrews draws from these facts are: "1. That the ancient river and the ancient rainfall were for a time immensely greater than now. 2. The rapidity of the gravel deposit was, at least in some places, very great, and the time proportionately short." If six feet of it was deposited while a buried block of ice was melting, it is impossible to claim two hundred thousand years for the remaining ten or fifteen feet.

But the bottom gravels are covered with twenty-six feet of peat, the time of whose growth is to be added to the antiquity of the gravel. M. Boucher de Perthes sought to determine the rate of growth of the peat, but this being a forest peat, and not one of the moss growths, he was naturally unacquainted with the phenomena involved in such cases, and overlooked his most important data, an error perhaps excusable in a country where few trees are allowed to grow and none to decay, and consequently the growth of forest peat is never seen. The peasantry on the ground informed him that there was at present no increase of the peat, in which they were undoubtedly correct; but M. Boucher de Perthes took up the notion that they must be mistaken, and the growth merely too slow for them to observe. There are great numbers of relics found in the peat of every age except the palæolithic, and Boucher de Perthes in one instance found some Roman articles within ten inches of the surface. He says he generally found the Roman relics to extend down about six and a half feet, but seems to have been ignorant of the fact that they have also been found at the very bottom of the deposit. He also had an idea that perhaps many articles might gradually sink through the peat, and thus be found lower down than they belonged; but peat, though soft, is rather tough and fibrous, and large articles, such as Roman boats, for instance, could not sink in it. However, M. Boucher de Perthes took the articles

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which were nearest the surface for his starting-point, and without any correction by other means, took the ten inches of peat over them as the measure of the accretion from the Roman times till now. Dividing the ten inches by the number of centuries, he deduced about one and a half or two inches a century as the rate of growth for the peat of the Somme, and applying this to the twenty-six feet thickness of the beds, he concludes that they occupied at least fifteen thousand or twenty thousand years in their growth.

Dr. Andrews, being a practical woodsman, sees things in a different light. His criticisms are thus condensed by Mr. Southall:—

M. Boucher de Perthes states that he has found deep in the peats of the Somme numerous trunks of trees standing erect where they grew. These trunks were sometimes a meter (39.14 inches) in height, but generally less, [mostly birches and alders.] On this Dr. Andrews remarks that as stumps of trees do not stand long without decay when uncovered in the damp air of a swamp, it follows that all which are found standing erect in the peat must have been covered to their present summits before they had time to rot away. Applying M. Boucher's estimate of one and a half or two inches a century for the growth of the peat, some of the above-mentioned stumps must have stood uncovered without decay from one thousand nine hundred and fifty years to two thousand six hundred years! Now, one hundred years is a long life-time for even an oak stump in such circumstances, and every trace of almost any other tree would disappear in fifty years. Birch stumps are especially perishable. There were also prostrate trunks of oak in the peat four feet in diameter, and so sound that they were manufactured into furniture. They must have been covered by the peat in a hundred years. The rest of the calculation is easily made.

The observation of the peasants to Boucher de Perthes, that there is at present no increase of the peat, is doubtless true, and very easily explained:—

The beds of the Somme belong to the class of forest peats, and not to that of the moss growths. Forest peats, as may be seen in thousands of localities in the United States, are formed as follows: The annual crop of twigs, leaves, and wind-fall trunks furnished by the trees and shrubbery of a dense swamp amounts to an immense mass of vegetable matter. These, added to a thick undergrowth of grass, herbs, and moss, are all pressed against the ground by the winter snows. In the spring they are flooded, and thus protected from decay. In the summer they are partly

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preserved from oxygenation by the extreme wetness of the soil into which they have been pressed. Hence, they are only slightly rotten when they are finally covered up by the fall of the next autumn's crop. To one who studies the actual quantity of this material, a growth of two or three feet in a century is by no means improbable. The increase of the peat *depends on the presence of the forest.* But the forests of the Somme have disappeared centuries ago. It is not, therefore, remarkable that M. Boucher de Perthes could not observe any perceptible increase of peat at the present time. Hardly an ounce of grass or a stick of wood ever rots, at present, upon the valley, every particle of vegetable matter being appropriated for the use of the inhabitants. About Amiens the ground is all drained and used for market gardens, and in other parts it is sown for crops, mown for hay, or grazed for pasture. The peat growth is therefore arrested, and no further increase will be observed though a million of years should elapse. Dr. Andrews adds, that he has no means of knowing when the forests disappeared, but presumes that places like Amiens, which were Roman garrisons, would be the largest settlements, and soonest cleared of timber. Probably the place where the Roman remains are most found may have been destitute of timber, and produced no peat for the last six or seven hundred years. If so, the deposit of six feet (it is often greatly more than this) over the Roman remains was accomplished in about twelve hundred years, or at the rate of six inches in a century. Where stumps a meter in height are preserved, the accretion must have been much greater; but taking this as the probable standard, the age of the whole bed would not be far from five thousand two hundred years down to the cessation of the peat growth. It is impossible to pretend to minute accuracy in such calculations, but the facts given are sufficient to show that in the eyes of practical woodsmen the enormous European estimates of time need pruning.

Mr. Southall takes the matter up here and adduces facts which show that Dr. Andrews, much as he pruned the European estimates, by no means cut them down enough. M. Boucher de Perthes describes excavations made at Abbeville, which reached through all the peat down to the chalk. There were several beds of calcareous tufa, sand, peat, etc., interstratified in such a manner that Lyell's idea that any relics had sunk from the surface through them all to the bottom is rendered absurd. Yet, here in the lowest stratum of peat, articles of iron, copper, etc., are discovered. In other places relics of Roman age, such as a boat loaded with bricks, are found at the very bottom. At all sorts of depths are found articles of iron, of copper, of wheel-made pottery, a statuette

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of St. Lawrence in ivory, Roman *amphoræ*, coins of the Roman emperors, etc.

Mr. Southall exposes some astounding specimens of blundering in certain archæologists, who seem to pardon any extravagance if it only tends toward a prodigious antiquity. As intimated above, M. Boucher de Perthes selected some Roman dishes within ten or fifteen inches of the surface as his *data* for calculation. He reckoned them to be about fourteen hundred years old, and consequently the peat had in his estimation accreted over them at the rate of about an inch (three centimeters) in a century, and from this *datum* he calculates the age of the entire bed. Now, Boucher de Perthes himself states that this same bed of peat in which he found his dishes dips under the city of Abbeville, where it is overlaid with sundry other strata twenty feet thick or more, so that not only half the peat bed, but all the twenty feet of other deposits, must come into his fourteen hundred years. Yet, below this lowest peat bed was a post-Roman, wheel-turned vase, which he thinks "sunk" to its present position. It suffices to say that vases will not sink twenty-three feet through surface soil, calcareous tufa, sand, peat, and again sand, as would be necessary to suppose in this case.

Boucher de Perthes figures a section of the deposits at Abbeville, and the relics found in them, as follows:—

First Bed or Modern Soil: Arts of civilization, scoriæ, glazed pottery, etc. Second Bed: Transition from modern times to the Middle Ages—Iron, some copper, French, Flemish, Spanish coins, Venetian glass, etc. Third Bed: Middle Ages—Coins of the first races, and of the Lower Empire, in bronze, zinc, and gold; but little silver; less of iron than copper, etc. Fourth Bed: Gallo-Roman Epoch—Marbles, statues, fragments of columns, stone tombs, coins of the Consular Age; iron more rare, copper keys; bronze figures, etc. Fifth Bed: Gaulish Period—Iron more and more rare; swords and lances are of copper; Gaulic coin of gold, but not of silver; some Greek pieces, etc. Sixth Bed: First Celtic Period—Broken bones, ashes, cinders, rude vases; no iron, a few relics of copper, stone hatchets, (polished,) with their sheaths, etc. Seventh Bed: Second Celtic Period—Vases, ashes, charcoal, broken and calcined bones, flint implements, etc. Eighth Bed: *Diluvium*, or drift; (no relics;) broken and rolled flints, sand. We find it here admitted that metallic implements are found generally in the sixth bed, that is, at the depth of thirty-five feet.

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It also appears that Roman relics are found to the very bottom of the peat, and Mr. Southall's opinion is that all the peat there accumulated within some twenty-five hundred years, the floods of the river, or other natural causes, being probably unfavorable to its growth before that time.

The Pluvial Period.

Dr. Dawson, Dr. Andrews, and Mr. Alfred Tylor, F. G. S., were all struck with the evidences in the valley of the Somme, and elsewhere, that there had been a great water disturbance, which sent floods down the river valleys with enormous force, and at one time laid the *Terre a Brique* even beyond the valley limits. Mr. Tylor calls this the "Pluvial Period," and attributes it to the great rains, etc., connected with the melting away of the ices of the Glacial Period. Boucher de Perthes had previously the same evidences of overflow, and referred it to the "traditional deluge," which, however, he was disposed to push far back into antiquity.

M. Dupont, excavating under the auspices of the Belgian Government, came upon the same period, and ascertained that it did not follow, as Tyler supposes, close on the Glacial Period, but was preceded by a low-water age—the age of the palæolithic men. This deluge in Belgium and northern France did not merely fill the river valleys. It entered the caverns, and submerged the whole country, hill and valley alike. Dupont also suggests its identity with the traditional deluge.

Professor Dawson, of Montreal, the distinguished Canadian geologist, as also Boucher de Perthes, Dupont, and others, advance the same idea. This almost irresistible suggestion of the identity of the one great deluge of archæology with the one great deluge of Scripture and tradition, was received with contemptuous silence by the advocates of great antiquity. Though in itself an idea of the very highest interest, the admission of it did not harmonize with the objects they had in view. However, the fact of great deluges either in, or at the close of, the Palæolithic Period, became too clear to be denied, and the theory of accounting for all the phenomena without them, as propounded by Lyell and Lubbock, may be considered as overthrown. Numerous eminent men now concede the facts. M. Figuier, in his popular work on "Primitive Man," expresses

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the present opinions of many when he says: "A great catastrophe, the tradition of which is preserved in the memory of all nations, marked in Europe the end of the Quaternary Period."

Dupont says that in Belgium this flood reached the height of four hundred and fifty feet. In the United States it submerged, according to Hilgard, nearly all the Gulf States, while it covered large portions of the country around the great lakes, and in the vicinity of the Mississippi. Its effects are also reported in South America; and there is every reason to think, though the proof is not yet complete, that the vast deposits of frozen mud, inclosing the unrotted carcases of the mammoth and rhinoceros in Siberia, are of the same age. The effects of the catastrophe will doubtless yet be heard from in various other parts of the globe when investigations are more fully made. These inundations did not cover all the land, but in many regions they far exceeded the requirements of the Scripture accounts, namely, that it extended "under the whole (visible) heavens." That is, as far as the eye could reach. It was a most prodigious disturbance, and it is interesting to trace the apparent parallelism of the Scripture and the geological history in connection with it. Here are the two records:—

Geology.	Scripture
Glacial drift, great ice and water disturbances, etc.	Disorder previous to man's creation.
Dry lands, Palæolithic Age, primitive man, mammoth, mastodon, etc.	Dry land, Antediluvan Age, primitive man.
Great Deluge, whose deposits have received various local names, as Loess, *Terre a Brique*, etc. Mammoth, etc., disappear from Belgium.	Great deluge.
Low water, modern men, and animals.	Low water, modern men, and animals.

Hasty attempts to connect geological and scriptural history are apt to result in false inferences and deserved ridicule. It is well to allow the geological part of the history, which is still very imperfect, to develop itself more thoroughly, before indulging in positive conclusions; but in the mean time it is impossible to avoid being struck with the apparent identity of these two independent accounts.

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Art. II.—SYMBOLISM OF THE PRE-CHRISTIAN CROSS.

The universality of the cross as a religious symbol in all ages and among all peoples is a surprising fact. That it should have prevailed as an arbitrary and convenient sign for any well-known fact, or represented a sound in language, is no more than what might have been expected as a product of the first attempts toward civilization. However, antiquity did not thus limit its significance, but by a strange coincidence, as yet in a measure beyond the explanation of the most thoughtful, attached to it a religious meaning—made it to represent some fundamental idea in connection with divinity in the mythologies of both the Old and New Worlds.

Now that the cross of Christ is taking the world—is supplanting faiths whose beginnings are so remote that chronology fails to reveal them—it would prove an interesting coincidence to the Christian antiquarian to observe the use of this same symbol in connection with the religion of only one of the nations of antiquity. But to observe that it has ever been in universal use, and is destined to retain its connection with the religious idea in man, is enough to excite a feeling of mingled surprise and interest. The early writers on the cross, headed by that eminent authority, Lipsius,* at once settled upon the conclusion that these multifarious decussated figures, which they found graven on the monuments and relics of antiquity, were of a typical character, and expressive of a sentiment implanted in the human heart, which looked forward to the true cross of Christ. And as remain after remain of ancient peoples was discovered, revealing the knowledge and use of this symbol, some new champion of the theory established by Lipsius sprang up to discourse upon the typical notion of the cross innate in the human mind. Only two notable authors, to our knowledge, in as many centuries, failed to indorse this view. One of them, Sir Thomas Brown,† only ventured to make inquiries for others to answer; while the other, Edward Gibbon, flew to the extreme of ridiculing, with unsparing pen, the resemblances to

* *Lipsius: De Cruce.* 12mo. Antwerp, 1595. Especially see lib. i, cap. ix.

† "The Garden of Cyrus; or, the Quincuncial Lozenge, or Net-work Plantations of the Ancients," etc., (orig. ed., 1658.) New ed., Bohn, 1852, vol. ii, p. 56 *et seq.*

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the figure of the cross that other writers had attempted to establish as existing in nature and art.* Some allowance is due for the ardor with which the prevalent view was adopted by ecclesiastical writers. Besides the testimony of obelisk and temple, tomb and vase, in the Old World, the missionaries to the New World brought back the singular news, that across the deep, among a people whom they could scarce suspect of having a common origin with themselves, the cross was common as a symbol of their pagan worship.†

While these early authors were excusable for their many fanciful conjectures with reference to the origin of the cross as a religious sign among a barbarous people, modern authors, in the absence of any real authority, are scarcely justified in the sweeping conclusion which makes the form and idea of the cross an object of divine revelation, as does Mr. Haslam in his treatise on the subject.‡ It would be an agreeable solution of this problem if authority warranted it; but, unfortunately for our own wishes and Mr. Haslam's theory, it does not warrant any thing of the sort. To state, as does the author, that the cross was known to Noah, and even to Adam in the garden, by divine revelation, while Old Testament Scripture is destitute of any allusion to it, savors too much of emotional rhetoric to serve as the foundation for a rational theory. It is evident that while the cross was in general use among different peoples, its immediate and apparent signification was quite varied. But it is a question worth asking, and even more, worth a careful examination, whether underlying these several significations there was not one truth common to all—a thought to which all pointed, and of such a character that we may attribute its origin to the promptings of the immortal spirit which dwells within us. In all we read the struggle of the soul in its

* "Decline and Fall," chap. xx.

† Herrera: *Hist. General, de las Indias*, dec. 2, lib. iv, cap. vi; and many other places, for which see index, ed. of Barcia, Madrid, 1730, fol. Also Bernal Diaz: *Hist. de la Conquista*, cap. xxv *et seq.* Madrid, fol., 1632, and Mexico, 1854. Also Gomera: *Cronica*, cap. x *et seq.*, fol. ed., 1554. Also Peter Martyr: *De Insulis nuper inventis.* Mr. Prescott cites an additional source to which we have not had access, namely, "Manuscript of Las Casas."

‡ William Haslam: "The Cross and Serpent; being a brief History of the Triumph of the Cross through a long Series of Ages in Prophecy, Types, and Fulfillment." Oxford, 1849.

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attempts, by means of visible signs to express a hope common to all men, without respect to their condition, or the degree of their civilization or barbarism. We will observe the significance attached to the various representations of the cross, first, among the nations of the Old World, and later, consider the symbolism of the cross in America separately, because of its own peculiarities.

Inseparably connected with the mythology of Egypt is the familiar symbol known as the *crux ansata*, or "handle cross." It has been called the "Key of the Nile," because of its almost universal presence on Egyptian and Coptic monuments. At the close of the fourth century it was known to the Egyptian Christians, who pronounced it "the symbol of eternal life." * Later Egyptologists, while unable to assert so much, are agreed that it at least signified "life." † But this strange symbol, involving the mystery of mysteries not only of the Egyptians, but of the Chaldeans and Phenicians, had yet a deeper meaning. The form of this handle cross was that of a Tau, or our letter T, surmounted by an oval or small circle—hence its name. This appellation was, no doubt, suggested by the fact of its sometimes being represented on tablets, as being borne in the hand of a priest by means of the roundlet. On Babylonian as well as on Egyptian remains the upper member of the symbol is often represented as a handle. In the Theban catacombs it is carried as a bucket. On a Babylonian cylinder in Munster's "Paris Cabinet of Antiquities," it is upheld in the presence of a king or god. It is represented on a small plate affixed to the end of the pole of a war chariot, and was, no doubt, placed there as a charm which should bring immunity from death or disaster; and a remarkable instance of the severance of the handle from the cross is seen on a stele from Korasabad, where an eagle-headed man is depicted as holding the oval in one hand and the cross in the other.‡ To the Egyptians, it was undoubtedly

* Socrates: *Hist. Eccl.*, v, 17; Sozoman: vii, 15; Theodoret: v, 22; and Rufinus: ii, 26–29.

† Dr. Max Uhlman: *Handbuch der gesammten Ægyptischen Alterthumskunde—I Theil, Geschichte der Ægyptologie.* 8vo., p. 108. Leipzig, 1857. The author says that the handle cross means *life* is manifest from the Rosetta inscription and other texts.

‡ Botta: *Mon. de Ninive*, vol. ii, pl. 158; and "Edinburgh Review." Jan., 1870, p. 231.

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of the most sacred character; and the mystery attached to it is manifested from its associations, as found on temples and monuments.

M. Mariette recently, while exploring the ancient temple of Denderah, discovered this secret symbol in a niche of the holy of holies.* It is probable that this emblem was the central object of interest in these inner precincts of the temple. It was preserved with scrupulous care as the "hidden wisdom." An eloquent and scholarly writer in the "Edinburgh Review," (Jan., 1870, p. 230,) in speaking of its form, remarks: "Thus it was figured on the gigantic emerald or glass statue of Serapis, which was transported, (B. C. 293,) by order of Ptolemy Soter, from Sinope, on the southern shores of the Black Sea, re-erected within that famous labyrinth which encompassed the banks of Lake Moeris, and destroyed by the victorious army of Theodosius, (A. D. 389,) despite the earnest entreaties of the Egyptian priesthood to spare it, because it was the emblem of their god and of "the life to come!" Macrobius † expresses the opinion that the *crux ansata* was the hieroglyphic sign of Osiris, or the sun, and refers to the fact that when the ancient Egyptians wished to symbolize Osiris they set up "a staff with an eye upon it, because in antiquity the sun was known as the eye of God." A quite plausible explanation of the significance of the symbol is put forth by an interesting German author,‡ who, after referring to the above, claims that the round portion represented the orb of the sun, the perpendicular bar signified the rays of the high mid-day sun, and the shorter horizontal bar symbolized the rays of the rising or setting sun.

Life, and the reproduction of life, and the renewal of the decaying powers of nature, was directly symbolized, with, no doubt, an indirect reference through and back of it all to the power of the divinity to call humanity from death to a renewed life. In the Egyptian "ritual of the dead" the wonderful reconstruction of the body of the deceased whose parts are to be reunited is celebrated. As Isis descended into Hades, and sought for those of Osiris and brought them again together, so will it

* John Newton, in Appendix to Inman's "Ancient Pagan and Modern Christian Symbolism." 8vo., p. 116. London, 1874.

† Saturn, i, 20.

‡ Zöckler: *Das Kreuz Christi.* 8vo., p. 9 *et seq.* Gütersloth, 1875.

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be with the human body. "The trials are recorded through which the deceased passes, and by which all remaining stains of corruption are wiped away; and the record ends where the defunct is born again glorious, like that sun which typified the Egyptian resurrection."* Apuleius, (Metam., cap. ix.) who had been initiated into the mysteries of Isis, informed us that long life was the reward promised to her votaries. In the museum of the London University is an Egyptian mummy, on which the simple T is represented as planted on the *frustrum* of a cone; this, together with the occasional occurrence of the symbol springing from a heart, points to the hope of a renewed life hereafter.

The *crux ansata* given into the hand of a person was considered in antiquity as a sign of divine dignity; and when given to a king it typified great and living fame, and final elevation to the region of the gods.† In the East the Kiakra or Tschakra, commonly found in the hands of Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, is only a modification of it, and is said to be the oldest sign of majesty in India; and when it decorates the image of Vishnu symbolizes his eternal ever-vigilant dominion of the world, and his devotees attach unlimited virtues to the emblem.‡ When Christian monarchs began to arrogate to themselves what they called the divine right of kings, the same right was adopted as one of the chief symbols of sovereignty. At first the circle alone represented their ambitious pretensions, and afterward the cross was associated with the circle to denote the union of both spheres and the authority for their claims. In modern times, it is true, the cross surmounted the circle or globe, as held in the hand of the potentate; but, after all, it is only the old sign with the relative position of its members reversed. Attempts have been made to resolve this frequently occurring sign into an altar and sacrifice; but the facts given above, which show the circle to have sometimes served as a handle, clearly disprove the theory. However, it is also plain that the circle was not simply a handle, but an integral part of the symbol, from the fact of the emblem being some-

* John Newton, M. R. C. S., in his Essay appended to Inman's "Ancient Pagan and Modern Christian Symbolism," p. 109.

† Zöckler: *Das Kreuz Christi*, p. 9.

‡ "Edinburgh Review," p. 232.

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times divided, and the parts held in the separate hands of worshipers or priests.

That notable extremist in all that pertains to symbolism, Dr. Thomas Inman, would reduce the *crux ansata*, as well as every other sign in heaven and earth which has ever served as a symbol, to a *phallic* significance and origin.*

It is evident that the cross in its narrowest use was an emblem of life, and of generation as a means of life; but it is by no means plain that the symbol whose significance reached forward to the spiritual awakening of a dead world again to life, arose from any such source as the doctor has assigned it. Various modifications of the *crux ansata* appear in different countries of the Old World as well as in the New. In Asia Minor it is found in precisely the same proportions and under the same circumstances as in Egypt.

Again, the Assyrian Venus, Istar, stands upon a lion, and holds a cross in her left hand. A variation of the symbol, in which the roundlet is much enlarged and the rectangular bars are equal in length, is found in the sign of the Babylonian and Assyrian Istar, the Phenician Astarte, and has come in later times to represent the planet Venus.† This was evidently always an astronomical sign, and had no religious significance. The identity of the handle cross as found among the people of the Euphrates, and the Phenicians with that of the Egyptians, has been clearly proved, and there is no doubt that

* See Dr. Inman's "Certain Ancient Faiths, which have been Embodied in Ancient Names." 2 vols., 8vo. London: Trübner & Co. Also "Ancient Pagan and Modern Christian Symbolism." 8vo. London, 1874. The latter is only a chapter from the larger work, and as it bears more directly upon the subject in hand than "Ancient Faiths," we make our references from it. (See on *Crux Ansata*, pp. 9, 15, 35, 37, 44, 45, 53, 64, 102, 103.) The author, so far as he touches Christianity, is an unsparing iconoclast. There is no symbol in all the range of religion or mythology, whether Israelitish or pagan, Christian or Hindu, but what, in his opinion, originated in the grossest and, to us, most disgusting sensualism. With a seeming delight in his theory, he resolves, with the greatest clearness to himself, one symbol after another back to a phallic origin. The rationalistic sentiments of the author might be more readily excused, and his theory in a measure believed, if he did not always speak *ex cathedrâ*, upturning the time-attested interpretation of the best-known symbols, without condescending to assign a reason or cite a parallelism from which to draw his sweeping conclusions.

† See Lajard's *Observations sur l'origine et la signification du symbole appelé la croix ansée.* Paris, 1847.

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its narrowest significance was "Life," * with a deeper meaning which anticipated the continuation of that life through eternity.† To this day it has the same significance in India. In Egypt it was known popularly as the "emblem of life," and the Swastika or holy Tau of the Buddhists is well known to be designated by the same appellation. ‡

De Zöckler, in his work previously cited, and Brugsch, in his "Grammar of the Hieroglyphics,"§ call attention to still another Egyptian form of cross to which religious significance in their opinion can be attached. This cross, known as the *Nile-measure*, consists of a perpendicular staff with four bars crossing it at right angles. The explanation of its meaning, as given by the above authors, is that the bars are symbolic of the elements, and of steps or degrees in the spiritual life, neither of which are plausible or satisfactory. The probabilities are that its name, (Νειλομέτριον or Νειλοσχοπεῖον,) Nile-measure, may have at least indicated its significance, if not its use. The bars may have represented certain stages of the river's rise and fall.

The Maltese cross, with its four delta-like arms, was discovered on the island from which it takes its name, and was metamorphosed from a gross and sensual representation into its present form by the virtuous knights of St. John, who adopted it for their coat of arms. ‖ As found it was evidently the work of Phenician colonists, and was mistaken by a credulous priesthood for a marvelous revelation from the hands of divinity. The study of Assyrian antiquities has, however, revealed its meaning, as it was understood in its most primitive use. It originally typified the elysium of the four great gods of the Assyrian pantheon, namely, Ra; the first triad, Ana, Belus, and Hea; and when inserted in a roundlet, as may be

* Zöckler: *Das Kreuz Christi*, p. 12.

† See especially M. Oppert's *L'immortalité de l'âme chez les Chaldéens*," first published in the *Annales de Philosophie Chretienne* for 1874, and issued separately. Paris, 1875. This translation of an ancient Assyrian text describes the descent of Istar, the Chaldean Astarte, to the abodes of the dead, and the great difficulty of her escape. The discovery of this document proves beyond a doubt that the belief of the continued life of the soul after death prevailed among the Assyrians.

‡ "Edinburgh Review," p. 233.

§ H. Brugsch: *Hieroglyphischen Grammatik*. Leipzig, 1872.

‖ For an explanation as to its origin, etc., consult "Edinburgh Review," p. 234, and Inman's "Ancient Pagan Symbolism," pp. 41, 42.

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seen in the colossal tablet from Nimroud, deposited in the British Museum, it signifies Sansi, or the sun, ruling the earth as well as the heavens.* This cross, the symbol of royalty and dominion, was hung upon the breasts of kings,† as may be seen on the Nineveh remains. With this meaning it was worn on the official garments of the Etruscan priesthood. The usual appearance of the cross on monuments, with its arms corresponding with the cardinal points, indicates that it was a symbol of the life-giving power of the sun.‡ Here again we find the symbol associated with the idea of life. The Maltese cross has been found in Asia Minor, Cyprus, and Sicily; and Schlieman has discovered a number of representations of it, with other crosses, on vases, which he has dug from what he supposes to be the seat of ancient Troy. §

One of the most notable types of cross, and one which has figured in the religious symbolism of more peoples than any other, is that which is popularly and erroneously known as "Thor's hammer," or "Thor's battle-ax."

This popular emblem, which for thousands of years (and perhaps almost as much now as ever) has been the distinguishing sign of deified heroes, may be best described as a *cruciform hammer*. It received its name from being borne in the hand of Thor, as the all-powerful instrument by means of which his marvelous deeds recorded in the Eddas were accomplished. It was venerated by the heroes of the North as the magical sign which thwarted the power of death over those who bore it; and the Scandinavian devotee placed it upon his horn of mead before raising it to his lips, no doubt for the purpose of imparting to it life-giving virtues. It was also adopted at an early day by all the potentates of the North as a symbol of power. By a stretch of imagination, for which we have been unable to find any authority, the writer in the "Edinburgh Review" ‖ informs us that it was "that mark which the prophet was com-

* "Edinburgh Review," p. 234, and Zöckler: *Das Kreuz Christi*, p. 13.

† Layard's "Mon. of Nin.," pl. lix; and again on xli the same form is used for ear-rings.

‡ Micalis: *Antichi Monumenti*, pl. xxix. Also note some additional instances of the occurrence of Maltese crosses near Pau, in the Basses-Pyrénées, mentioned in "Edinburgh Review," p. 235.

§ Zöckler: "Op. Cit." p. 13.

‖ "Edinburgh Review," p. 237. Jan., 1870.

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manded to impress upon the foreheads of the faithful in Judah." Ezek. ix, 4.

As to its name, the popular designation of the symbol is evidently a misnomer, since its origin dates back centuries before the mythology of the North was developed. In India it was known as the *swastika* of the Buddhists, and served as the monograms of Vishnu and Siva. Such are its associations and uses at the present day, and, no doubt, they have been the same from the very advent of the religions of these respective deities. The inquirer has, however, not even here measured the limit of its antiquity, for in China it was known long before the Sakya-Buddha era as the Leo-tseu, and was portrayed upon the walls of their pagodas, and upon the lanterns used to illumine their most sacred precincts. It has ever been the symbol of their heaven.* In the great temple of Rameses II, at Thebes, it is represented frequently with such associations as conclusively prove that its significance was the same in the land of the Nile as in China. All over the East it is the magic symbol of the Buddhist heaven; "the chief ornament on the scepters and crowns of the Bompa deities of Thibet, who dispute the palm of antiquity with all other divinities; and is beautifully pressed in the Artee, or musical bell, borne by the figure of Balgovina, the herald or messenger of heaven.† The universality of the use of this symbol is proven by its prevalence as well in Europe, as in Asia and Africa. Among the Etruscans it was used as a religious sign, as is shown by its appearance on urns exhumed from ancient lake-beds situated between Parma and Pacenza. Those taken from the lacustrine cemeteries are thought to date back to 1000 B. C. On the *terra cotta* vases of Alba Longa the same sign is impressed, and served as the symbol of Persephone, the awful queen of the shades, the "arbiter of mortal fate,"‡ while on the roll of the Roman soldiery it was the sign of life. On the old Runic monuments of Scandinavia it is ever present.§ Even in Scotland it is found on sculptured stones

* Consult especially Zöckler's *Das Kruz Christi*, and the source cited by him, page 17. Also the treatment of the subject by the "Edinburgh Review" is admirable, and to it we express our indebtedness.

† "Edinburgh Review," p. 238.

‡ Millin's *Galerie Mythologique*, pl. cxxxi and cxliv.

§ See Stephens: "The Old Northern Runic Monuments." Pp. 674, 752. London, 1860.

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of unknown age.* The most numerous examples of this form of cross are, however, preserved in the sculptures from Khorsabad and the ivories from Nimroud. In all we see heaven and the hope of the future life typified. For the reader who may wish to look at another side of the subject we cite Dr. Inman, who attempts to find for the cross *pattée*, or Thor's hammer, the same origin to which he assigns every other symbol.†

In this connection we might cite the occurrence of many different forms of the cross in various parts of Europe. A couple especially are prominent and of interest. On a coin of the ancient city of Asido, in South Spain, the cross, with arms of equal length, is found with an upturned crescent below it.‡ Another cross which has attracted much attention is found hewn in a rock near Halle, with plants and weapons beside it, and is said by antiquarians to belong to a period long anterior to the Christianization of Germany.§

The pre-Christian crosses of Rome are evidently of Egyptian origin. Probably the most ancient known crosses are two of hewn stone, discovered a few years ago in the wilds of Central India by a Mr. Mulheran, C. E. These granite monoliths are in perfect condition, and amid surroundings which indicate that once, in a primeval age, instead of the ancient and interminable forests which now cover this region, agriculture and the domestic arts were there carried to a reasonable degree of perfection. The larger of these crosses stands ten feet nine inches, and the smaller eight feet six inches above the ground. This mountain district has long been uninhabited, and the learned writer in the "Edinburgh Review," who cites these remains, estimates their origin as dating 3,000 years B. C.

A most interesting divergence from the subject in hand would be the consideration of the significance of the cross as it appears in the plans and architectural proportions of ancient tumuli, pyramids, and temples. It is a question whether the cross in these connections had any significance other than so

* See a work on the subject published by Dr. Stuart under the auspices of the Spaulding Club.

† Inman's "Ancient Pagan and Modern Christian Symbolism," p. 44.

‡ See J. Zöbel de Zangroniz, in *der Zeitschr. der deutschen Morganl. Gesellschaft.* Bd. 17, (1863,) sec. 337. Also, Zöckler's *Das Kreuz Christi*, p. 27.

§ See F. de Rougemont, *die Bronzezeit oder die Semiten im Occident, deutsch Ausg. von C. Aug. Keerl.* 1869. S. 410 f.—Zöckler, "Op. Cit.," p. 29.

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far as it served as a convenient basis for the form of a structure. Though many modern churches are built in the form of a cross, in honor of the distinguishing symbol of Christianity, it is quite plain that there are great numbers of modern cruciform edifices whose forms have no symbolic meaning, or even a reference, to any religious idea. The writer above alluded to has made a number of interesting references to cruciform structures in antiquity, chief among them the great temple of *Bindh Madhu*, formerly situated in the ancient city of Benares, on the banks of the Ganges, but demolished in the seventeenth century by the Emperor Aurungzebe.* However, the author has only been able to excite curiosity of a nature which would seem to draw attention from the well-known symbolism of the cross to almost an entirely different subject, without adding anything to its elucidation. For those who are interested in the colossal cruciform architecture of India we beg leave to cite Maurice's "Indian Antiquities," where such monuments of the labor of generations as the subterranean temple at Elephanta and the temple of Chillambrum are described. Even more remote from the subject in hand is that species of argument which would attempt to find the cross represented in the well-known "grove" or "mystic palm-tree" of Eastern nations. Dr. Zöckler furnishes an illustration of this Babylonian and Assyrian tree, with its three pairs of branches and its crowning tuft of palm-leaves, to which he adds the opinion that this symbol had, no doubt, reference to the tree of life.† A coffin found in Warka, the ancient Erech, (Gen. x, 10,) bears the sign upon it, and it is thought to typify the life to come.‡

The writer in the "Edinburgh Review" cites numerous instances of the association of the tree with the cross, and uses all his argument to prove that the idea of the cross in antiquity originated with the tree of life in the garden of Eden. It would have been difficult to have framed a more improbable theory. No doubt the complex representations of a tree found among the Assyrians, the Buddhists, and the Egyptians, and as-

* Described in *Voyage de Tavernier*, tom. iv, p. 149, edit. à Rouen.

† See *Das Kreuz Christi*, p. 14.

‡ See Layard's "Nineveh," fig. 338 and text thereto, pp. 342, 410, 426. Also Piper's *Der Baum des Lebens*, in *Evangel Kalender*, 1863, p. 23. The coffin referred to is deposited in the British Museum.

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sociated by them always with their worship, may indicate the vestige of a clearer knowledge of the tree of life once possessed by the ancestors of those peoples; but what connection there is between this representation of the tree of life and the simple figures of the cross which we have cited, we are unable to discover.*

The astonishment of the discoverers and conquerors of the New World can hardly be appreciated, when, upon their arrival in the land of wonders, they observed the most marked resemblances between Christian usage and worship and that of the Mexicans.† Besides the observance of ceremonies resembling the eucharist, to their surprise and bewilderment, they found the cross in its accepted form erected in the temples of Anahuac. How the sacred emblem, which they supposed to be peculiar alone to the faith of which they were the champions, could have reached this remote and unknown land, became a fruitful subject for their speculations, and in fact for many others more learned than they in later times. Two views, in themselves perplexing, were adopted as a solution of the problem. The first, that the Apostle Thomas had preached Christianity to the inhabitants of the New World, was confidently believed by some, and the inventive faculty of the priesthood was not long wanting in the discovery of a tradition confirming the opinion.‡

St. Columba was also credited with similar missionary labors.§ The second view, which seems to have been largely shared by the invaders and their historians, was that these resemblances to the practices and symbolism of the true faith were but devices of the Evil One to lead away the wretched people who accepted them. De Solis thinks there is nothing improbable in the fact "that the malignant influence, so frequently noticed in sacred history, should be found equally in profane." ‖

Herrera indulges in the same superstition with reference to

*See Inman's "Ancient Pagan and Modern Christian Symbolism," pp. 22, 49, 50, 70, 91, 100; and Mr. Newton's Essay in the Appendix is worthy of a reading.

† See Prescott's "Appendix to Conquest of Mexico," part i.

‡ See Kingsborough's "Mexican Antiquities," vol. vi, p. 332. London, 1830–48. Also, see Veytia's *Historia Antiqua de Mejico*, lib. i, cap. xv. Mexico, 1836. Also the same, lib. i, cap. xix; and Dr. Mier's "Dissertation on Sahagun," lib. iii supplement.

§ See Kingsborough's "Mex. Ant.," vol. iv, p. 285.

‖ Antonio de Solis: *Hist. de la Conquista*, lib. ii, cap. iv. Madrid, 1684.

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the diabolical imitations of the Israelitish exodus; * and Lord Kingsborough, with strange bias, furnishes us the unusual anomaly of the union of great learning with over credulity.† The number of crosses of various forms and materials which met their eyes in all parts of the newly-discovered land furnished them with repeated surprises.‡ In the court of the temple of Cozumel, off the coast of Yucatan, Cortez discovered a cross which he describes as about ten palms high, and made of stone and lime. Mr. Stephens, however, in his "Incidents of Travel in Yucatan,"§ in commenting on the so-called "Cozumel cross" preserved at Merida, and which is claimed to be the identical one alluded to by Cortez, expresses some doubts as to whether the cross was ever really an object of worship among the natives. To the able refutation of this statement, found in Mr. Prescott's Appendix, there may be added many conclusive proofs that Mr. Stephens's opinion was illy founded. Even at the present day a cross may be seen sculptured in bas-relief on the wall of one of the buildings of the Palenque, while the figure of a child is held up before it in adoration.‖ Every temple, chapel, pyramidal summit, and subterranean sanctuary was adorned with it, while the vestments of the priests, who performed sacrificial duties in the presence of their gods, were figured all over with it. Sepulchers and tombs were graven with the wondrous symbol, while its form in many instances served as the plan for subterranean temples.

In Ojaaca, in Central America, we find a marvelous illustration of this style of cruciform structure in the great temple at Mitzla, "the city of the moon," hewn in the living rock by the stupendous labor of no mean artisans. Still, if the form of the cross existed only in the plan of architectural structures, it would not be worth while to attach much importance to its presence. No wonder that the Christian knight, full of

* Herrera: *Hist. General*, dec. iii, lib. iii, cap. x. Madrid, 1730.

† "Mex. Antiq," tom. vi, pp. 282–410.

‡ For the references on this subject consult the Spanish writers cited in note at the beginning of the article.

§ New York, 1843, vol. ii, chap. xx.

‖ See Prescott: "Hist. Conquest of Mex." Appendix, part i. Also Herrera: *Hist. General*, dec. ii, lib. iii, cap. i. Also Gomera: *Chronica de la Nuevo Espana*, cap. xv, ap. Barcia, tom. ii.

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enthusiasm over his rich conquest, and with a vision incapable of seeing any thing in its true light, (because of the enchanting tales of Marco Polo, which he had imbibed,) should be ready to see in the wonderful *Quelzalcoatl* of the Mexicans the white man, with a long beard, who came from the East and disappeared again, the visit of St. Thomas, or some other saintly personage, whose religion was symbolized in the cross of Christ.* The whole narrative of their adventures and impressions, as given by the Spanish historians, seems surrounded with the enchantment of an Arabian tale. In Mexico the cross, in the majority of instances, was the symbol of the goddess of rain, and annual ceremonies were conducted in her honor; it, as her characteristic emblem, occupied a prominent place. In both North and South America the cross was dedicated to her. In the spring time, when the Mexican wished to conciliate *Centeotl*, the goddess of corn, the daughter of heaven, with blind and barbarous superstition he nailed a young man or maiden to the cross, and after awhile dispatched the miserable victim with an arrow from his bow. The Muyscas, of the northern part of South America, naturally of a milder disposition, instead of resorting to such barbarous measures, were in the habit of stretching two ropes at right angles across the surface of a quiet lake or placid pool in a stream, and at the point of intersection of these gigantic arms, the oblation of precious gems, and food, and oils, were cast into the tranquil water.† Every-where in those portions of the New World which were occupied by the civilized races which inhabited it before the Red Indians, the fruitful power of nature in earth and air, and especially *rain*, was worshiped through the sign of the cross. Brinton, while stating that the arms of the cross, pointing to the cardinal quarters, represent the "rain bringers," ventures pretty far when he adds that the tombs of the Mexicans were built cruciform, as symbolic of the resurrection and future life, because the buried body would rise by the power of the four spirits of the world, as the buried seed takes on a new existence when watered with the

* For a good account of Quelzalcoatl, see Prescott's "Mexico," vol. i, Book i, chap. iii.

† See especially "Edinburgh Review," p. 233; Müller's *Geschichte der Amerikanischen Urreligionen*, pp. 371–499. Squier's "Serpent Symbol in America," (1869,) p. 98; and Brinton's "Myths of the New World," pp. 95-97.

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vernal showers. If such was their illustration of the resurrection, we would not be surprised if some enthusiast should go a step farther than the Spanish conquerors, and conclude that St. Paul, as well as St. Thomas, had preached the Gospel in the New World. A superstitious reverence was attached to the cross among the various peoples of North and South America, such as could only be rivaled by the bigoted invaders of their lands and homes. As an illustration of the belief in the miraculous power of the symbol, it was common to lay wooden and miniature stone crosses on new-born babes, in order to drive away evil spirits.* Representations of the cross, in connection with sacrifices, are plainly delineated on Mexican basreliefs and manuscripts.

A Mr. Fejérvary, in Hungary, possesses a Mexican manuscript, on the last leaf of which is a simple Tau cross, bearing a sacrifice, and before it stands what appears to be a bloody god.† The coincidence which makes the cross of the Mexicans an instrument of sacrifice, like the cross of Christ, is strange enough. In America the peculiarity of the use of the Tau cross is that it was exclusively dedicated to the god of rain, or productive force in nature; but the same idea is expressed by its use in the New World as was designed to be symbolized by this sign in the Old.

The worship of the sun once was, no doubt, prevalent in South America, as it was known to be the national religion of the Peruvians. Here, again, the Maltese cross is common, with the same significance as it possessed among the Assyrians. These crosses in most instances are found hewn in the rock, with their arms pointing toward the cardinal quarters. A warrior holding a banner decorated with a large Maltese cross, as depicted on a tablet of gypsum discovered by Captain Du Paix, is described by Baradère in his Antiquities.‡ Many others are found scattered over that large district in South America where Sabean worship prevailed.§

Thor's hammer is likewise of frequent occurrence, especially in Mexico, where it is found carved on walls and the entrances

* Zöckler: *Das Kreuz Christi*, p. 32.

† Zöckler, page 33; and Klemm: *Culturgeschichte*, v, 142.

‡ "Mex. Antiq.," pl. xxix. (*Prém. Expéd.*)

§ "Edinburgh Review," p. 235.

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of temples.* In the year 1839 a Dr. Lund discovered, near Bahia, in Brazil, what he supposed to be a runic stone table on which the image of Thor was engraven. On this also was a quite perfect cross of the Thor's-hammer class. Dr. Zöckler, on quoting this fact, falls in with the extravagant theories of a few foreign writers on America, who claim that the Scandinavians spread their civilization all over the New World. We are willing to accept the claims made for the Northmen, so far as there are documents to back them, (and that there are such we do not doubt,) but no further.† While the treatment of this subject by Dr. Zöckler is altogether commendable, yet in this particular department we are forced to the conclusion that he is a better theologian than an American antiquarian.

Such are the facts in as compressed a form as it is possible for us to present them without wearying the reader unduly on this at best a perplexing subject. The origin of this symbolism, so fraught with deepest interest, as yet is unexplained, and, we fear, is inexplicable. How a simple sign should be made the arbitrary representative of the same idea the world over among people separated by seas and mountains, and strangers to each other in point of language and customs, without any great fact or event associating itself with that sign from which it might derive its meaning, must ever be a marvel before the eyes of the world. All round the globe we find one common attempt at representing the idea of life present and life to come under the simple figure of the cross.

We believe we are not putting too strong a construction on the facts when we say that it furnishes an exhibition of the great struggle of the race after God and that which is immortal. This conclusion reached, the most interesting question connected with the subject yet remains unanswered, namely: Was it merely a coincidence which assigned to the cross the same symbolic significance in paganism and in Christianity? That it should embody the living hope of pagans three thousand years before Christ, and of all the world at the present day, after a lapse of nearly five thousand years, is strange enough.

Opinion has ranged widely on this subject; some have held that the cross was an object of revelation, while others have

* Kingsborough's "Mex. Antiq.," tom. iv.

† Rafn: *Antiquitates Americanæ.* Fol. Hafniæ, 1837.

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gone to the other extreme of declaring its adoption by so many peoples for the same purpose to be purely accidental. This we must leave as an open question for the decision of the reader.

It suffices for the present to reflect upon the fact that the cross is no longer the sign of an uncertain hope entertained by the pagan devotee, but is, and ever will be, the matchless symbol of a hope which enables us to furnish a reason for the faith that is within us.

ART. III.—RELATIONS OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH TO THE CAUSE OF TEMPERANCE.

History of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By NATHAN BANGS, D.D.
History of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America. By ABEL STEVENS, LL.D.
Journals of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1796 *to* 1872.
History of the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By ROBERT EMORY, D.D., (1773 to 1856 inclusive.)

THE magnitude of the evil of intemperance is becoming better understood by all classes of society, and its desolating ravages are mourned over by the sober and religious community as never before. Those engaged in the ruinous traffic have grown more bold, and seek to promote their nefarious designs by organization; while the friends of temperance have become heroic and sublime in their labors for the suppression of the evil. The battle is waxing hotter and hotter, and the contestants include all ranks and conditions of mankind. In this hotly-contested battle of right against wrong no branch of the Church of Christ can stand aloof as a disinterested spectator. It is the cause of humanity, and the cause of humanity is the cause of God.

The position taken by the Church of Christ upon this question is most important. A false or equivocal position must inevitably retard the good work; a true and unwavering stand will accelerate it and hasten its final success. In the future, when the battle has been fought and won, the position taken by any branch of the Church of Christ will become historic, and will be a matter of congratulation or regret. The ground occupied by the Methodist Episcopal Church is well understood, its fundamental law requiring each individual member

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to abstain from "drunkenness, buying or selling spirituous liquors, or drinking them, unless in cases of extreme necessity." The temperance idea is, therefore, incorporated in our organic law, and the Church is one great temperance society, with well-defined principles and purposes. To trace the development of this idea, and to show the position of our Church upon this question, is the object of the present writing.

The General Rules, from which the foregoing quotation is made, were formulated by John and Charles Wesley in 1743. Wesley found drunkenness a prevalent evil in his day, and the ravages of the liquor fiend excited his commiseration for the sufferings, and stimulated his zeal for the salvation, of men. Methodists were expected to avoid "evil of every kind, but especially that most generally practiced," among which drunkenness has always been found. The rule on this subject has several times been changed, as follows:—

1743. Mr. Wesley's original rule: "Drunkenness, buying or selling spirituous liquors, or drinking them, unless in cases of extreme necessity."

1789. "Drunkenness, buying or selling spirituous liquors, or drinking them."

1790. "Drunkenness, or drinking spirituous liquors, unless in cases of necessity."

1791. "Drunkenness, or drinking spirituous liquors, unless in cases of necessity."

1848. Mr. Wesley's rule restored as in 1743.

The General Rules have become a part of the constitutional law of the Methodist Episcopal Church, to which every member has subscribed, and by which they are governed. Under this law the Church, in its legislative body, has sought to give expression to its views, and efficiency to the law, in various ways. It was not to be expected that a rule or law so at variance with the common customs of the age would remain unviolated. There were then, as now, some who were regardless of Church vows, and held law in abeyance when goaded on in an evil course by appetite or gain. But the fathers thought the offenders should be dealt with, and the law be vindicated. As early as 1780 we find Conference action recorded. At that time the struggle for national independence was progressing, and for years the colonies had been engaged

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in war. Religious privileges had been few, and spiritual prosperity had been retarded. Church laws had been thrown aside, or trampled under foot. Asbury came forth from his retirement, whither he had been driven by the war, and presided at this Conference. It was found that Methodists had suffered in the general defection from the ways of God, and were engaged in the distillation of spirituous liquors. In relation to this the following was adopted:—

"*Quest.* Do we disapprove of the practice of distilling grain into liquor? Shall we disown our friends who will not renounce the practice?

"*Ans.* Yes."

This law had special reference to distilling, and nothing was said about drinking. But three years later higher ground was taken, and the following was added to the Conference Minutes:

"*Quest.* Should our friends be permitted to make spirituous liquors, sell, and drink them in drams?

"*Ans.* By no means: we think it wrong in its nature and consequences, and desire all our preachers to teach the people by precept and example to put away this evil."

This was strong ground to be taken, considering the prevalence of the evil, for in that day it pervaded all classes of society. Seasons of festivity and sorrow, of labor and relaxation, and sometimes even of religious solemnity, were characterized by the free use of intoxicating drinks. Although in all ages drunkenness has been condemned as a vice, the Methodist Church was the first Christian Church since the apostles which forbade the use of spirituous liquors as a beverage, and their sale for such purposes. The action of the Conference mentioned above was thirty years earlier than the organization of any temperance society. The men composing that Conference were brave and good men, pioneers in a good cause, ready to carry out the law as left by Wesley.

In the three years from 1780 to 1783 there was evidently a growth in the temperance sentiment. In the first-named year the distillation of ardent spirits was denounced, and all Methodists engaged in the base work were to be disowned. It was pandering too much to the vices of the times. It is likely that as some Methodists were engaged in the manufacture of spirituous liquors, many more were habitual drinkers.

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There is an intimation that the preachers were not all free from it. Mention is made of the same state of things in the Large Minutes. The evil of dram drinking and snuff taking was found to some extent, even among those who met in band. These bands were supposed to include the most devoted and circumspect, but they were living in violation of the rules of the Church. Their condition is shown by the following minute:—

"*Quest.* Have those in band left off snuff and drams?

"*Ans.* No. Many are still enslaved to one or the other. In order to redress this, 1. Let no preacher touch either on any account. 2. Strongly dissuade our people from them. 3. Answer their pretenses, particularly curing the colic."

Our fathers were engaged in a hard fight. They were battling an insidious foe. It is evident the early dram-drinking Methodists were not slow in finding pretenses for their evil habits. We think the preachers assigned themselves a hard task to answer the pretenses of moderate drinkers. The "colic," and kindred diseases requiring oft-repeated doses of ardent spirits, are stubborn ailments, and will not readily yield to medical treatment, and the subjects of them are in constant fear of a return of the malady, and so think it best to use the medicine as a preventive as well as a cure. Alas for the weakness of human nature! The preachers also were specially reminded of their duty of total abstinence in the following:—

"*Quest.* May our ministers or traveling preachers drink spirituous liquors?

"*Ans.* By no means, unless it be medicinally."

They were also enjoined to preach expressly against dram drinking. The leaders were to "closely examine and exhort every person to put away the accursed thing." The preacher was to "warn every Society that none who is guilty herein can remain among us;" and he was to "vigorously, but calmly, enforce the rule concerning drams." And on the reception of a new helper the question was proposed, "Do you take no drams?"

It has been seen that the original rule of Mr. Wesley was changed in 1789, leaving out the phrase "unless in cases of extreme necessity," thus prohibiting *all* use of spirituous liquors as a drink, and even forbidding *buying or selling* them under any circumstances. In 1790 the rule was again changed, and in a

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great measure robbed of its significance and glory, by leaving out the phrase *buying or selling*. This was probably the greatest mistake ever made on this subject by the Methodist Episcopal Church. It compromised the Church, and did an incalculable amount of injury. Within six years of this time the pernicious custom of retailing spirituous liquors by members of the Church had become so offensive as to require a special enactment of the General Conference to check the unhallowed practice; to check, but not prohibit, for when people begin to make laws with a view to regulate an existing evil, it is an evidence that the evil itself is in some sense sanctioned.

To regulate this evil the General Conference of 1796 added a new section to the Discipline: "Of the Sale and Use of Spirituous Liquors." It is in itself something of a curiosity. "If any member of our Society retail or give spirituous liquors, and any thing disorderly be transacted under his roof on this account, the preacher who has the oversight of the circuit shall proceed against him, as in the case of other immoralities; and the person accused shall be cleared, censured, suspended, or excluded, according to his conduct, as on other charges of immorality." This was a sort of an ecclesiastical-civil damage law, punishing a man for the evil consequences of the selling or giving, while it tolerated the acts themselves. At this time the bishops (Coke and Asbury) were requested by the Conference to prepare notes explanatory of the Discipline. They did so, and the notes were bound up with the form of Discipline. Explanatory of the above section we find the following note:—

N. B. Far be it from us to wish or endeavor to intrude upon the proper religious or civil liberty of any of our people. But the retailing of spirituous liquors, and giving drams to customers when they call at the stores, are such prevalent customs at present, and are productive of so many evils, that we judge it our indispensable duty to form a regulation against them. The cause of God, which we prefer to every other consideration under heaven, absolutely requires us to step forth with humble boldness in this respect.

This objectionable section was omitted from the Discipline in 1840.

The administrators of discipline were evidently perplexed by the change of the General Rule, because under it, in its changed form, those who trafficked in spirituous liquors could

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be dealt with, only under the more general and equivocal rule of "doing no harm."

There were but slight changes in the law for many years after this. In 1820 we get a glimpse of the matter in the "Bishops' Address to the General Conference," which, on this point, was referred to a committee, with instructions to report. The report was made, but was laid upon the table. The following, however, was added to the Discipline: "No preacher among us shall distill or retail spirituous liquors without forfeiting his official standing." The law itself is a sad comment upon the practices of the times. There were diverse views in regard to this, and a motion was made to strike it out; but the motion was lost. It was then moved "that no member in our Church shall distill ardent spirits without forfeiting his standing." This, though a just and consistent measure, was killed by indefinite postponement. From 1790 to 1828 there was great laxity on the part of the administrators of Discipline, and the tendency of the Church was to recede from the original position of Mr. Wesley. The rule itself had been softened down, and in many instances even this had been suffered to remain as a dead letter. The American Temperance Society commenced its operations in 1826, and did a vast amount of good. A proposition was made to our Church that it should unite with that society, but the terms were such as the Church did not think it expedient to accept. The proposition gave rise to a controversy, and to some bitterness and heart-burnings on both sides of the question. The discussion elicited some facts that had long been concealed. It was clearly discovered that members of our own Church were in the daily habit of using intoxicating liquors, and that the Discipline, at best, had been but partially enforced. This discovery led to important results. It showed the necessity of a reformation even in our own Church, notwithstanding the prohibitory rule. Temperance societies were formed, and many of the preachers and people fell in with the temperance measures, greatly to the benefit of the Church and to the cause of God generally.

The General Conference of 1828 adopted a report on the subject, prepared by Wilbur Fisk. It speaks of the example of the fathers both in Europe and America, and of our excellent rules, as tending to the suppression of intemperance, and

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declared it important, in order to advance the cause, that we neither drink ourselves, (except medicinally,) nor give it to visitors or workmen.

In 1832, on motion of S. G. Roszel, a committee of seven was appointed, denominated "The Committee on Temperance." This was the first committee ever appointed by the General Conference bearing this name, but which has been continued in every General Conference since. Memorials on the subject came in from various parts of the country, showing that the people were becoming alive to the importance of the question. Rev. H. B. Bascom, secretary of the committee, prepared an address, which was read before the Conference and unanimously adopted. It was ordered printed in "The Advocate and Journal," and also in tract form, as a summary expression of the views of that body upon this important question. It was also incorporated in full by Dr. Bangs in his "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church." It is a strong and earnest appeal to the members of our Church to abstain entirely from the use of spirituous liquors. The foundation of this appeal is laid in the Bible, where the foundation of all true efforts in the temperance reform should be laid. Because of the poisonous nature of alcohol, the duty of *total* abstinence is urged with great force as the only line of safety, for the transition from a temperate to an intemperate use of spirituous liquors is almost as certain as it is insensible. "Indeed," says the author, "with us *it is a question of great moral interest, whether a man can indulge in their use at all and be considered temperate.*" Of the relations of this subject to the Church he thus speaks:—

> The great and increasing interest, the deep and lasting stake we must always have, as a Church, in preventing and curing the evils of intemperance, will furnish an obvious and commanding vindication of the course we have adopted, in making this appeal to the good sense and enlightened piety of the Methodist Episcopal Church. We consider all intemperance, whether in its incipient or more advanced stages, as an abuse of the physical force and vigor of man, and seriously deducting from the integrity of his mental powers and moral purposes; and we therefore invoke the aid of our people in an attempt to banish the evil from our Church altogether.

The author also fortifies his position, and adds weight to his appeal, by quoting from the father and founder of Methodism.

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The terse, concise sentences of Wesley are worthy of transcription here. We wish his burning words may sink deep into the hearts of all men. He says of ardent spirits *in general*:—

"First of all, sacredly abstain from all spirituous liquors; touch them not on any pretense whatever." On their manufacture and sale he remarks, "It is amazing that the preparation or selling of this poison should be permitted, I will not say in any Christian country, but in any civilized State!" He pronounces the gain of the trafficker in ardent spirits "the price of blood," and adds emphatically, "Let not any lover of virtue and truth say one word in favor of this monster. Let no lover of mankind open his mouth to extenuate the guilt of it. Oppose it as you would oppose the devil, whose offspring and likeness it is." Of grocers, in this traffic, he affirms, "They murder mankind by wholesale, and drive them to hell like sheep." He denounces both the manufacture and the sale of spirituous liquors, except for mechanical and medicinal purposes, as a gross immorality; declaring, "None can gain in this way by swallowing up his neighbor's substance, without gaining the damnation of hell!"

In 1836, the law of 1820 declaring that "No preacher among us shall distill or retail spirituous liquors without losing his official standing," was changed so as to apply to "every elder, deacon, or preacher." An effort was also made to restore the original rule of Mr. Wesley. We have already adverted to the evil done by the softening down of this rule. Mr. Bascom, in the address above quoted, expressed an opinion, that the change of the rule by American Methodists, and the substitution of one less unequivocal in its character, since 1790 had been "attended with but little good to *any*, and perhaps with *direct injury* to thousands." But the General Conference was not yet convinced, the delegates had not yet seen enough of the evils of the traffic, and the resolution calling for the restoration resulted in a long and earnest debate. The report of the committee was finally submitted to the bishops, with a request that they give their opinion "whether it interferes with the fourth restrictive regulation in our Discipline." We are not advised that they ever reported. The Conference Journal gives no further account of any action taken. Whether the bishops rendered an opinion on the question referred to them or not, we find, by reference to the General Conference Journal of 1840, that the question of a change of the rule was sub-

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mitted to the Annual Conferences. On motion of George Peck, the Committee on Temperance was instructed "to investigate the Journals of the Annual Conferences in order to ascertain the state of the vote upon the restoration of Mr. Wesley's rule on the sale and use of ardent spirits." The constitutional majority was obtained, both in the Annual Conferences and in the General Conference, but the rule was not restored. The debate which occurred in the General Conference of 1844 throws some light upon this matter. Dr. Smith said, "Four years ago they attempted to introduce this rule into the General Rules, but the movement failed. The Annual Conferences would not give their consent; the constitutional authority could not be obtained."

Dr Bangs replied, "It was obtained by a large majority."

Dr. Smith continued, "It was not put in because the report of Dr. Tomlinson maintained that the alteration in the general rule had not been legally recommended."

Just what this technical quibble was we are not advised. Dr. Tomlinson was Chairman of the Committee on Temperance in 1840, and in the report gave his own interpretation of the constitutional restriction. His views were opposed by Drs. Fisk, Winans, and Slicer, and the report was never adopted. In the General Conference the vote on the restoration of the rule stood seventy-six affirmative and thirty-eight negative. The vote first stood seventy-five affirmative, but H. B. Bascom voted after the secretary's count, thus obtaining the required two-thirds majority, if it be understood of those present and voting; but the decision of the bishop was, that as two thirds of the elected members did not vote for it the motion was lost, and, because of the lateness of the hour, the friends of the measure made no appeal from the decision of the Chair. Thus, by a decision of Bishop Andrew contrary to reason and parliamentary usage, this important measure was put beyond possibility of adoption for a long time. This, indeed, was the last item of business done in the Conference of 1840. It immediately adjourned without ordering the question to be submitted to the Annual Conferences, so that five years at least must elapse before it could become a law.

We have already noticed something of the debate on this question in the General Conference of 1844. It ended in the

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adoption of a resolution, by a vote of ninety-nine to thirty-three, by which the question of the restoration of Mr. Wesley's rule was submitted to the Annual Conferences. Mr. Early offered a resolution by which he sought to embarrass the measure: "*Resolved*, That it requires two thirds of all the members of the General Conference to alter or recommend a change in the Restrictive Rules." Thus it was sought to confirm the decision of Bishop Andrew, given in 1840. This was ably debated by Dr. Peck, and the resolution was lost by a vote of ayes, fifty; nays, ninety. The matter was now to go once more to the Annual Conferences. At this Conference, however, the Church was divided, and the question was only submitted to the northern Conferences. Perhaps this accounts for the overwhelming majority in support of the measure. The vote in the Annual Conferences stood, for the restoration, two thousand and eleven against twenty-one. The required two-thirds majority was easily obtained in the General Conference of 1848, and it then became a law. The mutilated rule was expunged from the Discipline, and the original rule inserted, as it stands to-day.

This action of the General Conference of 1848 speaks volumes in attestation of the correctness of the views of Mr. Wesley. After an experiment of fifty-eight years, the Church came back to its original starting-point.

We have not been able to ascertain by whose influence or authority the original rule was changed. It was done in the interval between the organization of the Church in 1784, and the first General Conference thereafter held in 1792. Up to that time the business of the Church had been done in the Annual Conferences, but we can find no minute made of the change of the rule. The Restrictive Rules were not adopted until 1808, so that the rule could have been changed without its reference to the Annual Conferences. It was suspected by some that it was done unfairly. In the debate of 1844 Henry Slicer said he suspected the loss of that rule from our Discipline would present a curious history could it be known. Who can estimate the damage done by the change? H. B. Bascom, who was in a position to know as well as any man, said it had been attended by little good to *any*, and perhaps with *direct injury to thousands.*

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After this the growth of the temperance idea was more rapid, and we can trace its development in Church action. The subject was presented to the General Conference of 1852 in a short but forcible paragraph in the address of the bishops, recommending decisive action. That portion of the address was referred to a committee, who made a good report, which was adopted. The fact was seen and acknowledged that the temperance reform tended to advance the salvation of men, not only rescuing them from a life of open sin and crime, but that by its influence thousands were brought to Christ. It was also asserted that the Church, in exercising supervision over its membership, did not do its whole duty. She must not remain an indifferent spectator to the struggle going on around her.

Nothing of importance was done in the General Conference of 1856. A report was presented, laid upon the table, and ordered printed. Dr. Slicer made several vain attempts to get it before the Conference; but we cannot find that it was again taken up. Other matters of a more exciting character occupied the time and energies of that body, and temperance had to stand in abeyance.

But the General Conference of 1860 more than atoned for the neglect in the advanced ground taken. In the report adopted some things are especially noteworthy. The responsibility of the Church is unequivocally declared: "We are deeply sensible of the responsibility resting upon the Church for the ultimate triumph of temperance principles. While we appreciate the importance of the proper action of civil authorities, and the use of social influences and instrumentalities, for the extirpation of the vice of intemperance from our land, we utterly despair of the success of any means that may be employed except as the Church maintains a position firm and unequivocal against all complicity with this vice, and at the same time gives her earnest sanction and faithful co-operation to all proper measures for its destruction."

This is the responsibility the Church needs now to feel. The energies of the Church and nation have been expended in close combat with other evils, which, in the providence of God, have been removed. They should now turn attention to the suppression of intemperance. Many temperance advocates in the past have ignored the Church, and scorned her efforts and in-

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fluence. But temperance cannot be divorced from the Bible any more than rays of light from the sun. We most firmly believe that the temperance cause cannot advance one iota beyond the position maintained by the Church. We may use legislation and social influence as helps in the work. Some stronghold may be assaulted, and the enemy routed by some sudden dash of the temperance forces; but if not supported by the Church, the enemy will retake the position and shout defiance in the face of the right.

An inconsistency too often overlooked by professing Christians was also condemned. "The renting of buildings for the sale of intoxicating drinks, and the practice of selling grain where it is known to be used for the manufacture of such liquors, is contrary to sound Christian morals, and violating that rule which enjoins on us 'to do no harm and avoid evil of every kind.'" The evil and manifest inconsistency which this condemns is as prevalent now as in 1860; and we must yet labor and wait for the elevation of the moral tone before even the professed followers of Christ will cease to pander to the vice of the times by the renting of buildings and producing those commodities which can have no commercial value aside from the manufacture of alcoholic beverages.

The report also enjoined, "That all ministers having charge of circuits or stations should faithfully enforce the provisions of the Discipline upon this subject, and that every presiding elder should make it a subject of inquiry in every Quarterly Conference."

The report adopted in 1864 was brief. Preachers were recommended to preach specifically upon the subject. Editors were requested to publish such articles as would point out the evil and the cure. Publishers were requested not to advertise under any name any alcoholic drinks. And in all cases the pure juice of the grape was recommended for the Lord's Supper. The first and last resolution of this report were inserted in the Appendix to the Discipline in 1864.

The report adopted in 1868 was more elaborate than its predecessors. It shows how general the vice of intemperance has been in every age of the world, and that the good have waged a constant warfare against it. "Sages of heathenism and saints of the earliest Christian faith bewailed this evil, and

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commended the virtue of total abstinence." This enemy now assails all classes of society; and many of the rich, even in our own Church, conform to the evil practices of the world, and "put wine and other dangerous liquors on their table, and, far worse, indulge in their use."

The great men of the nation did not go unreproved, and the shame brought upon the country by this intemperance and drunkenness was deprecated. Joy is expressed at the growth of the temperance sentiment in the laws of the State; and hope that a prohibitory law may soon be enacted by every State, and by the National Congress. The freedmen of the South need it. Our foreign population need it. Our Indian tribes need it. "Our men in authority need it to preserve them from temptations that assail those in high places, and who too often—and even lately in our history—have mantled the face of the people with shame as they have heard how the wine cup and the whisky glass have caused these their national representatives and guardians to become a national dishonor."

There is another point in this report which we wish to quote; which, perhaps, was intended as a guide to the administrators of the Discipline, and also to members who have considered the rule as somewhat ambiguous.

"It has been proposed by several Conferences that the Discipline should be changed so as to read 'intoxicating' instead of spirituous liquors; but we are of the opinion that the change is unnecessary, since all classes of beverages known to the trade as intoxicating, including ale, lager beer, cider, wines, and stronger drinks, are intended to be included under the term 'spirituous liquors,' and should be so considered by the ministers and members of our Church."

Such is the judgment and authoritative declaration of the General Conference of 1868, so that if there be any ambiguity in the language of the rule, there is none in the interpretation of it by the Conference. As a matter of curiosity, and as indicative of the views of the fathers upon this point, we will quote a paragraph from the Large Minutes: "After preaching, take a little lemonade, mild ale, or candied orange peel. All spirituous liquors, at that time especially, are deadly poison." Whether the preachers, thus advised, were afflicted with sore throat or other ailments peculiar to the profession we do not

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know, but the distinction made between ale and spirituous liquors shows the former was not included in the latter, in the estimation of the fathers.

The fifth and sixth resolutions of this report were also put into the Appendix to the Discipline: the fifth allowed an Annual Conference, when it deemed best, to employ a preacher who should devote himself exclusively to this reform; the sixth recommended all our ministers to preach on temperance on the fourth Sabbath in June each year, and to use their influence to secure a temperance celebration of the Fourth of July by the Sabbath-schools and other associations.

The report adopted by the General Conference of 1872 is a restatement of the position taken by the Church in the past, and an earnest and hearty indorsement of the doctrine of total prohibition; and as tending toward that end, it cordially accepts and approves those laws which hold the liquor system; responsible for the woes and losses it inflicts upon the people. All the resolutions in this report, being five in number, were inserted in the Appendix to the Discipline of 1872, and all others were omitted. We can hardly consider this an advance. We do not know but it is a retrograde movement in one particular at least, that we are no longer enjoined or recommended to preach upon the subject; but the resolutions are strong, and worthy the consideration of the Church.

Such is the past action and position of the Methodist Episcopal Church on the question of temperance. It is a record on account of which she has no cause to blush. Our laws have not always been unequivocal, our practices have not always come up to the requirements of our laws; but the aim of the Church has always been toward total abstinence in the individual and total prohibition in the State. Her law-making body has always recognized the evil and attempted a cure. Her pulpit has denounced the liquor traffic, and offered a helping hand to its victims. The pens, the influence of brain and heart, of many of her best men and women, have been employed to promote the principles of temperance; and to-day the cause has no truer friends or more earnest advocates than are found within her pale.

But what of the future? Progress is the watch-word of the Church of Christ. In the present aspect of the reform there

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is no question more important than its relation to the Church. The late demonstrations in the Woman's Crusade show how closely it is allied to the religious convictions of the people. The report of the General Conference of 1872 struck the right key in this particular. It says, "Believing, as we do, the Church of Christ represents and embodies the only true principles of individual and national reform, it is our settled conviction that we must rely mainly for the success of the temperance cause on her leadership and co-operation." This, no doubt, is correct. Temperance cannot advance beyond the position of the Church; neither can the cause become permanent and strong unless it is adopted by the Church as a part of herself. The ministry must not be silent nor give an uncertain sound. They must be leaders in this as in every other moral reform. There is before us, as a Church, a glorious and extended field of usefulness in the cause of temperance which we should not fail to enter. This interest should not be left to promiscuous, spasmodic, and uncertain effort, with here and there an individual pastor or layman toiling in the field; but there should be one general advance, by the whole Church, all along the line of our militant host. Why may not our Church by law organize her entire body of one million five hundred thousand members for earnest and aggressive work in the temperance field?

We are, as a Church, a temperance body, but the fact is scarcely recognized. We have Sunday-school, Tract, and other societies, organized for special work; why may we not have a Temperance Society under the supervision of the General Conference, with its Annual Conference auxiliaries, and its secretary traveling through, and inspiring the societies with new life and zeal in the cause? And, under his direction, the press could be used as an element of power. We have our peculiar methods of labor, and by those methods we prefer to do our share of work. As a Church we cannot well labor in connection with the National Temperance Society in any organized form. An effort was made in 1829 to unite the Church with the American Temperance Society, which signally failed. In the General Conference of 1872 a resolution was offered looking to a sort of joint labor with the National Temperance Society, recommending its publications to our Sunday-schools,

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and the taking of collections and contributions for its treasury. It was referred to the Committee on Temperance, but evidently found no favor.

Such a society as we have named, formed upon the basis of the general rule forbidding "Drunkenness, buying or selling spirituous liquors, or drinking them, unless in cases of extreme necessity," would have many and great advantages. It would make a more permanent temperance organization than has ever been effected. The great drawback to the temperance reform has been its instability. Societies, both open and secret, have been organized, have flourished, declined, and died, all over the land. It will be so again, no doubt. Incorporate it with the Church, not as a matter foreign to her purpose and nature, but as a part of herself, and it will abide in strength, grow with her growth, and "the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."

The Church would then feel a responsibility which now she does not feel. This cause is now in a great measure cast off by the Church, and is thrown upon outside organizations and political parties, which are as treacherous as the quicksands and as unreliable as the wind. The cause would then have the co-operative sympathy of the Church. Every preacher would be a temperance leader and advocate. This would strengthen it every-where. What a new impetus would be given it! But now, grand as it is in conception, noble in its purposes, and beneficent in its results, it goes begging for sympathy and co-operation among the Churches of the land. All acknowledge its relation to religion, yet none will adopt it as one of their own family. By union with the Church its purposes would be better defined, and it would be more prominently brought in contact with the religious and thoughtful mind. Its character would be more religious, and it would be presented in that form with solemn, weighty arguments drawn from the word of God. Thus the principles of temperance would be laid in the human conscience, where alone they can be laid to produce a permanent reform.

The Church itself would be benefited, and could in no sense be compromised. As the Bible Society and other societies, organized within the last century, have given a new impetus to the active energies of the Church, so would the adoption, by the Church, of the temperance reform.

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Art. IV.—GAUTAMA AND LAO-TZU.*

Both India and China shared in the great movement of reform which characterized the sixth and seventh centuries previous to the advent of our Saviour. At this time the thinking minds of every nation seemed to be stirred, as by a common impulse, to seek out new channels of thought. Rome, under the leadership of Servius Tullius, was receiving that political education which laid the foundation of all her subsequent greatness. In Greece, Solon gave the people laws; Anacreon charmed them with his graceful and fervid lyrics; and Pisistratus, though usurping their power, elevated their tastes. Judah during a part of that time experienced the peaceful influence of Josiah's righteous reign, Jerusalem felt the destructive hand of her Babylonian conqueror, and the establishment of the Persian empire gave a deadly blow to the Polytheistic systems which had governed Western Asia. Meanwhile Egypt passed through one of the brightest spots in the history of her civilization. And in this age, too, was begun the commercial intercourse between the West and the East.

It was pre-eminently the age of reason, and, as if it were by the irresistible movement of a great tidal wave, all the leading peoples of the world came under its inundating power. Then, as the wave receded, we find the political, social, and religious condition of the world changed and modified as by a common cause, and yet each national form marked clearly by its own national temper as induced by previous political condition and modes of thought.

India had been bound by the restrictions of Brahmanism, but was now fretting in its chains. Thought was aroused to activity, and a spirit of inquiry seemed to pervade all classes. There was manifested an intense desire to investigate and understand all subjects connected with metaphysics, ethics, and religion. While the nation was in this transition state of re-

* Works of R. Spence Hardy: "Legends and Theories of the Buddhists," "Eastern Monachism," and "Manual of Buddhism." London. E. J. Eitel: "Three Lectures on Buddhism." London. Emil Schlagintweit: "Buddhism in Thibet." London. Captain T. Rogers, R. E.: "Buddagosha's Parables." London. John Chalmers: *Tau-tê-King*. London. T. Watters: *Lao-tzŭ*. London. And various works by travelers.

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ligious thought and speculation there were matured the several systems of philosophy known to have originated in this age. Singularly enough, at this time also there seemed to prevail a general opinion that some great personage was about to appear who should be possessed of such unerring intelligence and unbounded power that he would unite all these discordant elements of philosophy and religion, and produce one harmonious whole—pure and consistent.

The condition of China was different; and, though its revolution took on a speculative character, it was more decidedly tinged with ideas of a political bearing resulting from the mental condition of a people whose country was miserable, and whose lives were the prey of innumerable oppressors. In that remote age the territorial limits of China were exceedingly small as compared with their present grand extent, but even that was torn and separated by political dissensions into petty States, and these were perpetually at war with each other. Armies were constantly passing and repassing, leaving nought but desolation in the once fertile fields, and misery in the hearts of a once united and happy people. Men were taken from their homes, their families, and their work, to fight the battles of able but ambitious leaders who had risen to power. Princes forgot their duty, husbands and fathers their loyalty to home, and virtue forsook all classes, high and low, producing a state of degeneracy both moral and intellectual.

In India Vedaism had yielded to the subtle approaches of Brahmanism, and Brahmanism in turn was being undermined by a growing tendency to Atheism. The idea of one God, absolute and eternal, had given way to the theory of many deities of limited power and jurisdiction. The Hindu mind was now being repelled from these ideas, and was being rapidly carried to the opposite extreme, namely, a belief in no God. With Brahmanism developed caste, but at this time the desire seemed to be to break away from such trammels of social distinction. Such facts as these constituted the occasion for and the foundation of the new system about to be inaugurated by the expected reformer.

As in India, so also in China, the pure monotheistic ideas of the earliest ages had been observed, and the worship of the unseen Supreme Ruler had degenerated into a mere ritual ob-

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servance. At the same time an exaggerated veneration for departed ancestors had led to a multiplicity of objects of worship. But now, according to the popular notions of the times, the visible universe, including all that makes up man, was an emanation from an eternal existence at once material and immaterial. Floating through the popular mind was the idea of a dualism emanating from this existence or non-existence, from which dualism all things were evolved. There existed a belief, too, in a time long past of simplicity and purity, and to all the grave seemed to be the end, no allusion being made to a state of existence hereafter.

Such, in brief, was the condition of these two great nations. Both were smarting under oppression, either religious or political, and both needed a reformer. To India he came first, and in the person of one quite in harmony with the preconceived notions of the people. It was BUDDHA, "the enlightened," "the man who knew."

He was born in the city of Kapilavastu, the capital of a country of the same name in India, near the borders of Nepaul, whence the Himalayas rise to their mighty altitudes. Suddhodana, his father, was the king; his mother was the daughter of a neighboring monarch, and he himself was the first-born and heir-apparent to the throne. He was of the family of Sakya, a branch of the powerful tribe of Gautama, and of the second or Kshatriya caste. The date of this event is shrouded in uncertainty; it is supposed to have been about 623 B. C. He was named *Siddharta.** He was called also Gautama, Sakya-Singha, and Sakya-Muni. His character and disposition are spoken of as being gentle, and yet ardent. He is also represented as being of a pensive and philanthropic nature. When sixteen years of age he † was married to a princess named Yasodharâ, and every precaution was taken by his father and family to keep him from influences that would tend to unfit him for the position of ruler, which he would be expected to assume on the decease of the king. These precautions were the more carefully attended to, because it had been foretold that he would be a recluse. In the event, how-

* Siddharta or Siddhartha, signifying in Sanskrit "The Establisher."

† According to Schlagintweit, "he married Gopâ, the daughter of Dandapâni, of the race of the Sâkyas."

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ever, they all proved unavailing. At different times he saw a decrepit old man, a leper with loathsome sores, a dead and putrid body, and from these things he learned the vanity of all existence. On the other hand, he saw one day a priest gravely clad, gentle in manner, and of placid countenance, walking quietly along the road. Hence he reasoned that the escape from the miseries of existence were to be found in a life of contemplation. He determined to become a recluse. When he was twenty-nine years of age his first child was born. In the midst of the festivities consequent upon the event, and at a time when the attractions of home would seem the more binding, without warning, he left the palace for the forest. "He exchanged his royal diadem, with all its attendant attractions, for the alms bowl of the mendicant and its privations." This was the beginning of a life of extreme asceticism which he practiced in the wilderness, and which he consistently followed until death overtook him.

Shortly after leaving home he sought the society of the Brahmans, and remained with them much of the time for six years. The result of these years of retirement was a complete subjugation of self, and the attainment of perfect enlightenment. He came forth at thirty-five a BUDDHA. He was now "wiser than the wisest and higher than the highest," and certainly no one could be better adapted to the mission upon which he was about to enter. He combined in himself the refinement of a prince, the knowledge of a Brahman, the power of a subtle reasoner, and the self-control of an ascetic. At first he hesitated to declare the truths he had learned, but the persuasion of his friends soon overcame his unwillingness. When he began to preach the law (Dharma) it was to five old friends, Brahmans, residing near the city of Benares. Henceforth this city was to be the sacred city to all the millions of votaries who, in the centuries that have followed, have become his disciples. Here Gautama himself started on the work of proclaiming the law, preaching to all classes, and in all places wherever, in his itineraries, he might find those who, like himself, were seeking rest from the uncertainties and changes of finite existence. Large crowds in Northern and Central India followed after him. His beauty attracted them, his manners pleased them, and all were influenced by his zeal, his auster-

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ities, and his eloquence. His doctrines were mild and philanthropic in their character, and these he also taught in a language that the people could understand. Not only common people followed him, but royalty also swelled his train. Binsara, the king of Mágada, was among his earlier converts; and while he was opposed by some of his own kinsmen, yet upon his return to his native city his own father and many of his relations embraced the new faith. Tradition has it that he died at the advanced age of eighty-three, having instituted a religious system which has increased in its influence, until it sways the minds of more millions than any other religion known to history.

The condition of China called forth two reformers—Lao-tzŭ and Confucius; the latter subsequent to the former, and yet contemporaneous with and a pupil of him. Of the life of Lao-tzŭ very little is known. "He was mysterious both in his birth and his death, and through all his life he seems to have courted obscurity." But by digging beneath the rubbish of superstitious and fabulous accounts we find reason for the belief that he was born about B. C. 604. Unlike his princely contemporary of India, his parents were poor. They are supposed to have lived in the kingdom now inclosed within the limits of what is called the Province of Hupeh. Unless we believe the fanciful legends which the priests of the system would impress upon the credulous, we are forced to the conclusion that his life was plain and unromantic. It is probable that he made himself familiar with the fragmentary histories and ballads of his time, and which it was afterward the work of Confucius to collate. "His type of mind was rather synthetic. He liked to sum up particular virtues and existences, and refer them to one all-embracing whole." He was accustomed to derive many beautiful lessons from nature, but in his manner of so doing he showed himself to be more of a poet than a scientific observer. But his life and his book were both characterized by a depth and independence which was far superior even to the style of Confucius. He was less practical, however, than either Confucius or Gautama. He was the "philosopher at home," rather than the "school-master abroad." His disposition, if we can judge from his teachings, was marked for humility. He was charitable, even to "rec-

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ompensing injury with virtue." Such, at least, was the disposition he sought for in others, and yet there seems to be no memory of his having applied his principles to himself, and to have devoted himself to the benefit of others.

For a long time he resided at the court of Chou in the capacity of historiographer. While thus engaged he was grieved at the misery of the people and the corruption of the court, and strove to recall those in authority to a noble and generous government. "He saw the hollowness of education and government, and went to the expense of condemning all systematic education, all legislation, all official rank, and all executive government." In lieu of these, he would have governed and instructed by means of a purer example. As might be expected, he did not prove successful as a reformer. His theories were emanations from a kind and honest heart, and his own example may have been faultless; but, notwithstanding, the morals of the people were not raised, nor was the State reformed. The fortunes of the court of Chou waned, and, so soon as the prestige of the dynasty was lost, Lao-tzŭ withdrew and retired into obscurity. Whither he went no one knows. Reliable tradition follows the old man as far as the Han-ku-Kuan—the present Ling-pao—a mountain pass in the extreme west of the Province of Honan. Just before taking his final leave he yielded to the importunities of the keeper of the Pass, and wrote the book known as the "Tao-tê-King," a work declaring the meaning of Tao (reason?) and Tê (virtue.) After completing this work our philosopher passed on toward the west. His end is unknown. It is supposed that he died when about eighty-one years of age, having lived during the greater part of the sixth century before Christ.

Such was Lao-tzŭ, a man of generous impulses, possessing true nobility of character and great profundity of intellect. The only prominent point of resemblance between him and Gautama was their purpose to benefit their fellows. One was of humble extraction, the other was a prince; one sought the society of kings and their courts, the other retired from his palace and sought poverty. Lao-tzŭ was apparently discouraged at his failure to produce reformation where reform was needed, and then left the world and fell into a nameless grave; but Gautama came forth from his retirement to lead the

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masses, and in his death, as in his life, was an example to those who accepted his teachings.

As to the doctrines of these two philosophers there are points of marked agreement, and they are such as to give rise to the query whether about this time the Hindu and Chinese mind did not come in contact. Gâutama embodied in his system the essential principles of a school of philosophy already existing.* The creed of Lao-tzŭ likewise was but a development of popular Chinese ideas as they existed at that period. On the part of both Hindu and Chinese minds there was a failure to keep distinct the ideas of spirit and matter. To the mind of Gautama there was no God. Lao-tzŭ, while he does not seem to have denied the existence of a God, yet makes no mention of a personal Deity. Gautama did not trace the beginning, being satisfied with the idea that this present world is one of a succession which extends back eternally. Lao-tzŭ seems to have considered the source of all existence as a power which existed, and yet did not exist—it is, and yet is not. It was indefinite, impersonal, and unconscious. It was eternal. It existed before heaven and earth and Deity. It was void, shapeless, and immaterial—capable of neither thought, judgment, activity, nor intelligence. It was fixed and impassible, and yet it contained the potentiality of all substance and shape, and from itself produced the universe, diffusing itself and permeating all space. Our sage cannot find a name for this something which is nothing, and so he calls it Tao.* All existences are evolved from *Tao*, are sustained by it, and return to it. Buddha would teach that the universe comes from and ends in *nothing*, at least such is the clear implication. His Chinese contemporary would say that it comes from and will end in something—but *this something is nothing!* Perhaps the tendency of the Chinese mind was toward Pantheism rather than Atheism, and yet it seems to have been distinctly neither. The process, as taught by both Lao-tzŭ and Confucius, and as held in China to-day, is that *Tao* (the *T'ai-Chi*, or Great Extreme of the Yi-King) generated the *Yin*, (the female prin-

* The Sankhya School.

* This word *Tao* is as untranslatable as that to which it is applied is incomprehensible. It is rendered variously as "Nature," "Reason," "The Way," "The Word," and "The Λογος."

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ciple in nature.) The *Yin* produced the *Yang*, (the male or active principle.) And the union of the *Yin* and the *Yang* resulted in *Hô*, or harmony, whence come all existences. As remarked by James Freeman Clarke, it is a "duad with a monad breeding behind it." But it should be added that back of the *T'ai-Chi* (Great Extreme) is the *Wu-Chi*, (the Extreme which does *not exist*.)

According to Buddhism and Taoism, man is never the sinner. He is rather the unfortunate victim of sin. Sin itself is a necessary thing, inherent in the nature of things. It is a moral disease to which he is subject and from which he must shield himself. It is an inconvenience, and to be abhorred simply because its commission will result in personal injury. There is no moral pollution in it, but it assumes the form of misfortune to be shunned. And then, if there be no responsibility for sin, atonement is made impossible, and hence no sacrifice is required. Such was the evident teaching of Gautama, and from various passages in the *Tao-tê-King*, it may be inferred that Lao-tzŭ believed the same. He certainly regarded the infant as good by nature. The idea inculcated by his teachings is that the spirit of the child comes pure and perfect from the "Great Mother;" but it is susceptible to these evil influences, and they may operate upon it and lead it astray. After Lao-tzŭ, Confucius taught the same, and we find the same doctrine held in China to-day by all religionists.

Both of these philosophers agreed as to the occasion of suffering in this life, and taught a similar method of escape, referring to an end essentially the same—extinction of conscious being. Gautama, however, retained in his system an intermediate stage, or succession of stages, borrowed from Brahmanism, namely, transmigration. According to both, our desires are at the foundation of all sorrow. We are enslaved by them, and are, by our own acts, to get free from them. This is done by making void the human heart, draining away from it whatever ministers to passion, casting off the bondage of particular affections, and converting our principal occupation into virtual inactivity. In other words, we are to vanquish self by letting self alone! To the Taoist the consequent reward is an extension of life, together with an exemption from its ills. To the Buddhist there is the hope of a better condition in subsequent

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births, with Nirvana, or ultimate extinction at the goal. The Taoist likewise returns whence he came. *Tao* receives and identifies him with her own mysterious self. In both cases man labors hard to attain it, and when obtained it is *nothing*.

Both systems were rationalistic. Gautama through the Dharma, and Leo-tzŭ by his teachings, appealed to the intellect. Both systems, though apparently benevolent in their conceptions, were in their radical thoughts essentially selfish, each man's thought being to save his own soul.

These two religions, thus instituted at about the same time in the two leading nations of Eastern Asia, spread far and rapidly. The doctrines of Gautama met with a ready acceptance in Northern and Central India, but were afterward, in the fifth century after Christ, overcome by the influence of Brahmanism, so that now, among the millions of Hindus, he has not a single follower. But the greatest conquests of Buddhism have been in other fields. "At one time," says Hardy, "its influence extended throughout nearly three fourths of Asia—from the steppes of Tartary to the palm groves of Ceylon, and from the vale of Cashmere to the isles of Japan." But its spread was not confined to Asia, for some authorities assert that about the same time that it was being supplanted from its native soil in India some of its priests crossed to America, and Buddhism was introduced in Mexico.* To-day it is the prevailing religion, under various modifications, in Thibet, Nepaul, Siam, Burmah, Japan, and South Ceylon; and in China, it is equally prominent with both Taoism and Confucianism. Professor Neumann has estimated that in China, Thibet, the Indo-Chinese countries, and Tartary, there are 369,000,000 Buddhists, and by some the figures are placed still higher.

The character of the teachings of Lao-tzŭ were not so well adapted to make their influence felt so far, and yet they have been the ruling principles, under popular modifications, of millions. For nine centuries Taoism remained the religion

* The following is a foot-note found in Schlagintweit's "Buddhism in Thibet:" "Buddhism had also become known in Mexico by Chinese priests in the fifth century A. D., and had followers in that country until the thirteenth century. But the victorious Aztecs, who took possession of Mexico in the beginning of that century, put an end to Buddhism."—*Lassen, Ind. Allerth.*, vol. iv, p. 749 *et seq.*

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of Thibet, at the expiration of which time it was supplanted by Buddhism; and it was the religion of Japan before the introduction of its more popular rival. In China it several times enjoyed the patronage of the Government, and even the emperors of the T'ang dynasty (seventh to tenth centuries, A. D.) were proud to claim the hoary-headed sage as their lineal ancestor.

The teachings of both of these men have been corrupted and popularized during the centuries that have followed their death. Buddhism is so liberal and tolerant that it not only never persecutes, but it adopts the most valuable ideas of all religions with which it comes in contact. And it enters into a compromise with almost every form of superstition; hence the present intermixed form in which we find it in countries where it has gained a footing. Many of the principles of Buddhism to-day are not only out of harmony with, but are absolutely opposed to, the system as promulgated by Gautama. He would have no God, but now he himself stands foremost from amid a myriad gods. To him there was no way of accumulating merit except by the suppression of desire; but now, in the majority of cases, the passions are unrestrained, while many and artificial means have been devised for the accumulation of merit. To him the end to be desired was extinction of conscious being, if not annihilation; but now millions of his disciples hope for rest in the "western heavens," and think with dread of a series of hells whose horrors are described in minutest detail. He aimed at reform, but the countries overrun by his system are left the prey of superstition and demon worship.

The system of Lao-tzŭ exists in the same degenerate condition. After many years the original conception of *Tao* became gradually obscured, and was finally reduced to a deity. As early as the fourth century, in order to compete with Buddhism, the followers of the sage "raised him from the rank of ordinary mortals, and even represented him as an incarnation of deity; and here, strangely enough, the two systems reach a point of contact, for in the Boddhisatva Manjusiri of Northern Buddhism we find a striking resemblance to Lao-tzŭ. The reward of merit, namely, extension of life, gave rise to the superstitious belief in the so-called

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elixir of life, for which so many Taoists are now searching in vain. From the absolute nothing which Lao-tzŭ called *Tao*, there have been evolved innumerable gods, and there has been constructed a "Pantheon, including genii, devils, inferior spirits, and numberless other objects of worship." What was once a philosophy has degenerated into a system of necromancy, and it is now the prerogative of the priests to reconcile the living and the dead. It appeals to the very lowest wants of the people, and does not hesitate to invent divinities to promote the physical well-being of the people.

Lao-tzŭ wrote but a single work that has come down to posterity, and the *Tao-tĕ Ching* is regarded as sacred by all Taoists, and edited, and even reverenced, by both Buddhists and Confucianists. Gautama himself wrote nothing, but his sayings were carefully treasured in the memories of those who heard him, and it was at least two centuries before they were written out, having been handed down by oral tradition. From time to time additions have been made to the teachings thus recorded until, in some parts of Asia, the sacred canon is specified, not by volumes but by camel loads.

With this brief survey of the lives and teachings of these two men we take leave of them. Much was done by them toward shaping the thought and religious sentiment of hundreds of millions of human beings, and, although over twenty-four centuries have elapsed since they taught, this influence to-day is waning in its power only because of the advance of a purer Gospel as committed to man by a perfect Saviour—very God and very man. In God's economy both have had their place. The condition of millions has been bettered because of them, but it has been despite their errors. We can only pray that every devout Buddhist may be "born again," but this time of the Holy Ghost; and that every disciple of the venerable sage of China may find the "elixir of life," but may find it in Him in knowledge of whom is *life eternal*.

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Art. V.—THE COSMIC PHILOSOPHY.

Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy. By John Fiske. Second Volume. Boston: Osgood & Co.

Mr. Fiske has been before the public for some time as the disciple and interpreter of Mr. Spencer, and needs, therefore, no introduction. The work before us is, in brief, a popular exposition of the Spencerian philosophy. Nor could Mr. Spencer wish for a more sympathetic interpreter. Mr. Fiske has reproduced the evolution philosophy, and that, too, with all the freshness of originality. The style leaves nothing to be desired. The obscurity, if there be any, is in the thought, and not in the expression. Our plan is to give some general hints whereby the reader may judge of the Spencerian philosophy in general, and of Mr. Fiske's work in particular. This philosophy, as based upon sensational psychology, is open to all the objections against sensationalism. Hume proved, once for all, that a sensational philosophy must end in utter skepticism. The disciples have not disproved the master's conclusion; they have ignored it, a procedure which is creditable to neither their consistency nor their insight. We will not delay, however, upon these general considerations, but proceed at once to the more specific features of the doctrine.

The student of the Spencerian philosophy is met with a puzzle at the outset in the theory of the unknowable. This theory was originally intended to reconcile science and religion by forbidding both to speculate concerning the ultimate cause of things. It is commonly understood as meaning that we can make no positive affirmations whatever concerning the ground of the universe. "It is forever inscrutable," and all our affirmations concerning it land us in insoluble contradictions. This is the common conception of the doctrine, and the greater part of Mr. Spencer's and Mr. Fiske's language supports this view. The difficulty is, that both of these philosophers have written great works concerning this ultimate ground, and have made divers positive affirmations about it; in all of which, too, they seem to have unlimited faith. Throughout their systems this unknowable appears as a mechanical cause working according to mechanical laws, and having sundry attributes and not

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having sundry others. Now, it is plain that if we are to take the word unknowable in its strict sense, we should forever hold our peace after having laid down this know-nothing theory; for if it be strictly unknowable, then all theories, scientific as well as religious, are without objective validity. To set them up is a waste of time; but to claim for one greater authority than the other is a wanton impertinence. Now, as these philosophers have written books in favor of their views of things, and inasmuch as these views include sundry theories concerning the ground of things and its modes of activity, we must conclude that by unknowable they do not mean unknowable. Mr. Fiske has a passage (vol. ii, p. 469) which seems to give up the literal meaning of the word. Our notions are not false, but symbolic. But here a new difficulty arises. If a symbol is not false, it must represent, at least approximately, the true nature of the thing. If this is the theory, the unknowable becomes a mere commonplace, and the reconciliation between science and religion which it was intended to bring about vanishes. For, now that we admit that our religious and scientific symbols may approximate the truth, the question arises, Which of these symbols best represents the objective fact of the universe? That is, the old quarrel between science and religion breaks out as fiercely as ever. There is another theory, which we merely mention, namely, that when they say, We know nothing of the nature of things, the we is the we editorial, and means the opponents of the doctrine. Many passages could be brought in support of this view, as the unknowable is not unfrequently used as a sort of *Medusa's* head to petrify antagonists. We merely mention this theory, without pretending to support it. The real dilemma is this: if the ground of things be strictly unknowable, we must all keep still—scientist and theologian alike. If it is not unknowable, why, then, it is not unknowable, and every one must be allowed to bring forward his views and support them by evidence. So much for the unknowable in general. A word remains to be said concerning its value in a scientific system.

The problem of science is to find a comprehensive ground for a definite body of phenomena, and the unknowable is postulated as such a ground. But it needs no argument to show that an indefinite unknowability is worthless for this purpose. As long

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as x in mathematics is brought into no definite relations to known quantities, it may stand for anything, and is nothing. But as soon as this indefinite is put into a determinate equation it acquires a fixed value. In the same way, when we attempt to solve the equation expressing the relation between the absolute and the known body of phenomena, we must either give that absolute a definite value, or throw away the equation. We must either postulate it as a definite cause with definite attributes and definite ways of working, or we must not postulate it at all. What these attributes are can be settled only by a careful study of the facts; but it is clear that there are certain conditions to be fulfilled, and a first cause which will not fulfill them must be dismissed without further ado; first, as a logical impostor, and, second, as philosophically and scientifically worthless. The Positivist doctrine, which refuses to admit anything behind phenomena, is intelligible and consistent. The opposite view, which insists upon a definite cause with assignable attributes or ways of working, is also intelligible and consistent. But the Spencerian theory, which is not content to stop with phenomena, but affirms a cause $= x$, is neither intelligible nor consistent; and neither Mr. Spencer nor Mr. Fiske have succeeded in being true to the theory. Here, again, our previous conclusion emerges that the term unknowable is not to be taken in a strict sense; that is, it degenerates into the philosophic commonplace that we do not know every thing.

But what is it to know? This question is vital to the whole discussion, and its answer describes the element of truth in the nescience doctrine. The problem of knowledge is not to tell how being is made, or to give a recipe for creation. It is rather to comprehend the manifold of existence under the various categories of thought. If any one demand how the essence of being is constituted, we cheerfully admit that we do not know. If creation were our business it might be an important question, but otherwise not. To know in the only sense possible to men is, first, to be sure that a thing exists; and, second, that it falls under certain categories, or has certain definite attributes or ways of working. Assuming, for example, that the soul exists, our knowledge thereof would consist, not in an insight into its substance, but in our certainty: first, that it exists; and, second, that it has certain definite modes of activity.

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In this way we gain all our knowledge. Going out from the facts of experience, we are forced to assume, first, that a thing exists; and, second, that it has certain properties. This constitutes our knowledge of the thing. Plainly, a knowledge of the first cause in this sense must be possible, because phenomena force us to assume its existence, and to attribute to it definite properties. What these properties may be, must be determined from a study of the facts; but when the facts force us to assume such a first cause, and force us to attribute to it certain definite properties, then we know that first cause in precisely the same sense in which we know anything. This theory of knowledge leaves "the mystery of being" just where it was; and in so far the know-nothing is right, but no further. How being is made, or how action is possible, we do not know. The fact that things exist and that interaction is possible, is the great and omnipresent mystery. But to say we cannot tell how being is made is one thing; to say that we know nothing about it when it is made is quite another. Is knowledge in this sense possible? If so, we are content.

Mr. Fiske's main objection against such knowledge of the ground of phenomena is the contradictions into which reason falls whenever it ascribes any attributes whatever to the absolute. He reaches this conclusion in the regular way, namely, by analyzing the idea of the absolute, of the infinite, and of first cause. It is somewhat disheartening to find this sophism reproduced with so much confidence, resting, as it does, purely upon the etymology of the words, and not upon an analysis of their psychological content. The etymological absolute cannot co-exist with the relative, for the word means cut off and separate. No more can the etymological infinite co-exist with the finite, for etymologically the infinite is the all; and it is absurd enough to suppose that there should be something outside of the all. Hence the first cause, which we must conceive of as absolute and infinite, cannot be conceived as co-existing with the finite and relative without insoluble contradiction. Mr. Fiske makes his task still easier by defining the absolute as that "which exists out of all relations," (vol. i, p. 9;) and, of course, an absolute which never comes into any relations with anything could never come into knowledge. How the absolute thus defined could be the cause and support of phenomena, as

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Mr. Fiske assumes it is, does not appear. In this way Mr. Fiske routs all theistic philosophies. Unluckily, however, etymologizing is not philosophizing; and the etymological absolute and the etymological infinite are not identical with the real absolute and the real infinite. Upon a study of nature we find that its manifold of forces and things are all conditioned and limited. We are carried, then, by the laws of our thinking, to affirm an unconditional and unlimited being. This being is *not unconditioned in the sense of being out of relation*, but as being the source of the conditions and limitations of things to which it stands in causal relation. It is not infinite in the sense of being the all, but as limiting finite things without being in turn determined by them. This is the true content of the notion of the absolute and the infinite. The absolute is not unrelated, but unrestricted by anything external to itself; the infinite is not the all, but the independent something upon which the finite depends. If the know-nothing claims that absolute and infinite are not proper terms for the being thus described, we have no objection; we only insist that the true content of these notions be kept in mind by whoever attempts to reason upon them. Grammatical exegesis is good in its place, but it cannot do the work of psychological analysis.

One need not be told that Mr. Fiske is far from faithful to his own logic. After having objected to theism because it involves the contradictory notions of the absolute, infinite, and first cause, and after having shown that the absolute cannot come into relation, he tells us, "The cosmic philosophy is found upon the recognition of an absolute power, manifested in and through the world of phenomena."—Vol. i, p. 263. When the theist said "theistic philosophy is founded upon a recognition of an absolute power (God) manifested in and through the world of phenomena," Mr. Fiske protested with all his might, "The absolute exists out of all relations;" "it can be known only by ceasing to be the absolute;" it cannot come into relation without losing its absoluteness. And yet, when, instead of theistic philosophy, we read cosmic philosophy—that is, Mr. Fiske's philosophy—the refractory and recalcitrant absolute kindly consents to be known, to enter into relations, to manifest itself in space and time—the very thing which, by the way, Mr. Fiske says it cannot do, at least for theistic

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philosophers. We have failed to find any satisfactory explanation of this peculiar partiality of the absolute for the cosmic philosophy.

Again, in treating of theism, Mr. Fiske, following in the wake of Mr. Spencer, objects to it as teaching a self-existent God. The idea is declared to be viciously unthinkable, and any system involving it is found to be untenable. But here, again, the same peculiar partiality of the absolute for the cosmic philosophers appears. The fundamental reality which they postulate as the support of phenomena, turns out to be self-existent, infinite, absolute, and first cause—the very notions which were declared to be fatal to theism. The explanation is, doubtless, that the absolute is not subject to the law of non-contradiction, and if it chooses to do for the cosmists what it will not do for the theists, why the latter must grin and bear it. Of course, Mr. Fiske is serious, but his use of the absolute is strikingly like the heathen Chinee's use of the right bower. Perhaps, however, Mr. Fiske is like that old Church father whose faith was so strong that the contradictions of a doctrine were the strongest reasons for belief. It is certain that the pride of sinful reason could not be more effectually mortified than by an acceptance of the cosmist's creed on this point.

Another strong support of the know-nothing doctrine is the theory of relativity. The insufficiency of this doctrine as a theory of knowledge, so far as it is any thing but the baldest truism, has been abundantly shown, and by no one better than by Professor Martin.* We pass over this discussion, therefore, and content ourselves with pointing out the utter irrelevancy of the doctrine. For it is plain that whatever discredit this doctrine casts upon our faculties, it must be impartially distributed over them all. Such discredit, therefore, belongs as much to scientific as to religious theories. Considering, therefore, the prophecies of peace on the philosophic earth, and of good-will between scientists and theologians when once this doctrine should be recognized, it is quite disheartening to find only another instance of the mountain's being in labor and bringing forth a mouse. For universal skepticism is none—a doctrine which discredits all our beliefs and notions, leaves them all in the same relative position, and really discredits none of them. A skepticism

* See "Methodist Quarterly Review," July, 1875.

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which builds upon the more immediate intuitions, and then proceeds to discredit those which lie at a greater distance from direct certainty, is the only dangerous one. For example: A skepticism which should go out from our mathematical and mechanical notions, and claim to deduce from them the moral and religious sentiments, would be absolutely fatal if it could make out its thesis. But a skepticism which discredits all alike is harmless. If the theologian can show that religious ideas have as much evidence as scientific ones, he is perfectly content to allow the skeptic to vapor as he pleases about the uncertainty of human knowledge. The healthy trust of the mind in itself, and daily contact with reality, will speedily cure these eruptions. It is too evident to need any proof that peace between science and religion can never be secured in this way, for either this doctrine reduces us all to silence, or else it allows all to speak. In the former case all theories, scientific as well as religious, are subjective delusions; in the latter case the doctrine gives us no means of deciding between rival theories. Even granting that all our notions concerning the first cause are but symbolisms, if we are to think at all, we must think in terms of those symbolisms; and the question arises whether religious or scientific symbolisms better represent the fact—shall we think of it as a mechanical cause, or as a free creator? as a blind force, or as a conscious person? Thus the problem emerges at the end of the discussion in just the same form as at the beginning, while, as in the case of the sheared pig, the amount of serviceable wool secured from the transaction is far from atoning for the discomfort of the attending outcry. This conclusion can be escaped only by saying that all our ideas are utterly false, in which case the notions of evolution and of mechanical science, as well as those of philosophy and religion, must vanish into delusion and dream, and all theorizing must cease. When Mr. Fiske claims that certain mechanical conceptions of the primal activity are the only tenable ones, and seeks thereby to deprive the theistic argument of its force, it is simply a monstrous inconsistency.

The determined skeptic may say, in criticism of our theory of knowledge, that although certain conclusions may be necessary for us, it does not follow that they are true in themselves. Our thinking comes necessarily to certain ways of regarding

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the cause of things, but we can never prove that those ways are objectively real. The subjective necessity does not prove objective fact. It is admitted that the laws of our thought make the conclusion necessary, but no proof can ever be given; that this conclusion represents objective fact. To refute this objection is impossible. If there be any objective necessity it can only appear in knowledge as a subjective necessity. But we may test its value by applying it. The mathematician says, "The radii of the same circle are all equal;" or "a straight line is the shortest distance between two points;" or "if equals be added to equals the sums will be equal." The relativist says, "How do you know that?" The other replies, "I cannot think them otherwise." The answer is, of course, "Ah, yes! but it is only a subjective necessity which forces you to think so; it may well be that in fact your mathematics have no objective validity." This skepticism is always possible, but the mathematician is not at all dismayed, nor do mathematics run any very serious risks from such attacks. Now the skepticism which objects to our affirmations about the first cause or any other cause on the ground of their subjectivity, has just as much value and no more; it is forever irrefutable and forever barren. It is merely gratuitous skepticism; it can offer no reasons, and so long it is a mere impertinence which busy and earnest men may justly ignore. The natural healthy trust of the mind in itself will never allow one to trouble himself long with such doubts as these. We must, therefore, regard the theory of the unknowable as a worthless piece of philosophic lumber. The psychologist rejects it as resting upon a false theory of knowledge; the scientist rejects it as coming into no intelligible relations to phenomena, and therefore useless in scientific explanations; the theologian rejects it as worthless in religion, and finally Mr. Fiske and Mr. Spencer themselves reject it by the most expressed contradictions of the theory. The only mode of escape is the one to which we have several times referred, namely, to say that the word unknowable is not to be taken in its strict sense, in which case the theory loses all meaning and importance.

It is interesting to know that the theory is rapidly falling into discredit even among scientists. A writer in the "Fortnightly Review" declares, in a review of Mr. Fiske, that

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it is high time to save the evolution doctrine from its best friends, adding that this ontological abstraction of the unknowable which cannot be brought into intelligible relation to our physical theories is of no use to any one. Mr. Lewes, also, has felt called upon to repudiate Mr. Spencer's physics and metaphysics. This is an advance, and is prophetic of further progress. Hitherto, owing to the scientific language of this philosophy, every attack upon it was apt to be resented as an outbreak of theological hostility. It is gratifying, therefore, to find a growing recognition of the fact that a system does not become science by merely calling itself scientific.

We pass now to the scientific part of Mr. Fiske's system with the full understanding that the theories therein advanced shall not be allowed to take advantage of the doctrine of the unknowable to cover up weak logic, but shall be subject to the same rules of evidence and conceivability as every other system. We have seen that any discredit which Mr. Fiske's metaphysics may have thrown upon the knowing mind, must be impartially distributed all around; and, therefore, scientific, philosophic, and religious doctrines remain all in the same relative position which they had at first. We have gained, therefore, nothing from the doctrine of the unknowable except another and unusually sad instance of wasted effort. We have now to inquire whether Mr. Fiske's mechanical theory of the universe agrees better with the facts and the laws of our thinking than does the theistic theory.

We mention, in passing, a huge gap which Mr. Spencer left in his system at this point, and which Mr. Fiske has not filled up. Their unknowable in both works is left, like the gods of Epicurus, without any thing to do beyond gorgonizing opponents. This scientific exposition is based almost entirely upon the atomic conception of matter. Their deduction of the universe demands only a manifold of atoms. This granted, they are ready for unlimited deduction. These atoms, interacting according to the known laws of mechanics, must, it is proved, build up the actual universe. All phenomena are proved, with painful elaborateness, to be but special cases of molecular mechanics. Now, in all this the unknowable one plays no part; and it is plain that it is useless, unless it can be shown that the atoms necessitate the assump-

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tion of a primal unity. But this is a proof which we are unable to find in either Mr. Spencer's or Mr. Fiske's writings. Both have, indeed, pronounced the atomic conception inconceivable; but, then, they have pronounced every other conception equally inconceivable; and as we must form some conception, it may as well be the atomic as any other if scientific facts seem to render it necessary. Moreover, if we should strike out from their works the arguments based upon this conception, there would be next to nothing remaining. His scientific argument, therefore, demands only the assumption of a primitive plurality and not a primitive unity. Both Mr. Fiske and Mr. Spencer have taken it very easy in this matter. It does not follow because *noumena* are inaccessible to our intelligence that they are, therefore, one. Oxygen, hydrogen, carbon, might well be unknowable in their essence without being identical in essence. Arguments might possibly be found to necessitate such an assumption, but neither Mr. Fiske nor Mr. Spencer have given them. Admitting the justice of their metaphysics, we reach a plurality of unknowables and not an unknowable one. This they have simply assumed It might possibly be said that the correlation of the forces proves the unity of the ground of phenomena; but no one will say so who knows what the doctrine means.

Mr. Fiske reproduces Spencer's doctrine of evolution, and adopts his famous definition, as follows: "Evolution is an integration of matter and concomitant dissipation of motion during which the matter passes from an indefinite incoherent homogeneity to a definite coherent heterogeneity, and during which the retained motion undergoes a parallel transformation." Of this definition much might be said. The word indefinite must not be taken strictly for that which is strictly indefinite—that is, without definite attributes or powers—is incapable of any thing. First of all, then, we must assume a definite agent or agents, with definite laws in place of the indefinite homogeneous. The homogeneous, too, must not be strictly homogeneous, for, remembering that this homogeneous represents the all, it is clear that strict homogeneity would make change impossible. Next, we replace the indefinite homogeneous by a definite heterogeneous in order to make change conceivable. The formula then reads: Evolution is a

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change from a definite heterogeneous to another definite heterogeneous. Moreover, it is difficult to tell precisely what is meant by this indefinite homogeneous. One would expect the unknowable to play some part in it; but the most of the argument upon it assumes it to be the original nebula of material atoms with all their definite powers and relations, which is far enough from being an indefinite homogeneous, or even a homogeneous of any kind. Finally, Mr. Spencer's formula is a description, and not an explanation. It is not, by any means, self-evident that things must take the course here described. It is necessary, therefore, to prove that this original homogeneity must originate the present orderly system. This Mr. Spencer attempts to do by establishing the three principles of the "instability of the homogeneous," the "multiplication of effects," and the "integration of correspondences." Three very formidable looking principles which certainly ought to be able to accomplish something.

It has been a frequent boast of Mr. Spencer's admirers that his critics have not ventured to grapple with these principles, and they have further remarked that so long as these doctrines stood, Spencerism was invulnerable. Mr. Fiske, too, has great faith in them, though he refers the reader to Mr. Spencer for their full development and proof. Let us see, then, what these doctrines may have to say for themselves. And, first, we examine the alleged instability of the homogeneous. The doctrine is, that the homogeneous being unstable, must fall into heterogeneous forms, and some of these heterogeneities will be worlds, and solar systems, and forms of life, and these will go on improving until things look as if they had had an intelligent maker. The doctrine looks amazingly like the old doctrine of chance; but has this principle itself any warrant? Remember, this homogeneous is to be considered mechanically; and now suppose the original force perfectly homogeneous, what will follow? If homogeneous, it must be in equilibrium, and change could never result. The mathematician knows this, and proves that if the world be merely a mechanical system, it must have been in motion with a certain direction and velocity from all eternity, because no interaction of any system of material bodies can affect the sum of their motion measured in any direction whatever. The examples given by Mr. Spen-

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cer and Mr. Fiske consist invariably of seeming homogeneities in the presence of heterogeneous forces, and the resulting action is offered as an illustration of the instability of the homogeneous:—

> In the impossibility of balancing an accurately made pair of scales, in the equal impossibility of keeping a tank of water free from currents, in the rusting of iron, and in the uneven cooling of heated metals, is exemplified the principle that the state of homogeneity is an unstable state. Universally the tendency of things amid the conflict of unlike forces is toward heterogeneity.—Vol. i, p. 353.

This is as good as any thing that either Mr. Spencer or Mr. Fiske has upon the subject. "Things amid the conflict of unlike forces" are universally adduced as illustrations of the homogeneous! The rusted iron is a composite effect depending on the interaction of iron and nascent oxygen; the two together being far enough from homogeneous. If instead of oxygen one should put nitrogen in contact with the iron, the homogeneity would not be diminished, and yet it would be stable enough. The light bearing either is assumed to be homogeneous, but it shows no signs of instability. Even our own atmosphere is sufficiently homogeneous to allow the principle a fair chance to work, but it does not evolve any thing to speak of.

Mr. Spencer, however, is not content with an induction of this principle. It is not sufficient to point out that mortar gets lumpy, that iron rusts, and that jelly is very apt to candy; it must be rationally deduced from some ulterior principle. And here the hopeless helplessness of the doctrine appears. The principle upon which the instability of the homogeneous rests is the persistence of force. Force is forever at work producing changes, and hence the instability of the homogeneous. But it is plain that instability in general, both of the homogeneous and of the heterogeneous, ought to result from such a principle. Force is ever weaving, and force is ever unweaving; hence all things pass. But how in the face of this notion Mr. Spencer can erect the stability of the heterogeneous into a principle is one of the many mysteries which he has bequeathed to the philosophic world. One can easily understand how necessary the assumption is to fit out the new philosophy; but where it finds its warrant in any mechanical system is more than we

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can tell. Mr. Spencer offers it as a fact, however, and points out that it is exemplified in the paths of the planets, none of which are circles (homogeneous) but rather ellipses (heterogeneous.) We are not quite sure of the principle by which the ellipse is determined to be heterogeneous and the circle homogeneous; but the pretended stability of the elliptical orbit lies in the fact that a curve may go through any number of variations and still be an ellipse, while the circle cannot change at all without ceasing to be a circle. The orbits of the planets are never the same ellipses from one hour to another; but since the ever-changing orbit remains an ellipse, the common name is made to cover the variability, and the result is held up as an example of the stability of the heterogeneous! Finally, the other principle of the integration of correspondences is the direct contradiction of the instability of the homogeneous. The aim of that principle is to get like with like, that is, to produce the homogeneous—a procedure against which the instability of the homogeneous must resolutely set its face. Hence, the three great creative principles are at war with one another, and no one can be true without destroying the rest. It is possible enough that here, as elsewhere, wisdom is justified only of her children, and that some peculiar insight is vouchsafed to the disciples of this school which is denied to the outside world. There seems to be no other way of explaining the enthusiasm which they seem to feel.

In fact, this whole attempt to make the order of the world mechanically intelligible is an unpardonable sin against the first principles of the mechanical theory. The notion of a mechanical system is not very clearly defined, but this certainly belongs to it: any given event flows with necessity from its antecedents. Hence, if at any point whatever in the flow of things we make a cross section, we find the actual balance and disposition of things which must in time bring forth the present order. If now, with Mr. Spencer and Mr. Fiske, we view nature mechanically, there never was a time when the present order was not given, or when any other order was possible. It is plain, therefore, that a mechanical system does not really explain the order of the universe, but assumes it at the start. The fundamental fact of such a system is an orderly ongoing of the universe, and all that appears in the course of that

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ongoing must be regarded, not as explained by science, but as the several phases of the first fact thus assumed. The seeming indeterminateness of lower forms, instead of explaining the harmony and order of the higher ones, is only a preliminary stage through which the universal unfolding has passed in its onward march. The elements are assumed in definite relations, with definite powers and definite direction, so that no other order than the present is possible. By and by, the implicit assumption becomes the explicit fact, and then the whole is held up as a miracle of constructive reasoning. Teleology is forthwith warned off, and word goes round that intelligence is no longer needed to explain the harmony and order of the universe. If it could be shown that the physical order is sufficient unto itself, and that every thing can be explained by reference to it, then, and only then, would teleology be finally overthrown. In that case, however, nothing would be explained; every thing would be assumed. The error of Mr. Spencer in attempting a mechanical explanation of the universe lies in the assumption that the elements were once a chaos, without definite law, order, or relation. Science, however, knows of no such time. The present forms of things have not always existed, but science knows of no time when the present order of law and of definite relation did not exist; and science knows of no point in the physical flow of things which was not determined by its antecedents. As science, therefore, it knows nothing of a first moment or of a chaos. If, however, an indefinite and chaotic condition of things were thinkable, the chances are infinity to one against any production of harmony or order therefrom. A font of type, knocked into pi, and shaken, would sooner produce a reasonable discourse, than a chaotic mass of atoms would build up the harmony of creation. Mr. Spencer has completely missed the true conception of mechanical science, and his objections to teleology on the authority of his speculations are the weakest possible. The same is to be said of Mr. Fiske's attempt to play off the Darwinian theory against teleology. A mechanical science which understands itself does not go behind phenomena, but rather below them; and if the aim is to dispense with a God, it does not talk of a first moment or of a primal chaos—neither of which are thinkable—but rather of a self-centered world-order, of which

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the changes of things are the several phases. Such atheistic science recognizes that it explains nothing, but assumes every thing. When, however, the teleologist objects that that order must be explained, the just reply is, Every system must assume something to start with, and why may not a primal order be that first fact? What better right has chaos to existence than harmony? It is the everlasting wonder of the world that it should be so, but then it is so. This reply, which is the strongest one that atheistic science can make, renders the ordinary teleological argument worthless. It points out that nature is driven from behind and not led from before, and that, therefore, final causes are rendered needless by the demonstrable sufficiency of the physical causes to explain phenomena. To meet this argument teleology must reconstruct its argument and choose another stand-point. It must show that this world-order is not independent; and it must show that the very notion of science involves the doctrine of final cause. This, however, is not the place for this discussion. It is plain that Mr. Spencer's and Mr. Fiske's attempt to do away with final causes involves a pitiable lack of insight into the conditions of the problem. From this stand-point their formula of evolution reduces to this: Evolution is evolution.

Nevertheless, Mr. Spencer and Mr. Fiske both claim that this doctrine is not atheism; for although all phenomena, mental and physical alike, can be expressed in terms of matter and motion, and although the seeming intelligence of the universe is but a necessary result of simple mechanical laws, still the fundamental reality is neither matter nor spirit, but a something above both. To be sure, both philosophers habitually speak of this reality in terms of matter and motion; but both are equally emphatic in denying that it can be identified with matter and motion. Mr. Fiske declares that if he had to choose between saying that God is a force and God is a spirit, he would prefer the former expression. However, there is no need of choice, for the fundamental reality is above both matter and spirit. We cannot, indeed, conceive of it; but, then, it lies in the very notion of the unknowable to be unconceivable; and to say that there can be nothing higher than spirit and intelligence, is to confound the inconceivable with the impossible. This is the gist of their argument upon this point. Mr. Spencer

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further illustrates it by reference to the impiety of the pious, and dressing up an old satire of Xenophanes. The position is, nevertheless, untenable, for whatever we think of must be thought of in either terms of matter or spirit; there is no room in thought for this third something which is neither. Very good, says Mr. Fiske; but do you not see that you are erecting the limits of thought into the limits of being? You are asserting that a thing is impossible because you cannot think it. I occupy a much more modest position, and I find it entirely possible that there may be orders upon orders of being above either material or spiritual existence. It is quite possible, says Mr. Spencer, that there may be forms of being as far above intelligence as intelligence is above mechanism. We answer, we are not concerned about the limits of possibility at all. If they choose to solace themselves with dreams of possible orders of being, we have no objection; but when such an assumption appears as a factor in a philosophical system, we do mean to have it proved, and an appeal to possibility is no proof. The possible is not necessarily real. Remember, we are trying to explain a definite body of material and mental phenomena, and not to invent hypotheses. A spiritual cause will furnish such an explanation; but what help do we get from postulating this third something which is neither material nor spiritual, conscious nor unconscious? It merely doubles our difficulties and removes none. Besides, the notion is nothing new in philosophy. Spinoza adopted it, Schelling adopted it, and neither succeeded in making anything out of it. It was pure assumption to start with, and pure assertion to end with; of no value to science, and impossible in thought. We rule it out, therefore, as both useless and unprovable, and return to see what objections Mr. Fiske has to offer concerning the cause of things as a living intelligence.

Although Mr. Fiske claims to have shown that intelligence is needed to produce the harmony of the universe, he, nevertheless, says that this problem of an intelligent God is incapable of demonstrative solution either way:—

> I believe that it is beyond the power of science to prove that the Divine Power immanent in the cosmos, either does or does not work by anthropomorphic methods. We cannot expect, therefore, to obtain a result which, like a mathematical theorem, shall

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stand firm through mere weight of logic; or which, like a theorem in physics, can be subjected to a crucial test.—Vol. ii, p. 378.

It would seem at first sight as if the explanation of the universe by mechanical causes would render the assumption of intelligence needless; possibly, however, Mr. Fiske has doubts concerning the thoroughness of his mechanical explanation, and orders up the following reinforcements:—

Here we are upon the brink of the abyss into which the anthropomorphic hypotheses must precipitate us, if instead of passively acquiescing in it as a vague authoritative formula, we analyze it with the scientific appliances at our command. To those who have acquired some mastery of the physical truths upon which our cosmic philosophy is based, the doctrine not only ceases to be intellectually consoling, but becomes a source of ungovernable disturbance. For to represent the Deity as a person who thinks, contrives, and legislates, is simply to represent him as a product of evolution. The definition of intelligence being the continuous adjustment of specialized inner relations to specialized outer relations, it follows that to represent the Deity as intelligent, is to surround Deity with an environment, and thus to destroy its infinity and its self-existence. The eternal Power, whereof the web of phenomena is but the visible garment, becomes degraden into a mere strand in the web of phenomena, and the cosmos is exchange for the loss of the infinite and inscrutable God, receives an anomalous sovereign of mythologic pedigree.—Vol. ii, p. 398.

As the result, Mr. Fiske says:—

Our choice is no longer between an intelligent Deity and none at all: it lies between a limited Deity and one that is without limit. For, as the foregoing discussion has plainly shown, and as it must appear in every similar discussion of the subject in terms of the doctrine of evolution, an anthropomorphic God cannot be conceived as an infinite God. Personality and infinity are terms expressive of ideas which are mutually incompatible. The pseudo idea, "infinite person," is neither more nor less unthinkable than circular triangle.—Vol. ii, p. 401.

We doubt if Mr. Fiske would have been quite so dogmatic if he had been a little surer of his position. The extra emphasis seems to flow from an uneasy, half-consciousness that the positions are armed chiefly with Quaker guns. Merely noting, by the way, that the fundamental reality appears in this quotation as self-existent, an impossible idea according to Mr. Fiske, the objections urged are two: God cannot be intelligent, first, because intelligence is the "continuous adjustment of specialized

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inner relations to specialized outer relations;" and, second, because intelligence is only thinkable as a product of evolution. It is quite a favorite method with the philosophers of the new school to define their terms in their own interests; thus Mr. Spencer, in arguing against Mr. Martineau, that mind cannot be the cause of things, quietly defines mind as "a series of states of consciousness," and calls upon Mr. Martineau to show how a series of sensations could account for the universe. Mr. Fiske also appears with a definition framed in the interests of his philosophy, and having defined intelligence as "the continuous adjustment of specialized inner relations to specialized outer relations," there is no more to be said upon the subject. Still, victory by definition is so cheap as to arouse suspicion. A philosopher of the old school might object that by an intelligent being he means one capable of conscious thought, knowledge, and action; and for aught we see, this definition would be full as consonant with experience as the other about inner and outer relations. Moreover, Mr. Fiske's definition does not cover the greater part of our intellectual life. It applies, if at all, only to sense perception; but gives no account of the abstract and creative action of the mind, in which there is no trace of adjustment to outer relations. Besides, the definition itself needs explanation. What is meant by "inner relations?" There is really no place for true inwardness in the mechanical scheme. The expression means nothing, unless it means a knowing subject, and then the definition runs, "Intelligence is the continuous adjustment of the knowing subject to the various objects which surround it." This adjustment, however, appears to be only the subject's knowledge of objects, for any other adjustment presupposes conscious intelligence; that is, the subject's conscious adjustment of himself to his surroundings would imply a previous knowledge of those surroundings. The definition, then, becomes "Intelligence is a continuous knowing," a very safe proposition, but not a very valuable one. The philosopher of the old school might further point out that although our intelligence is developed, it does not lie in the notion of intelligence that it must be developed. An eternal intelligence is, metaphysically, as possible as an eternal non-intelligence. As to the objection that intelligence and consciousness are incompatible with infinity, we may remark that the denial of those

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modes of being to the fundamental reality is even more fatal to its infinity. Intelligence and consciousness are higher modes of being than unintelligence and unconsciousness; and to deny them to the infinite is to limit it both qualitatively and quantitatively. Mr. Fiske declares that the infinite must have all power, include all modes of being, and yet it cannot fulfill the conditions of conscious intelligence. But Mr. Fiske's argument on this point is mainly a quibble, based upon a false notion of the infinite. The really weighty objections against the personality of the infinite are not those which he gives.

This question concerning the personality and the intelligence of the first cause has been so twisted and inverted by modern philosophers that it has passed into a philosophical dogma that the notion is self-destructive. It may, therefore, be worth while to leave Mr. Fiske for the moment, and inquire whether this traditional philosophic dogma is any thing but a prejudice. The question is whether this infinite power back of phenomena exists for itself? whether its activity is attended with consciousness? In affirming personality of that power we merely mean to give an affirmative answer to these questions. The objections thereto, we conceive, are mainly logical rather than psychological. First, it is said that consciousness involves the distinction of subject and object. The destruction of either factor is fatal to consciousness. The reply is, that though the subject may not be thought, except in distinction from an object, it can certainly be experienced without any such distinction. The developed self-consciousness of the mature man acquires form and fullness through this distinction, but it rests as a fact upon an immediate feeling of self. There has never been any successful attempt to deduce this immediate feeling itself from any interaction of a subject and object. It is an ultimate and primal fact of our soul life. It is, too, just as strong in the child as in the developed man. The child knows nothing of ego and non-ego, of subject and object; but he certainly has as lively a feeling of himself as could be desired. The conscious antithesis, then, of subject and object, is not necessary in order to experience one's self. Besides, logically, the notion of self must have a positive content if the notion of not-self is to have any meaning whatever. To make each the mere negation of the other is to reduce both to zero.

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It is further urged, that though our consciousness is not caused by the outer world, it is, nevertheless, occasioned by it. The soul may well contain in it the laws of its development, so that upon proper occasion it shall develop only in certain directions; yet this development depends both for its impulse and for its continuance upon the co-working of an external world. Externality is, therefore, absolutely necessary for the production of consciousness; hence it is concluded that the first cause, for whom there is no objective world, cannot be conscious. The reply is, first, that the continuance of our intellectual life does not depend on external impulse. When once the stream of association is formed, and the constructive powers of the mind are awakened, there is thenceforth no further need of external impulse to maintain the stream of conscious life at its full. In the second place, while our consciousness has a beginning, it does not lie in the notion of consciousness that it should have a beginning. To the question, What originally started the stream of thought in the eternal mind? we reply, It never was started. Of course, the objector's hands go up at this, but before he breaks out we beg leave to call one or two points to his attention. Credit is very unequally divided between scientists and theologians. The metaphysical difficulties involved in scientific statements are generally overlooked or taken on trust; while the moment statements are made on the other side, which involve no greater difficulties, these objections are brought out in a mass. Every system of the world must begin with something of which it is impossible to give any further account than that it is. The necessary assumption of every materialistic or mechanical system is an eternal motion either in the world substance or among the physical elements. The theistic system, on the contrary, postulates as its primal fact, back of which it cannot go, an eternal mind, whose consciousness and whose thoughts, like itself, are from everlasting. Now it is plain that the metaphysical objections against the latter doctrine are at least no greater than those against that of an eternal mechanical motion; and we object, therefore, to bringing them forward as fatal in one case, while every thing is taken on trust in the other. The objections against it are merely the incomprehensibility of all ultimate facts, or they consist in transferring to the infinite the limitations of our finite minds.

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The objection that consciousness implies finiteness is a mere quibble based upon the mistaken notion that the real infinite must be the all. It is, in brief, a striking proof of the inverted position of our philosophy that it is necessary to prove that the conditions of self-knowledge, and of knowledge in general, are not lacking to the infinite power which we are told contains the fullness of being and transcends all limitations. Indeed, we must say with Lotze,* that full personality is possible only to the infinite. We ourselves are more passive than active. But a small part of the powers that work within us are our own. We are the theater upon which mysterious forces appear. We have but the scantiest insight into our own nature. In so far we are machines rather than persons. Pure personality exists only where the nature is transparent to self; where all the powers are under absolute control; where the spirit remains ever by itself, and where past and present are equally transparent. Such personality is not ours; it can belong only to the infinite, of whose full personality ours is but the faint and imperfect image.

Returning to Mr. Fiske, his solution of the materialistic question demands attention. He fairly labors in repelling the charge of materialism to find words to express himself; we must, therefore, believe that Mr. Fiske does not mean to be a materialist. In attempting to determine, however, what Mr. Fiske's doctrine is, the chronic difficulties of his exposition still beset us. We understand that his formula of evolution is intended to cover the whole field of mind as well as of physics, and according to that formula the development of mind is only a special case of the "redistribution of matter and motion." Mental phenomena appear only in connection with material phenomena, and both disappear together. The mental action is a function of nervous organization, and disappears along with it. This is undoubtedly the doctrine of a good part of Mr. Fiske's exposition, and this is what common people mean by materialism. The name is indifferent so long as the matter be understood. If the redistribution of matter and motion includes and accounts for all phenomena, then the world will continue to regard this system as materialistic in spite of Mr. Fiske's protest. On the other hand Mr. Fiske's views, like

* "Mikrokosmus," vol. iii, S. 573 ff.

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those of Mr. Spencer, appear to have undergone an evolution in the course of the discussion, and we find toward the close of his work the most emphatic denial of the possibility of expressing mental phenomena in terms of material ones.* In a recent work, "The Unseen World," Mr. Fiske has the following emphatic passages:—

> Modern discovery, so far from bridging over the chasm between mind and matter, tends rather to exhibit the distance between them as absolute. . . . But what has been less commonly remarked, is the fact that when the thought and the molecular movement thus occur simultaneously, in no scientific sense is the thought the product of the molecular movement. . . . To be sure, the thought is always there when summoned, but it stands outside the dynamic circuit as something utterly alien from and incomparable with the events which summon it.—Pp. 41, 42.

We think Mr. Fiske quite correct in these statements; indeed, we doubt if the relation of the mind to the brain has ever been so clearly expressed. But who does not see that the original evolution formula has hopelessly broken down? The mind refuses in any way to be brought into line with matter, and the whole mental world lies outside of the redistribution of matter and motion; and the dreaded dualism of mind and matter remains an impassable gulf. An attempt is made to bridge it by an appeal to the unknowable—that is, by an appeal to x, which is, in fact, an abandonment of the problem. Besides, the attempt to find a common cause for these incommensurable sets of phenomena is a sin against the first principles of empiricism. The great rule of empirical induction is, that like effects indicate like causes. The converse of this proposition is, that irreducible difference in the effects indicates difference in the causes, and the attempt to unite them in one is a failure. It may be possible to other philosophies, but never to empiricism.

Of the numberless other points that have puzzled us we will mention only one. In the chapter on Causation, Mr. Fiske expressly teaches that causation is nothing but unconditional and invariable sequence. The notion that the antecedent exercises any controlling force whatever upon the consequent is distinctly repudiated. We have really labored to imagine what need there is of a fundamental reality in such a scheme. For as every phenomenon is really independent of every other

* Vol. ii, part iii, chap. iv.

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—a self-creation, in fact—there is no need to assume a fundamental reality for its support. Besides, if we assume such a fundamental reality, it can contribute nothing to the production of the phenomenon, being itself only one more powerless antecedent. Plainly, if we are to abide by this notion of causation, we can get along as well without this new antecedent as with it; and inasmuch as the sum of phenomena has no real causal connection with this reality, their existence can never be any reason for postulating it. The same difficulty returns when we read the chapter on freedom of the will. There Mr. Fiske finds himself called upon in the name of causation to reject the notion of freedom. There would seem to be some warrant for this, if a compelling external force controlled all volitions; but surely there need be no difficulty with the doctrine of freedom if every phenomenon, as well those of volition as of the outer world, is strictly independent of external control. We have never been able to see what possesses empirical philosophers, after denying the reality of interaction, to lug in the notion when they treat of mental phenomena. Upon their principles, there is no more reason for assuming uniformity in either the outer or inner world, than there is for assuming non-uniformity. There can be no *à priori* reasoning upon the subject; and if experience point to freedom of the will, they can consistently urge nothing against it. The solution of this mystery, as well as of many others in Mr. Fiske's exposition, must be left to posterity. Possibly, however, posterity will never hear of the work; and in that case the secret will probably be buried with its author.

Thus we have touched upon the principal peculiarities of the cosmic philosophy. It goes without saying that its sensational psychology cannot stand the strain which the system makes upon it. Pure sensationalism undermines the possibility of science and system, and its legitimate outcome is nihilism. Whenever, therefore, any one attempts to build up a system on such principles, it is inevitable that he should contradict his own theory at every step. The cosmic philosophers are no exception to this rule, and their contradictions are more numerous and glaring than others in proportion as their system is more ambitious. But this lies in the nature of the case, as we said at the beginning,

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and we may therefore pass the point in silence. The peculiarities of the system we find unsatisfactory enough. They are expressed throughout in an ambiguous language which gives one a high idea of the advantages of a judicious looseness of statement; but when forced to speak one tongue, they either destroy themselves, or sink to commonplaces. We have no doubt that Mr. Spencer and Mr. Fiske really think that they have furnished a higher and truer conception of the world than that given by theistic philosophy; but unfortunately the theology of the unknowable contains so many affronts to reason, and still worse, its logic is so partial or amphibious, that we doubt if the new doctrine will much advance the interests of either religion or science.

ART. VI.—THE HISTORY OF PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN INDIA.

The History of Protestant Missions in India, from their Commencement in 1706 *to* 1871. By Rev. M. A. SHERRING, M.A., LL.B., London. London: Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill. 1875.

IT was the small but willing hand of Denmark that first laid hold of the long lever of the Gospel in attempting to raise to a better life the benighted millions of India. It was this "little one" of the Protestant nations of Europe that stepped forth to sow broadcast the good seed of the word in this rich but neglected field, belonging then, as it has since, chiefly to England. It seems marvelously strange now, with near a thousand foreign missionaries, occupying more than a thousand stations and substations of this great land, and representing various Churches in England, Scotland, Ireland, Germany, Denmark, Canada, the United States, and Australia, with the Gospel preached in every dialect and printed in every tongue; with Christian schools, colleges, orphanages, and hospitals scattered over the land; with India so near London (thanks to the energy of the French canal-maker) that the heir apparent of the throne of Great Britain makes a pleasure trip to and through it, traveling thousands of miles in his palace car, and speaking every morning by submarine cable with her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales at Windsor Castle; it seems very strange that with the East India Company holding the keys to this vast empire so many scores

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of years, the Churches of England did nothing to save their heathen brethren of this eastern land Even eighty years after the beginning of missionary operations in India, the leaders of the English and Scottish Churches, those whose sermons were longest and whose published volumes were thickest, kept their faces firmly set against all missionary work among heathen nations. As has been truly remarked, we are

> Forced to wonder now how these venerable pillars of the Church could go on reading from their pulpits those glorious Messianic psalms and prophecies which speak of the spread of Messiah's kingdom to earth's remotest bounds, and of the ingathering of the heathen, as fellow-heirs in all its light and liberty and joy; who could go on reading the Saviour's last command to his disciples, in virtue of which they themselves were commissioned as ministers of his word, without catching a single glimpse of the meaning wrapped up in these pregnant words, or being fired with one spark of zeal for the speedy advent of the Saviour's kingdom. That they did so, that they continued so long to read with "the vail upon their hearts," reads to us a most emphatic and important lesson—this, namely, that men can only find in the Bible and take out of it that which they have spiritual insight to see and comprehend; that the man of small heart and contracted sympathies will altogether fail to see and grasp truths that sparkle on the sacred page, and lie revealed in Heaven's own light to the man of large heart and broader sympathies.*

The author of the work whose title stands at the head of this article devotes the opening pages of an interesting and timely volume to the missionary operations begun and carried forward by the Danes, and we may begin with him at the beginning.

On the 17th of November, 1705, Frederick IV., king of Denmark and Norway, gave royal letters to Henry Plutschau and Bartholomew Ziegenbalg, who had been students at the University of Halle, appointing them missionaries to Eastern India; exhorting them to labor earnestly among the pagans they should find, to specially betake themselves to God's word, to follow the Saviour's example in preaching repentance and remission of sins, and to show themselves patterns of good works in order to win over "the poor, blind heathens." Twelve days later the enthusiastic students left Copenhagen on their long journey, "with faith in an all-powerful God and confidence in the promises of his holy word." The vessel in which

* "Indian Evangelical Review," p. 205, (1875.)

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they sailed was the "Sophia Hedewig." On the 9th of July, 1706, they arrived at their desired haven, Tranquebar, the chief town of the Danish colony, on the Coromandel coast, distant from Madras one hundred and forty miles.

They at once entered upon their appointed work:—

Both had zeal; that of Plutschau was patient and calm, but that of Ziegenbalg was fiery. One followed, the other led. One had the gift of organization, and enthusiasm to face and surmount all difficulties; the other, besides courage, had the faculty of laboring steadily and well. Both could endure much; but Ziegenbalg endured hardship longer than his fellow-laborer.

In beginning their work they met with little sympathy from the European residents, who, like most persons in England and elsewhere, regarded the enterprise as visionary and absurd. Notwithstanding the king's injunctions opposition was shown them, especially by the governor of the Colony, a Norwegian by birth. Ziegenbalg was thrown into prison, and kept in close confinement for four months:—

There he pined in solitude forbidden the use of pen and paper, and prohibited from holding intercourse with the outer world. On regaining his freedom, he found, to his dismay, that the small community of converts from the heathen, which he and his colleague had gathered together, had been scattered to the winds by persecution and terror. Some were in prison; others were banished; and the mission seemed in ruins. Nothing daunted, Ziegenbalg, in spite of bodily weakness and disease, recommenced his work. Being in great need of money, four thousand crowns were sent to him from home in two ships, one of which was wrecked, and although the money was recovered, it was taken back to Copenhagen. The other ship reached Tranquebar in safety, but as the money was being brought to shore, the boat, which was in charge of drunken sailors, upset, and the whole was lost. Still, these two brave men kept at their post, undismayed by disappointment, hardship, and loss.

Before many years had passed other missionaries arrived, and new stations were occupied. But as the work spread the opposition on the part of those in authority increased, and in 1714, when Ziegenbalg returned to Europe, he proceeded at once to represent the state of affairs to the king. He found him at the siege of Stralsund, in Pomerania, taking part in the great struggle with Charles XII.:—

One evening there was evidently a profound movement among the Danish troops. A stranger of note had had an audience of the

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king, who had shown him singular favor, and for hours, it was said, they had been closeted together. The soldiers, who had gathered round, may have been disappointed when they saw that he was only a clergyman, a man indeed of a commanding presence, of a wonderful dignity and fire, resolute and calm, with a keen eye, a bronzed and almost swarthy face seamed with deep lines of care, and a winning courtesy and lovableness of manner; but when he opened his lips and preached to them, and they heard it was Mr. Ziegenbalg, the missionary from Tranquebar, there were some, at least, who ceased to wonder at his welcome from the king. To the camp Ziegenbalg had hurried with all speed. Letters had given no warning of his journey, and he seemed to have dropped out of the clouds. He was accustomed to rapid movement, and the mission had no time to spare; but he got his story told to the king, and he was content. Some days were snatched from war for this work of peace; changes and arrangements were proposed in the management of the mission; Ziegenbalg was informed that his patent of superintendent had already been sent to India, and for details he was referred to Copenhagen. Thither he journeyed with restless speed; and then into Germany, to Francke and Halle, halting little at any place, but preaching to vast crowds, who filled the churches and swayed out into the street, "very weak," we are told, yet kindling, by his presence, the zeal of all the mission friends, and moving his audiences as he would, by his glowing appeals.*

After visiting England, where he was enthusiastically received, this great leader returned to India. But his work was about ended, and he came back only to die:—

He had overstrained his powers, and had spent himself before he had attained to middle age. In the autumn of 1718 he was smitten by disease, from which he rallied for a time, but which reappearing he sank to rest February 23, 1719. Three hundred and fifty-five converts, and a numerous body of catechumens, mourned over his loss. He had been the guiding spirit of the mission, every department of which, through all the vicissitudes which it had undergone, having felt the influence of his enthusiasm, his patience, and his love. He labored with the inspiration of an apostle, and with the elasticity of a man determined to rise above every obstacle.

The work extended from Tranquebar to other cities along the sea-coast, and into the interior. In 1726, Schultze, an earnest and scholarly missionary, proceeded to Madras, where he established a mission and gathered in a number of converts. Between 1736 and 1746 near four thousand persons were bap-

* From "Good Words," for December, 1872.

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tized, and the knowledge of Christianity was scattered through Tranquebar, portions of Tanjore, and cities, towns, and villages on the Coromandel coast from Madras to Ramnad.

On July 30, 1750, occurred an event which was of great moment in the history of Indian missions, the arrival in India of Christian Frederic Schwartz:—

> Thenceforward for many years, the missionary enterprise in that land, in its progress and development, was intimately associated with the life and labors of this distinguished man. Both Protestant and Roman Catholic missions are able to boast of a long list of earnest and zealous men, from their first establishment in India down to the year in which this testimony is recorded; and they are especially proud of individual men, who by their transcendent ability and devotion shone with brilliant luster, reflecting a divine light far and near, and who for a long period were powerful centers of attraction and influence, and, on finally passing away, left a long line of light behind them. The history of the British possession of India is remarkable for great names. Men of uncommon force as soldiers, civilians, and statesmen, rising far above mediocrity into the regions of true genius, have never been wanting. They have not only imparted imagination and vivacity to this otherwise dull tropical life, but have likewise contributed largely to the success of those stupendous movements which the Government has occasionally undertaken. Each period of British Indian history is connected with great names, which figure conspicuously in its foreground, give to it its brightest colors, and prevent it from becoming uninteresting and tame. In like manner, in the history of Christian missions in India, the eye rests with pleasure on celebrities like Schwartz, Carey, Martyn, and Duff, and others of equal rank, whose varied talents and accomplishments have elevated the missionary body in India to a position of intellectual greatness inferior to none.

This "Apostle of India," as he has well been called, after forty-eight years spent uninterruptedly in the mission-fold, passed from labor to reward. At his death in February, 1798, "a long and bitter cry of lamentation arose from multitudes, and the rajah (of Tanjore) shed a flood of tears over his body, and covered it with a gold cloth."

With the death of Schwartz the first period of Protestant missions in India may properly be said to end. After this date but a few Danish missionaries arrived, and although several continued to labor at Tranquebar and elsewhere during the early part of the present century, the interest decreased, and the missions were either abandoned, or incorporated with those of the

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Church of England. After the lapse of several decades the people of Denmark were aroused to renewed activity in missionary work, and for the past thirty years they have been sending laborers to Tranquebar and other of the old stations. Had this revival occurred in 1800, instead of 1845, there would not have been the sad and deplorable cessation in the mission work begun so many years ago, and carried so vigorously forward for nearly a hundred years.

After Tranquebar—the Plymouth Rock of Indian Missions—stands Serampore, the memorable working place of those earnest laborers, Carey, Marshman, and Ward. It was here that the Baptist Missionary Society (forced into existence by the irresistible enthusiasm of the Northamptonshire shoemaker) began its operations in India. Mr. Carey came to India in 1793 along with Mr. Thomas, who had formerly been a surgeon in the service of the East India Company. The two labored for a few years to the north of Calcutta among the indigo factories, preaching and translating the Scriptures. In 1799 four new missionaries from England arrived, and, owing to the hostility of Government, it was decided to establish the head-quarters of the mission at Serampore, a Danish settlement fifteen miles from Calcutta. The new missionaries encountered violent opposition from Government.

When the ship's papers were presented to the government official in Calcutta, it was at once determined to send the missionaries back to England, and to seize the ship until they should comply with the demand of the Government by returning to their native land. Fortunately, Colonel Bie, the Danish governor of Serampore, was not the man to yield to an unjust interference with his authority; and as he had taken the missionaries under his protection, he was not inclined to give them up. The Marquis of Wellesley, who was then governor-general, after some hesitation let the matter drop, and the missionaries were left to themselves.

It soon became apparent that the men who had thus barely escaped being sent out of the country, as if they were rebels or breakers of the peace, had come to India with a grand purpose in view, and with clear heads, warm hearts, and willing hands. The story of Serampore is interesting indeed, and has been written again and again. The first attention of the missionaries was given to the printing-office:—

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With the exception of two books of the Old Testament, the translation of the whole Bible in the Bengalee language was completed. Mr. Ward set the first types with his own hands, and presented Mr. Carey with the first sheet of the New Testament on the eighteenth of March, 1800. The feeling of exultation with which it was contemplated, and the great prospects which it opened up, may be more easily imagined than described. The twenty-fourth of April was selected as a day of thanksgiving for the establishment of the mission in circumstances so favorable. At this meeting the missionaries voted an address to the king of Denmark, expressing their warmest gratitude for the generous protection which his servants had extended to their undertaking, and soliciting his permission to continue the settlement and prosecute their labors. In the ensuing year His Majesty, Frederick VI., signified the gratification he felt at the establishment of the mission in his dominions, and informed the missionaries that he had their institutions under his special protection.*

The first convert was baptized in the presence of the governor and a vast multitude of Hindus and Mohammedans, Portuguese and English. Its effect upon Mr. Thomas, who was present at the ceremony, was such that his mind lost its balance from sheer thankfulness and joy, and he remained as one insane for the space of a month. One can testify that the years have not been barren, nor the word of God void, when he looks at this single convert standing on the banks of the sacred Ganges at the opening of the century, and turns to another scene which occurred in January, 1876, at Madras, the ordination at one time of *fifteen native preachers*, members of the Church of England.

But as converts were gained, and the Gospel message proclaimed by tract and living voice, Satan cast many hinderances in the way.

The opposition of the Indian Government and of the Court of Directors to missionaries and their work had been gradually increasing, until at last it attained to fever heat. The former came to be regarded as firebrands, who were sowing the seeds of discontent in the country and jeopardizing British rule and authority; the latter as a mischievous attack upon time-honored institutions. This opposition reached a climax when, on the arrival of two new missionaries from England, in August, 1806, they were peremptorily ordered to quite the country immediately. They, like others who had preceded them, promptly placed themselves under the

* Carey, Marshman, and Ward, pp. 60, 61.

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special protection of the Danish governor of Serampore, and although the governor-general and his council tried hard to enforce their threat of expulsion, yet they were finally overawed by the firm stand made by the captain of the American vessel which had brought the missionaries, and Colonel Krefting, the governor of Serampore, both promising that the Governments which they represented would call the British Government to account for the tyrannical course its agents in India were adopting.

The result was that the missionaries remained at Serampore and pursued their work.

Speaking of the energies of these pioneer laborers, our author says:—

In no country in the world, and in no period in the history of Christianity, was there ever displayed such an amount of energy in the translation of the sacred Scriptures from their originals into other tongues, as was exhibited by a handful of earnest men in Calcutta and Serampore in the first ten years of the present century. By their own industry, and that of other persons in various parts of India, who had caught from them the inspiration for the work, during this short period, portions of the Bible, chiefly of the New Testament, had been translated, and actually printed in thirty-one Indian languages and dialects. One is amazed, and almost overwhelmed, at the stupendousness of this undertaking. It cannot be supposed that these first attempts are to be compared with the versions which have been subsequently made in these languages. But this must not diminish the intense admiration we ought to feel toward men of such boldness of design, and such astounding energy of execution. Not content with their labors in this direction, they also published a great multitude of tracts, the Serampore press alone issuing them in twenty languages, and, in addition, books for schools and colleges.

The violent opposition from those in authority at last defeated itself and died away:—

In 1812 the Government first ordered two missionaries to be expelled the country, and then all others brought to their notice, excepting, as they always did, the brethren at Serampore. Two missionaries from the United States, the Rev. Messrs. Judson (afterward the "Apostle of Burmah") and Newell, having reached Calcutta, proceeded to the police-office, and stated to the presiding magistrate their purpose to establish a mission to the east of Bengal, at the same time presenting their passports, which they had received from the governor of Massachusetts. Presently six more missionaries arrived, three of whom were British subjects, and three American. Of the five Americans, three, including Messrs. Judson and Newell, were forthwith expelled; but permission, obtained after great entreaty, was allowed them to proceed

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to Mauritius. The other two escaped to Bombay, having secretly left Calcutta through the connivance of European residents, who felt outraged at the despotic course the Government was pursuing. But thither they were followed by a peremptory dispatch ordering their immediate deportation to England. Two of the three English missionaries were residing in Serampore, and the third was in the Dutch settlement of Chinsurah. The two former, together with Mr. Robinson, a missionary who had been in India six years, after a long discussion, and after the Serampore brethren had exhausted every effort in trying to overcome the scruples of Government, and to retain them, were ordered to quit the country. Mr. Robinson baffled the authorities, however, by leaving for Java, where he founded a mission. A second was permitted to remain, as it was shown that he could be useful in the literary work of the press. But the third, Mr. Johns, in spite of all protestations, was sent home to England, at an expense to the mission of five hundred pounds. This was the last of the missionary expulsions; for the same year, 1813, in which Mr. Johns was banished from India, was also the year of the new charter which was to remove all restrictions on missionaries entering the country.

One is simply astounded as he turns the pages of the dark record of these years, and sees how fiercely even liberty-loving Englishmen endeavored to prevent missionaries entering India, and also how persistently they encouraged idolatry and other evils native to the land:—

Colonel Stewart, who received the *sobriquet* of Hindu Stewart, resided at Berhampore, where he worshiped idols and the Ganges; he built a temple at Saugur, and on his return to Europe took idols with him to perform *puja*, (worship.) Warren Hastings sent an embassy to the Grand Lama to congratulate him on his *incarnation*. Mr. Lushington, a director of the East India Company, stated publicly in 1793 that "were one hundred thousand natives converted he should hold it as the greatest calamity that could befall India." In the same year a member of the Court of Proprietors declared at the India House that "the sending missionaries into the eastern territories is the most wild, extravagant, expensive, unjustifiable project that was ever suggested by the most visionary speculator; that the project would affect the ultimate security of our eastern possessions." Major Scott Waring wrote in 1805: "I never met with a happier race of men than the Hindus when left to the undisturbed performance of the rites of their own religion; and it might truly be said that if Arcadian happiness ever had existence, it must have been rivaled in Hindustan." *

And this in the days of the funeral pile, the car of Juggernaut, the swinging festival, the horrid Meriah sacrifices, and

* "Hand-book of Bengal Missions," by Rev. J. Long, p. 14.

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the merciless, diabolic infanticide! But it was not in India alone that these sentiments were entertained. As late as 1783 the Bishop of St. Asaph stated in the House of Lords that "the obligation said to be incumbent on Christians to promote their faith throughout the world, had ceased with the supernatural gifts which attended the commission of the apostles." Five years later, at a meeting of ministers held at Northampton, Mr. Carey proposed, as the topic of discussion, the duty of Christians to attempt the spread of the Gospel among heathen nations, when Mr. Ryland, Sen., sprang to his feet and denounced the proposition. "Young man," said he, "sit down; when God pleases to convert the heathen, he will do it without your aid or mine."*

Next, after the Baptist missionaries, came those of the London Missionary Society. The first missionary, the Rev. Nathaniel Forsyth, was unable to find a field of labor in the Company's territories, and established himself in Chinsura, under the protection of the liberal government of the Dutch. It was not until 1816 that this society was enabled to establish a mission in Culcutta.

Meanwhile the Serampore missionaries continued their exertions with untiring zeal:—

With the progress of education manifest in every direction they conceived the idea of establishing a college, in which knowledge was to be imparted in English, Hebrew, Greek, Sanskrit, Arabic, Chinese, and a multitude of Indian languages; and lectures were to be delivered by qualified professors in mathematics, medicine, jurisprudence, ethics, and theology. And this brilliant conception they fully carried out. The governor-general of India and the governor of Serampore gave the scheme their sanction and support; and the king of Denmark, with his accustomed generosity, presented the missionaries with a valuable estate, the rent of which was to be appropriated to the expenses of the college, and also granted them a royal charter of incorporation, giving to the college the privilege and authority of conferring literary and honorary degrees. In addition to this central institution for affording a high-class education to the natives, numerous schools were formed in the villages and towns of the neighborhood, containing the enormous number of ten thousand children under the superintendence of Mr. John Marshman, eldest son of the missionary of that name. Moreover, they established a savings bank at Serampore, with the view of teaching the people habits of saving, in contradistinction to the universal custom of extravagant

* Carey, Marshman, and Ward, p. 8.

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expenditure prevalent among all classes. Carey also founded at Calcutta an Agricultural and Horticultural Society, which has grown up to be one of the great institutions of the country, and still cherishes with reverence the memory of its distinguished originator.

No history of missionary work in and about Calcutta would be complete without some mention of the great mission colleges which have wisely been founded there, and which have done so much toward the spread of Christianity among the educated classes of the native population. Proper credit is given by the author to Dr. Duff, whom he styles "the great champion of Indian education." This earnest missionary, whose eloquent words have done effective service in the three capitals, London, New York, and Calcutta, left England in October, 1829, and after an eight-months' voyage, during which he was twice shipwrecked, reached Calcutta in May, 1830. With characteristic zeal he at once set to work to carry out the object of the society he represented (that of the Church of Scotland) by establishing "a collegiate institution which should confer the highest education on native youths." Dr. Duff opened the institution on the 12th of July, 1830. "He commenced with five young men, but before the end of the first week he had more than three hundred applicants. Others daily came pouring in, and, consequently, on account of the narrowness of the hall, he was obliged to make a selection from among them. The number selected amounted to two hundred and fifty, with whom the institution was actually opened. A simple, yet thorough course of instruction in the English language for all the classes was laid down, and an hour was devoted daily to the study of the sacred Scriptures in the same language. Strict discipline was also enforced, which was at that day a novelty in native schools. The success of the institution and of its peculiar system of tuition soon became a common topic of conversation in Calcutta both among Europeans and natives. With the latter it achieved a wonderful popularity, which, indeed, it never lost."

It showed both faith in God and a commendable courage when, in 1812, the American Board, then in its infancy, sent to the far East the five missionaries who were destined to be the pioneers of such a noble company, and the founders of

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such important missions. They landed at Calcutta in June, 1812, and were at once ordered to depart. As has been seen, two of them, the Rev. S. Nott and the Rev. Gordon Hall, escaping from Calcutta, found their way to Bombay, where they arrived in February, 1813.

They were discovered, however, and a peremptory demand came from the supreme Government to Sir Evan Nepean, the governor of Bombay, to send them to England forthwith. Fortunately for the missionaries, Sir Evan was a man of deep religious feeling, who set an example of Christian conduct to the European residents of the city by his scrupulous attention to religious duties and obligations; and, therefore, instead of treating the missionaries harshly, showed them kindness and sympathy. He received a memorial from them requesting to be allowed to remain in Bombay, and permitted them to continue there, pending a reference which he made to the governor-general in their behalf. The document which he wrote represented the motives and objects of the missionaries so forcibly, that the governor-general was convinced of their integrity and peaceableness, and would have suffered them to take up their residence permanently in Bombay, but at this juncture war broke out between Great Britain and the United States, and consequently a fresh order came to Sir Evan to deport them from the country. Before, however, it could be carried out, they fled secretly in a coasting vessel, intending to proceed to Ceylon, whither they had been invited by the Rev. Mr. Newell, one of their former colleagues in Calcutta, and another missionary. On their way they touched at Cochin, where they dwelt for a month. Meanwhile, the English magistrate, who behaved with them with much consideration, and gave them accommodation gratuitously, received orders from Bombay to send them back. And they returned to Bombay. Sir Evan, although vexed and displeased at their flight, yet showed them all kindness on their return, and provided them with apartments in the Admiralty House. A new governor-general, Lord Moira, arrived in India in October, 1813, to whom the friends of the missionaries in Bengal applied for his sanction to their continuance in India. Sir Evan Nepean also brought the matter before his own council, and was so zealous in it that he wrote home to the Court of Directors in their favor. The decision which they came to was promoted by Mr. Charles Grant, the chairman of the court, who found it difficult to overcome the opposition of some of the members. The directors, in their dispatch, expressed themselves satisfied with the object of the missionaries, and permitted them to remain in Bombay. The mission was at once established, and has continued to the present time.

The missionaries of the American Board were, after a few years, joined by others, (Scotch and English,) and by their

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combined earnestness and enthusiasm stirred up a violent opposition. Quoting from Newcomb,* our author says:—

In 1843 the more wealthy Hindus commenced printing by subscription a series of their most popular religious books in monthly numbers. None of these books had ever before been printed, and the manuscripts were scarce and costly, but in the printed form they were afforded at little cost. A Hindu at Bombay expended nearly £400 in printing and circulating one of the sacred books of his religion. Thus a new and extraordinary effort to sustain idolatry showed that the presence and power of Christianity were beginning to be felt. This was still further felt a year later, when the periodical press was, for the first time, brought to the aid of Hinduism. Three weekly newspapers and one monthly magazine, all in the Mahratta language, and bitterly opposed to Christianity, were published at Bombay. A paper was also issued at Poona, and a monthly journal and three weeklies in the Gujeratee language, spoken by seven or eight millions in the region north of Bombay, besides two papers printed in the Persian language. The Gujeratee papers especially attempted to refute Christianity by quotations from the writings of Paine and Voltaire, and other infidels. Thus ten papers and magazines in and around Bombay, armed not only with all that heathen learning could furnish, but with the most approved weapons of infidelity, were brought to bear against the religion taught by the missionaries. But meanwhile the Christian press in Bombay was never more efficient. It had the means of issuing periodicals, tracts, and portions of the Scriptures, in English, Sanskrit, Mahratta, Gujeratee, Hindustani, Persian, and Arabic; and thus the issues of the idolatrous and infidel presses were met face to face, and their influence in great measure counteracted. It was with great joy and thankfulness that the missionaries at Bombay were able to say in 1845, "Thirty-three years ago the doctrine of Christ crucified was unknown to the people of the Mahratta country. No portion of the sacred Scriptures had been given to them in their own language. Not a single tract from which they could learn the way of salvation was in existence. Unbroken darkness covered the land. Now the sound of the Gospel has gone out into all the land. The people of the most distant villages have heard, at least, that 'there is none other name under heaven given among men whereby we can be saved, but the name of Jesus.'"

One cannot read the chapter devoted to the remarkable spread of the Gospel in the Province of Tinnevelly without being devoutly thankful to God for the triumphs there achieved. "If the same proportion of Protestant Christians which this Province possesses existed throughout India, there would be in

* "Cyclopedia of Missions," p. 386.

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the country not less than twelve millions and a half." The records of the last ten years truly show how the word of God can "run and be glorified" even in the midst of the darkest heathenism. This field (Tinnevelly) was visited by Schwartz and Jœnicke about 1788, the latter laboring in it most earnestly and successfully until his death, in 1800. He left "multitudes of people ripe for baptism," and when Gericke visited the province shortly after, in one brief season he baptized one thousand three hundred persons. When he left eighteen new congregations were formed, and the native brethren, carrying on the work which he had commenced, baptized the large number of two thousand seven hundred, thus making in all an increase of four thousand converts. The revival continued; and we read that in five years (from 1820 to 1825) the Christian community was increased by four thousand three hundred persons, who were separated into thirteen circles, with a catechist appointed to each. By 1830 the number of Christians had increased to seven thousand five hundred, belonging to two thousand families, and living in two hundred and forty-four villages; and by 1835 to eleven thousand one hundred and eighty-six persons. Ten years later great general movements of the natives toward Christianity began to take place:—

One was at Sawyerpuram in 1844, "when many villages expressed their desire to receive Christian instruction, and many hundred natives were at once admitted as catechumens." Another was at Christianagram, in which, and at the same time, a similar result to that which had been seen at Sawyerpuram was exhibited. In 1849 there were at the station one thousand five hundred and seventy-nine persons under Christian instruction. So likewise at Edeyenkoody and Nazareth multitudes embraced the Gospel, for we find that by 1850 the former had two thousand Christians, and the latter nearly four thousand.

When the census of 1871 was taken it was found that the native Christians of the various missions of Tinnevelly amounted to fifty-eight thousand eight hundred and forty-one, living in one thousand one hundred and sixteen villages; there were also six hundred and three mission colleges and schools in the province, attended by nineteen thousand two hundred and forty-two pupils. The progress since has been steady and encouraging. The Church of England, whose mis-

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sionary work, carried on by two great societies, has spread throughout the land from Cape Comorin to Peshawar, has very properly taken the lead in South India. Its adherents have so largely increased that it has decided to set apart two missionary bishops to superintend its wide-spread operations; and this in addition to three bishops of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, who, like their predecessors, have given more or less attention to the missionary Churches. There is manifest wisdom in this procedure on the part of the mother Church, and it would be well if other episcopal Churches who have marked out, and are carrying forward great campaigns in India, would follow the example. A missionary bishop must be a great unifier of weak, growing, scattered Churches.

Missionary work in the native State of Travancore was commenced in 1806 by the Rev. Mr. Ringeltaube, a German missionary. He visited all the chief cities of that region, baptizing many, both adults and children, and laboring with unwearied devotion. Of this zealous and eccentric missionary the Rev. J. Hough remarks:—

> Scarcely an article of his dress was of European manufacture. He seldom had a coat to his back, except when furnished with one by a friend in his occasional visits to Palamcottah. Expending his stipend upon his poor people, his personal wants seem never to have entered into his thoughts. But simply and heartily as this singular man appeared to be given to the instruction of the poor people while he remained among them, in the year 1815, in the full tide of his useful labors, he suddenly left them, no one seemed to know why, only that something appeared to have come into his strange head of other more hopeful work somewhere to the eastward. While at Madras, whither he went to embark for that place, he called on the Rev. Marmaduke Thompson, with whom he spent an evening, in a very ordinary costume, for he had no coat even then, though about to undertake a voyage to sea. The only covering for his head was something like a straw hat of native manufacture; yet wild as was his appearance, Mr. Thompson was greatly interested in his conversation. No one ever knew whither he went, nor was he heard of again.

The seed thus early and widely, thoroughly scattered, has yielded a rich harvest, and the London Society's missions of Travancore stand second only to those of the Church of England in Tinnevelly. In 1871 they contained thirty-two thousand one hundred and twenty-two native Christians.

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In the Province of Cuddapah missionary work was begun as early as 1817, but for near twoscore years the field, though faithfully cultivated, yielded no fruit. The laborers were at length rewarded, and suddenly had the privilege of reaping a great harvest. In this province is a tribe of low-caste Hindus called *Malas.*

They are a degraded race, and worship chiefly rude stone images. In 1851 several villages of these Malas to the north and north-west of Cuddapah became strongly impelled to renounce idol-worship and caste, and to embrace Christianity. After instruction and due preparation many families were baptized. The spirit of inquiry gradually spread to other villages, and in 1853 extended to the Malas in the neighboring Province of Karnool. As an instance of their eagerness and sincerity, some of them inhabiting the villages of Poloor and Jotoor, eighty miles north of Cuddapah, came to that city seeking Christian instruction. "They brought with them their idol, Narku Simhum, an incarnation of Vishnu," says the Rev. E. Porter, "with an umbrella and other paraphernalia of its worship, and surrendered it into the hands of the missionary, saying that they needed instruction in a better way. Two of the head men, after being instructed in the main doctrines of the Christian faith, were, at their earnest request, baptized in the presence of a large congregation. They returned to their village, and through their influence upward of one hundred Malas in the same and neighboring villages came forward and placed themselves under Christian instruction." The year closed with an addition of two hundred and seventy-four persons to the Christian congregations of the mission, most of whom belonged to villages in the country. All these were baptized after a twelvemonth's training, while there were many more remaining as catechumens. In three years eight hundred persons received the rite of baptism.

At Nellore, on the sea-coast, a great religious movement has been witnessed.

A Christian community of more than six thousand six hundred persons has suddenly sprung into existence. In 1861 there were only forty-six Christians in the Province; but in ten years they have increased to the number just stated. Most of them belong to the missions of the American Baptist Missionary Union, which opened a station in Nellore in the year 1840. At the end of ten years only ten converts had been gained, and at the end of twenty-one only twenty-three; but at the end of the next decade, that is, in 1871, this society possessed upward of six thousand four hundred Christians. The seed sown took long to germinate and spring up; but how abundant the fruit! The converts are, as usual, from the lower castes, and it is gratifying to find that as many as

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two thousand one hundred and seventy-five are communicants, showing a most healthy condition of the native Church. They are separated into twenty congregations, and are scattered among two hundred and seventy-eight towns and villages, from which it is manifest that the rural population is principally affected. In the year 1871 alone as many as eight hundred and seventy-five persons were admitted into the Christian brotherhood, and the good work is still going on. The schools for the children of the Christians are very few, being only seventeen in all. But the mission has six theological and training schools, a circumstance sufficiently significant, as indicating that the great and pressing want of the missionaries now is properly-trained Christian natives, who shall be able to take charge of congregations, and minister to the religious necessities of both converts and catechumens. They have already prepared a staff of sixty-four Christian preachers and teachers, and one ordained native pastor, which speaks well of their labors in this direction, in as quickly as possible preparing from among the Christians themselves qualified men for the various departments of Christian work which have so recently been formed. But as this work increases other catechists and teachers will be needed, as well also a strong body of ordained native ministers.

One gets an insight into the difficulties which beset missionaries, especially in conducting schools, in the following account of the Free Church (of Scotland) Institution at Madras. This was opened, under the presidency of Mr. Anderson, on April 3, 1837, with fifty-nine scholars, who before the end of the year had increased to two hundred and seventy-seven.

But then it was suddenly broken up by the agency of that hydra-headed monster, Caste. Two Pariah boys had been admitted into the institution. They came spontaneously seeking instruction, and Mr. Anderson felt that, at whatever sacrifices, the principles which he had laid down for his guidance, one of which was the perfect equality of all in the school, must be unswervingly maintained. The despised Pariahs were accordingly admitted to a full and equal share of all the advantages of the institution. The result was that immediately the school was broken up, and the missionary was left to empty walls and a sorrowful heart. Petitions and deputations from the parents of the late scholars followed. They besought Mr. Anderson to dismiss the hated Pariahs; or, at least, to place them on separate benches, so that their sons might not be polluted. But all was vain. The missionary had taken a stand; he planted himself on the firm rock of principle; and, whatever might be the issue, he was not to be moved. And, as might have been anticipated, he gained the victory. By and by the youths returned. The institution flourished more than ever; and the Pariah and

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Brahmin might be seen sitting together on the same bench, learning the same lessons, and struggling together for the mastery.

Of the work carried on in the Province of Arcot by the noble Scudder family, and of the more recent awakening among the Santhals, (begun in 1862,) which has attracted so much attention and awakened so much interest, both in Britain and India, our author gives detailed accounts. He also tells how "step by step Christian missions have been spreading among the hills on the northern flank of the Punjab:"—

More northerly still, in the region of frost and snow, the Moravians (United Brethren) established their mission at Kyelang, in British Lahoul, in 1855. Here, exposed to the intense cold of that region, far away from civilized life, the missionaries have labored in a lofty spirit of self-abnegation from that time to the present. They have translated portions of the Bible, Barth's "Bible Stories," and a Harmony of the Gospels; and have written a grammar, a geography, a short history of the world, and other books, together with several tracts, in the Tibetan language. Most of these works were printed by Mr. Heyde with his own hands, on a lithographic press. They now occupy two stations, and have had the honor and gratification of forming two Christian Churches among the Mongolians.

Besides tracing the gradual spread of missionary work in India from its two starting-points, Tranquebar and Serampore, and taking up the growth of the native Church in the various Provinces and native States, our author does not hesitate to express his own convictions upon various subjects. As he is now about finishing a quarter century of missionary work, his expressions are of weight and his conclusions important. Having had much to do with educational measures, he very naturally indorses, with great warmth, the plan of the Church and Free Church of Scotland, (as well as of the London Society,) of establishing large English schools in the metropolitan cities of the land. He expresses himself plainly on the leading questions connected with the great work, the history of which is recorded in his volume. His views on bazaar-preaching, itinerating, concentration of effort, school-work, medical missionaries, the status of the Native Church, the selection of agents, and the general policy to be observed by missionary societies, are universally approved by the missionaries of the land.

Of course, such a volume has not escaped criticism. The

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severest criticism that has appeared is that made in the "Saturday Review," that the style is "Missionese." It has also been urged that the author is too lavish in his praises of the older missionaries; and that such a work should have been prepared by an impartial author, not a missionary. But these are trifling objections. The volume is not extravagant in style, but tells in plain, though glowing language, the progress of the Lord's work in India, connected with which there have been thousands of most thrilling incidents. That the work was needed is shown by its popularity; "it supplies an undoubted want in missionary literature." But few persons in India were as well qualified for the task as Mr. Sherring, his experience having given him a peculiar preparation for it. And we are quite certain that he may be pardoned for glorying in the remarkable industry, the unflagging zeal, and the sublime earnestness of some of his contemporary missionary brethren, especially those advanced in years, like Drs. Duff, Wilson, Mather, Morrison, and others, who gave themselves to India near half a century ago, when coming to India was to the Church at home a hiding one's talent in the earth, and to the authorities here making one's self an unwelcome intermeddler. We would not withhold an iota of the praise due these self-denying veterans, these grand pioneers: it cannot harm them, and it may prove the needed stimulus to those who have come to take their places and carry on the work so well begun by them.

Referring to the conflict between the two systems, Christianity and Hinduism, which has been going steadily forward, Mr. Sherring eloquently says:—

> The aggressive spirit of Christianity has never been more strongly exhibited than in its conflict with the various forms of Hinduism in India during the present century. It has had a wide field to exercise itself upon, and it has entered upon the struggle with its numberless foes with pertinacious eagerness. It has combated superstition in its wildest forms. It has attacked Brahmanism in its famous seats of learning. It has contended with bloody rites, with foolish customs, with caste prejudices. It has followed idolatry to its most sacred spots. The silver sound of the Gospel has been heard wherever the pundit has chanted his *shasters*, and the priest has blown his shell. Within these seventy years the hills and valleys of India have been made to echo and re-echo with the praises of Christ, the Son of God and Saviour of the world. Under

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the persistent assaults of Christianity, continued with sustained vigor from year to year, Hinduism has become fairly wearied; and as the range of its attacks and the directness and potency of its strokes increase, the ancient systems of paganism are in all directions showing signs of feebleness and decay. At one time strenuous resistance was shown, and controversy raged throughout the land. But that day is past. Idolatry is not an active foe; and any unusual energy which it may occasionally put forth is necessarily impulsive and transitory. Christianity is looked upon as a young giant with whom it is dangerous to contend, and whom it is best to leave alone.

In the closing chapter of the volume, reviewing the work of these years and the progress made, our author speaks as follows of the direct results achieved:—

They are results which may be tested by any one, for they are tangible and visible. They are scattered over a wide extent of country among the cities, towns, and villages of India, each of which felt, and to some extent yielded to, those elevating and enlightening influences which Christianity, in one or other of its numerous phases, has exerted upon them. The missions exist to make converts, and converts they have made. Every mission has its converts, who are increasing numerically from year to year. Most missions have their schools and colleges; and these, too, are multiplying continually. . . . Almost all schemes of usefulness, having for their object the intellectual, religious, or temporal welfare of the people, have either been originated by the missionaries, or have received their countenance and support. The native Christians are a power in the country; and united with the missions with which they are connected, constitute an ethical agency superior to all other such agencies in the good which they are accomplishing, and are destined to accomplish. The land is spread over with a network of Christian congregations, which, like the stars in the sky, are so many small luminaries shedding light upon the surrounding darkness.

The indirect results of Indian missions are greater and more wonderful still:—

As they were the pioneers in the work of national education, so they continue to the present day in the front rank of this important enterprise. They have striven every-where to civilize the people, and to make them happier in their social relations, more honest one to another, wiser, holier, and better. They have soothed the harshness of foreign rule, and drawn the natives closer to their alien governors. They have awakened the sympathy and secured the confidence of a large portion of the various Hindu races scattered over the peninsula, in a manner and degree surpassing all other humanizing agencies existing in the country. To

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them mainly is to be attributed the zeal now exhibited on many sides in the cause of female education and elevation. It is their agents especially who enter zenanas, teach native ladies, and superintend girls' schools, and who are almost the only persons who are intimately acquainted with the domestic life of native women and hold intercourse with them. These missions have loosed the bonds of caste, have made it easier for the lower castes to bear the yoke of the upper, and have resisted strenuously the authority of this inveterate enemy of human society wherever they have been able. They have led many Hindus to abandon idolatry, though they may not have embraced Christianity. By the reflection of the higher spiritual sentiments which they teach on the minds of the people, new religions, molded more or less by Christian truths, have sprung into existence, leading not a few away from superstition to clearer, though it may be not to perfect, views of God and their relations to him. They have brought all India to reverence the Christian religion, and to recognize its lofty, if not its divine, character. They have given essential aid in the abolition of gigantic national evils which filled the earth with horror, such as the burning of widows on the funeral pile of their husbands, female infanticide, drowning the aged in the Ganges, swinging festivals, and many inhuman practices at Juggernaut and elsewhere; and in the introduction of enlightened usages from the West, such as the re-marriage of Hindu widows, and the education and more considerate treatment of women. These Christian laborers have scattered knowledge of every kind, both secular and religious, over the land with marvelous prodigality, have written books, edited newspapers and other journals, and have toiled with unwearied perseverance in the production of an extensive literature in at least twenty spoken languages and dialects.

With our ever-hopeful author we rejoice at the gracious results which God has vouchsafed to his unworthy servants in this land, and we trust that those whose happy privilege it is to-day to preach the great Gospel to the people of India may appropriate the wisdom and shun the mistakes of those who have gone before. May the glory of the Lord cover the face of this mighty land from the mountains to the sea, and make the closing years of the century memorable in the history of India in the salvation of millions of precious souls!

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ART. VII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

BAPTIST QUARTERLY, July, 1876. (Philadelphia.)—1. The Pioneer Baptist Statesman. 2. Unitarianism in New England. 3. The Messiah. 4. James Cudworth. 5. The Fourth Kingdom. 6. As to Roger Williams. 7. A Retrospect in the Life of Tischendorf. 8. The Sick, and the Prayer of Faith.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, July, 1876. (Andover.)—1. Natural Basis of our Spiritual Language. 2. Baptismal Regeneration; as Supposed to be Taught in the Words of Jesus: "Born of Water and Spirit." John iii, 5. 3. Jonathan Edwards's Last Will, and the Inventory of his Estate. 4. Recent Works Bearing on the Relation of Science to Religion. 5. A Professorship of Missionary Instruction in our Theological Seminaries. 6. An Exposition of the Original Text of Genesis i and ii. 7. Horæ Samaritanæ; or, a Collection of Various Readings of the Samaritan Pentateuch compared with the Hebrew and other Ancient Versions. 8. Ministerial Education and Training in the Methodist Episcopal Church.

CHRISTIAN QUARTERLY, July, 1876. (Cincinnati.)—1. Fifty Years of Religious Reformation. 2. The Law of Love. 3. Involution before Evolution. 4. About Law and Sin. 5. The Christ—Whose Son is He? 6. Progress of Ideas. 7. Work and its Conditions. 8. Christianity and Miracles. 9. An Exposition of Revelation VI. 10. Justification by Faith.

CONGREGATIONAL QUARTERLY, July, 1876. (Boston.)—1. Dexter Clary. 2. Congregationalism in Kansas. 3. David Bacon. 4. Vital Statistics of the Congregational Ministers who Died in 1875. 5. Congregational Necrology.

NEW ENGLANDER, July, 1876. (New Haven.)—1. The Educational Force of Mathematics. 2. European Writers on India. 3. Condillac and the Principle of Identity. 4. The Eleusinian Mysteries. 5. A Record of "The Old Dominion." 6. Logos and Cosmos: Nature as Related to Language. 7. The Unity of the Professions. 8. College Athletics. 9. Fifty Years of Home Missions in Illinois.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER, July, 1876. (Boston.)—1. Memoir of Samuel Adams. 2. Hollis, N. H., in the War of the Revolution. 3. Notes on American History. 4. Letters of Capt. Thomas Mighill of Rowley. 5. Letters and Signers of the Declaration of Independence, Military Men and others during the Revolutionary War. 6. Knox's Diary during his Ticonderoga Expedition. 7. Did the American Colonists desire Independence? 8. Biographical Sketch of Joseph P. Martin, a Revolutionary Soldier. 9. Documents and Letters by Actors in the American Revolution. 10. A Yankee Privateersman in Prison, 1777–79. 11. Sketch of Col. John Allan of Maine. 12. Letter of Capt. John Preble to Col. John Allan. 13. Major-General Henry Knox. 14. Gen. Stark's Horse lost at Bennington. 15. Boston Town Meeting for granting leave to erect Faneuil Hall. 16. Letter of Samuel Paine upon Affairs at Boston in October, 1775. 17. Donations to the People of Boston Suffering under the Port-Bill. 18. Record of the Boston Committee of Correspondence, Inspection and Safety, 1776.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, July, 1876. (Boston.)—1. The Proposed Charter for the City of Boston. 2. Italian Popular Tales. 3. Houses of the Mound-Builders. 4. Recent Astronomical Progress. 5. The Life of Alexander Hamilton.

QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH, July, 1876. (Gettysburgh.)—1. Union of the Humanity and Divinity of Christ. 2. The Genesis of Christian Society. 3. The Mission among the Jews. 4. Two Common Objections. 5. The Lord's Prayer. 6. Lutheran Church Polity. 7. Home Mission Work in the General Synod. 8. The Care of the Young of the Church. 9. Necessities to Manful Life.

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SOUTHERN REVIEW. July, 1876. (Baltimore.)—1. The late William Sparrow, D.D. 2. Martin *versus* Tappan. 3. Native Races of the Pacific Coast. 4. Mind and Matter. 5. Manners and Customs of Europe. 6. Java and the Javanese. 7. The Triangular Fight. 8. Taxation of Church Property. 9. Thorvaldsen. 10. A Distinction in Mental Science.

On this Quarterly we have three notes to make: —

1. The editor furnishes a notice of Dr. Myers's book on Disruption, in which he predicates in the course of eleven lines, "wrath," "wormwood and gall," "theological venom," "sectional hate," "venomous," "bile and bitterness," "animosity," "rave," of the editor of this "Quarterly," and announces that he purposes a full article on our book notices of Dr. Myers. We have simply to say, that as Dr. Myers's book was issued to denounce the proposal to "let by-gones be by-gones," and to induce the Southern delegates to make inadmissible conditions of fraternity, our notices of it were written to defeat that aim and secure the presentation of proposals that would attain fraternity. For all our severities of statement that able but uncalled-for book, without which they would never have been uttered, is responsible. We had again and again assured our Southern brethren that we desired oblivion of all unpleasant recollections; we protested against re-quarreling the quarrel; but we had equally assured them that if they came to us with a bill of indictment, they would get one back worth two of it. Dr. Myers, nevertheless, opened his broadside, and we reversed the battery. Whether our notice had any influence in securing our intended result or not we cannot say, but the result has been secured. Dr. Myers's book was defeated. "Let by-gones be by-gones," which he styled "a farce," is the platform, just as we wished. And now if Dr. Bledsoe is pleased to start up and affix a long discussion to the matter, it is certainly his right. But as our interest in the matter ceased when our end was gained, it is very probable that our paper-cutter will not sever the leaves on which his article is printed.

2. Dr. Bledsoe thinks our eternal salvation is in danger from the fact that we have misrepresented him by never stating that he admitted that the right of secession is closed by the late war as a result of "conquest," and he refers to and quotes from a book of his own a passage to the effect that the war terminates the once-existing right of secession. That book is entitled, "Is Jefferson Davis a Traitor?" The editor promises in this num-

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ber to send us the book forthwith; but, to prevent all misunderstanding, we here say that it has never been received at this office, and has never been seen by the editor of this "Review;" nor have we ever before seen one syllable giving us notice that Dr. Bledsoe held the question of secession to be closed by the right of war. The very fact that he is obliged to furnish it from his book evinces that it could not be furnished from his "Quarterly." The moment has never been when we should not have been glad to know and to say that such was Dr. Bledsoe's ground. And now, to do justice to all sides, we very cheerfully give Dr. Bledsoe's own words:—

We did write a book with this title: "Is Davis a Traitor: or was Secession a Constitutional Right *previous to the War of* 1861?" In the Preface of this work we said: "*It is not the design of this book to open the subject of secession.* The subjugation of the Southern States, and their acceptance of the terms dictated by the North, may, if the reader please, be considered as having shifted the Federal Government from the basis of compact to that of conquest; and thereby, [as we have since uniformly held and maintained,] *extinguished every claim to the right of secession for the future.* Not one word in the following pages will at least be found to clash with this supposition or opinion."

No question of moral right can, it is true, be settled by the arbitrament of war; but it is otherwise with questions of constitutional law. Half of the constitutional compacts in Christendom, if not more, have been determined and established by conquest. The Northern theory of the Constitution of 1787, whether tenable or not on the arena of logic, has been definitely established by the war of 1861. The issue was then fought out; the North conquered; and we have since abandoned, in good faith and forever, the right of secession for the future. Hence, in our humble opinion, it becomes our legislators, and statesmen, and politicians, and people, to acquiesce in this decision of the war; and never more think, speak, or dream of the right of secession. What more can we do? We have surrendered the great point in controversy; we have foresworn, for all future time, the right of secession; and we now proclaim the Northern view of the Constitution as the establised and true one for all law-abiding and peace-loving citizens. Is not this enough? Must we admit, not only that we have been beaten in arms, but also in debate?

Most assuredly that is "enough," so long as every thing else said and done is in consistency with it. Every true Northerner would readily offer his hand to the man who *ex animo* says that, meeting magnanimity with magnanimity, and asking that per-

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petual peace shall be established on terms of fraternity and equality. Nor do we ask any admission that our Southern brethren have "been beaten in debate," for abundantly did we declare in our notice of Dr. Myers that we asked no adoption by them of our opinions. Let each side hold its own views of the entire past, and seek for a peaceful present and prosperous future for both. Nor is this by any means the first time that we have said in this "Quarterly" that never was a braver people "beaten" in war than the men of the South.

3. Dr. Bledsoe proposes that we either write, or get some one else to write, an answer to his defense of Mr. Davis. It is Dr. Bledsoe's right to defend his associates in the late struggle. It is equally our right to emphasize the present and future rather than the past. And we express the earnest opinion that the sooner such antagonizing defenses cease, the sooner will the North feel free to do generous justice to the great abilities and virtues of men like Richard Henry Lee and Stonewall Jackson.

And now we have a word or two to offer to our editorial brethren generally of the Church, South. Not many months ago, during the Kuklux discussion, we called the attention of the "Nashville Advocate" to the fact that, to the best of our knowledge, there had never been one unequivocal condemnation of Kukluxism in a Southern Methodist paper. Slight disapprovals there had been, but so mixed with apologies, and with curses against the Government and the North, that to any Northerner, and to any Kuklux, it would be apparent that the editor held the outrages to be about right, and was himself at heart a Kuklux. We offered to the editor that if any such unequivocal condemnation could be found and forwarded to our office we would, as an act of justice, publish it. None was forwarded. But there did soon thereafter appear in the "Nashville Advocate" an editorial which, with the disadvantage of appearing to be a consequent of our suggestion, had the advantage of being entirely unequivocal. Soon after the Hamburg massacre there did appear in the Southern and St. Louis Advocates articles unquestionably sincere and likely to be effective. But the following specimen, from the Richmond "Christian Advocate," is one of the kind, above described, that would cheer the heart of a Kuklux:—

The homicide in Hamburgh, S. C., where some colored militia men were killed after surrendering, has met with universal condemnation. The South, however,

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is denounced from partisan pulpits and a partisan press for the crime of a few lawless men which all regret and abhor. While we wish prompt and full punishment inflicted upon all bad citizens, we don't forget that the Cotton States are under great provocation to violence. The same irritation from corrupt government would produce an outbreak in the North or West in twenty-four hours.

Now, the effect of all these outbreaks between the two races is destructive to the best interests of the South. They paralyze the prosperity of the South, and consequently of the whole country. They repel the northern immigrant who would otherwise pour his industry into the southern waste places. They drive out northern capital. They turn the national elections into northern victories. The editor of the "Florida Agriculturist" proudly boasts that Florida is the only State in the Union in which real estate is rising in value. For what reasons? She is under the same national government as all the other States. Had she, like Louisiana and Mississippi, indulged in riots, massacres, and general turbulences, led by angry politicians, ecclesiastical and secular, she would have been in the same wretched condition. But she accepted the results of the war, maintained public tranquillity, welcomed the northern immigrant irrespective of hispolitics, turned herself to industrial pursuits, and now she has started on a career of new prosperity. She accepted in good faith the restored government, and she has, consequently, no complaints of oppression by the Government. There is not a Southern State that might not have done the same. Who is to blame? The States themselves; but specially the Southern press, and not least of all the Southern Methodist press. It may be asked, Is not the Government also to blame? Very wrong things, we reply, have in the strifes that have ensued been done by Government agents; but it is the refusal of those States, unlike Florida, to keep the peace which has given rise to these governmental repressions. The Government has dealt rudely with rude opposers. The Government would have been as right in Louisiana as in Florida had Louisiana herself been as right. When the South comes right the Government will be right.

Since most of the above was in print we have received a copy of the Address of the Commissioners of the two Churches to the authorities and members of both. From it we learn the terms on which both Commissions agreed with, as we are informed, perfect unanimity on every point. On the common basis of harmony the following paragraph is explicit:—

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As to the status of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and their co-ordinate relation as legitimate branches of Episcopal Methodism, each of said Churches is a legitimate branch of Episcopal Methodism in the United States, having a common origin in the Methodist Episcopal Church organized in 1784; and since the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was consummated in 1845, by the voluntary exercise of the right of the Southern Annual Conferences, ministers and members, to adhere to that Communion, it has been an evangelical Church, reared on scriptural foundations, and her ministers and members, with those of the Methodist Episcopal Church, have constituted one Methodist family, though in distinct ecclesiastical connections.

Into the details of the property settlement we need not enter. No property question, of course, can be allowed to stand in the way of the fraternity of the two Churches. In the following congratulatory paragraph we heartily join:—

We cannot restrain the expression of our united congratulations to both of the great Churches, whose commissions we have executed in uniting between them the broken cords of affectionate and brotherly fraternization. Henceforth they may hail each other as from the auxiliary ranks of one great army. The only differences they will foster will be those friendly rivalries that spring from earnest endeavors to further to the utmost the triumphs of the Gospel of Peace. Whatever progress is made by the one Church, or by the other, will occasion general joy. They will rejoice in each other's success as a common good; and, amid the thousand glorious memories of Methodism, they will go forward devoted to their one work of spreading "Scripture holiness over these lands."

And now it would seem that it is in order to think of inaugurating a Centennial Union of all American Methodism, including, if they will, our Canadian brethren. We would say an Ecumenical Union if we supposed that English Methodism would take interest in the movement. It would be graceful in the next General Conference of the Church South to initiate propositions and programme.

Since the above was in type, again, we have read in the "Nashville Advocate" a liberal notice of M'Clintock's life, in which notice the allusions to slavery in the book are reprehended as unfraternal. How far fraternity prohibits any condemnatory allusion to slavery we will not now discuss. No doubt it requires that such allusions should not be made with purpose of direct insult. But as Dr. Summers has repeatedly complained of such allusions in our "Quarterly," we will for the present content ourself with this one reply. So long as the "Southern Review" is allowed to pour forth its broadsides, "under the auspices of the Church South," without protest from the authorities, or rebuke from his fellow-editors, we submit that Dr. Summers has no right to complain of any thing in our "Quarterly," nor of any thing issued under our editorship.

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English Reviews.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, July, 1876. (London.)—1. The Basis of Religious Belief. 2. The "Unions-Conferenz" at Bonn. 3. Pioneer Presbyterianism. 4. The Progress of Old Testament Studies. 5. Jesus Christ, the Center of History. 6. On Historical Evidence and the Miracle of the Holy Thorn. 7. The Place of Foreign Missions in the Work of the Church. 8. The Cherubim. 9. Priestly Life in Ireland.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1876. (London.)—1. The Illyrian Emperors and their Land. 2. The Unseen Universe. 3. The Revolution and Catholicism. 4. The Independence and Integrity of the Ottoman Empire. 5. Drunkenness and Proposed Remedies. 6. Cycles in Trade. 7. Political Career of Mr. Disraeli.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, July, 1876. (New York: The Leonard Scott Publishing Company, 41 Barclay-street.)—1. The Growth of the German Naval Power. 2. Haydon's Correspondence and Table-Talk. 3. Ranke's History of England. 4. The Comte de Paris' Campaign on the Potomac. 5. The Letters and Works of Michael Angelo. 6. Mr. Swinburne's Erechtheus. 7. The Rajpút States of India. 8. Two Chancellors. 9. Moresby's New Guinea and Polynesia. 10. Sir Denis Le Marchant's Memoir of Lord Althorp.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1876. (New York: The Leonard Scott Publishing Company, 41 Barclay-street.)—1. Lord Macaulay. 2. Ornamental and Useful Tree-Planting. 3. John Wilson Croker. 4. The Orkneys, and Rude Stone Monuments. 5. Ticknor's Memoirs. 6. Modern Philosophers on the Probable Age of the World. 7. South-Sea Island Mythology. 8. Social Relations of England and America. 9. The Cost of the Navy.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1876. (London.)—1. The Final Document of Revelation. 2. Classical Sanscrit. 3. The Term Ministry in the New Testament. 4. Millbank Penitentiary. 5. The Opium Traffic with China. 6. Benjamin Robert Haydon. 7. Jules Michelet. 8. The Great Social War.

Dr. Rigg, one of the English delegates to our General Conference, presented to that body a topic somewhat obscured under the title "Contagious Disease Act," the momentous importance of which seems not to have been appreciated by our Methodist periodical press, nor by our own mind until the perusal of the last stirring article of this Review entitled *The Great Social War*. It is a subject upon which the American mind has slumbered, because as yet the American people have not been victimized, and are yet unconscious of the approaching danger. That danger is

GOVERNMENTAL LEGALIZATION OF PROSTITUTION.

For eighty years prostitution has been "regulated" in France. No courtesan is by law allowed to ply her trade without license. The whole body of prostitutes is, so far as government power can accomplish it, organized, registered, and placed under a general supervision, who in this country would analogically be styled *Secretary of Prostitution*. The illegal

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prostitute is arrested and punished; the institution of prostituteism is placed upon a respectable basis; the health of the licensed is diligently cared for; and every due effort is used to preserve the self-respect of the sexual practitioner, thus giving the whole system of salable sensuality the position of an organized and recognized profession. The obvious results take place. Marriage and the family are depreciated and demoralized; from respectable families a large number of female recruits enter the registry; clandestine prostitution, instead of being checked, is increased; male sensuality is encouraged and increased, and a gross enslavement of women and degradation of womanhood into an object of impulsive lust are the ever-growing consequences. It is by this route that the base materialism of the age is spreading a gross animalization through Christendom. "O besotted nation," said Alexandre Dumas, "to turn all these lovely women, who should be our companions in life's work—wives and mothers—into prostitutes!" The tendency of the whole system is to transform the men into tyrants and Turks, holding the women in a common harem, collectively supported by public funds, and individually purchasable, while youth and bloom last, by the transient sensualist.

Insidiously and by parliamentary trickery, from the years 1864 to 1869, a junto of villains succeeded in a great degree in inaugurating the same system in England. The same "Contagious Disease Acts" which befogged our Conference deceived the British nation. It was not until near 1870 that British Christians awoke to find that the net was spread over the whole surface of England. An agitation arose unequaled since the days of the abolition contest, the Methodists now, as then, giving a bold lead. But, very suitably, the chief leader in the movement was a woman, Mrs. Josephine E. Butler, of Liverpool, a Quaker lady of rare piety and talent. The British associations in due time found it important to take a survey of the continent of Europe upon this subject, and Mrs. Butler was sent upon that mission. The facts disclosed by her reports form a very important part of the matter. Mrs. Butler met recognition and aid from the noblest Christians and philanthropists of Europe. M. Jules Favre, M. and Madame Jules Simon, Pressensé; and in Italy, Mazzini and Garibaldi,

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gave her their heartiest co-operation. The result was the formation of "The British, Continental, and General Federation" for the abolition of government regulation of prostitution. The following extract shows the nature of

The Continental Legalization of Prostitution.

In the summer of 1874, the leaders of the English movement became suddenly aware that their familiar opponents at home were only the advanced guard of a powerful International Medical Congress, which was vehemently demanding an *international* organization of immorality. The first International Medical Congress was held in Paris in 1867. The grave subject before us occupied a chief place in its deliberations, but a standing order of the Congress expressly excluded all moral considerations, and rigidly confined readers and speakers to the purely physical aspects of the question. This arbitrary and violent attempt to separate the inseparable, deprived the deliberations of the Congress of nearly all practical value, but it afforded a striking illustration of the narrow and defective basis on which specialists are ever prone to build conclusions as dangerous as they are far-reaching. The Paris Congress did not commit itself finally to any definite proposals, neither did the second International Congress, which took place at Florence in 1870. It was then resolved, however, that the third International Congress, to be held at Vienna in 1873, should prepare a suggested international law for the sanitary regulation of immorality. This was accordingly done in a paper drawn up by Professor Sigmund, with the assistance of Professors Zeissl and Reder. This document, which was officially signed by the President and General Secretary in the name of the Vienna Congress, is one of the most singular and significant ever issued. It is, in fact, the syllabus of the Infallible Council of the medical priesthood, and, like the syllabus of the infallible pope, it vitally affects freedom and morality. *Inter alia* it demands (1.) That the administration of the suggested law shall be in the hands of the Central Government, municipal and provincial authorities being unfit to carry it out. The friends of local government will notice that this centralized despotism is a striking feature of the existing English Acts. (2.) That the strictest medical surveillance shall be exercised over all organized bodies, such as soldiers, the national and mercantile marine, gendarmes, policemen, and the Civil Service, over the different classes for whom marriage is difficult or impossible, such as domestic servants, and the men employed in factories and workshops, and over all gatherings in which the sexes are mingled, such as pilgrimages, fairs, markets, etc. The male supporters of the English laws may begin to see this question in a new light, when they learn that the doctors of Europe are anxious to inflict upon them those peculiar sanitary attentions which they have so kindly and so chivalrously imposed upon the helpless poor women of England. "With what

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measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again." (3.) That the fullest printed instructions in reference to the treatment of disease shall be disseminated in every possible way among adults. This proposal to force the foul medical details upon all adults, throws a remarkable light upon the virtuous indignation with which "the obscene literature" of the anti-regulationists has been received. Those who swallow camels generally choke over gnats. (4.) That in any measures taken to heal the sick there shall be nothing of a humiliating character, no penalty, and no trace of condemnation. (*Toutes les mesures prises au début de la maladie, ne doivent avoir aucun caractère d'humiliation, de menace, ou de censure.*) The sufferers, in fact, are to be educated into feeling no more shame or condemnation than the innocent victims of small-pox or scarlet fever. Such is the new morality of which it is hoped every State in Europe will make itself the ardent apostle. (5.) That this is a question which belongs essentially to the medical profession, that therefore there should be in existence a permanent international medical committee, as well as a national committee in every country, and that this elaborately organized medical hierarchy should periodically revise and improve the international law. The exclusive claims of the Ultramontane and every other priesthood are naturally exhibited in this proposition. (6.) That the expenses of the proposed system should be paid out of the State budget, local rates being inadequate to bear the cost. This statement is explained by the last—but not least—proposition, which we propose to quote: (7.) That a "sufficient number" of medical men should be employed, and that they should be "handsomely paid," (*à en avoir suffisamment, a les payer largement.*) The striking resemblance between the Romish and the medical priesthood is completed by this touching and beautiful provision for the collection of a medical Peter's Pence.—Pp. 462–464.

The French Secretary of Prostitution.

Mrs. Butler paid a visit to Lecour, the prefect of the French brothel-police, euphemistically called "Police des Mœurs," of which visit the following extract from a letter to the Right Hon. James Stansfeld gives a graphic account:—

I think I told you that I spent a part of my last afternoon in Paris at the Prefecture of Police. The memory of that interview is so exceedingly painful to me that I feared I should be unfitted for my work if I dwelt upon it. I was struck by the grandeur of the externals of the office, and by the evidence of the irresponsibility and despotic sway over a large class of the people possessed by the man Lecour. I ascended a large stone staircase, with guards placed at intervals, and many people coming and going, apparently desiring audiences. The prefect's outer door is at the top of the staircase, and over it, in conspicuous letters, are engraved the words, "Arrests—Service of Morals," (the arrests being of women only.) In looking at these words, the fact (though I knew it before) came before me with painful vividness, that man, in this nineteenth century, has made woman his degraded slave, by a decree which is heralded in letters of gold, and retains her in slavery by a violent despotism which, if it were applied to men, would soon set all Paris, and not merely a few of its buildings, in flames. The phrase, "*Service des Mœurs,*" is the most impudent proclamation of an accepted falsehood. Too

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clearly and palpably is the true meaning of it, "*Service de Déhauche;*" and M. Lecour's conversation throughout showed and confirmed most powerfully the fact (though he himself may be blind to it) that it is immorality, not morality, for which his office makes provision. I was kept waiting some time in the handsomely-furnished room of the prefect, while he finished his interviews with people who had preceded me. While seated by the fire, with the newspaper in my hand, which had been given to me by a liveried servant, I heard the whole of the conversation (it was impossible not to hear it) which passed. It left a very sorrowful and terrible impression on my mind. An elderly man was there, who appeared to be pleading the cause of a woman, perhaps a near relation, or in some way dear to him. M. Lecour spoke of the woman as one whom he had full power to acquit or condemn, and there was a lightness in his tone which contrasted strikingly with the troubled gravity of the other, who more than once interrupted the volubility of the prefect with the words, spoken in a voice of sullen repressed emotion, "But you have accused her." I thought of the words, "Whosesoever sins ye remit they are remitted, and whosesoever sins ye retain they are retained."

Such a power in a merely human, but most awful sense, is possessed by that irresponsible ruler of the women of Paris, but *his* credentials are *not Divine*. Mrs. Butler then gives an account of her own conversation with M. Lecour, in the course of which it was evident that he considered that there is only one guilty party in the sin which is the curse of great cities, and that is the woman; and that the only force with which the criminality on that side can be dealt with is the force which he himself represents. "Always arrests," he said; "more and more arrests. That is the only hope." When Mrs. Butler reminded him of the profligacy of men, and spoke of the male seducers and destroyers of female virtue, he replied with a smile, "Ah! but that belongs to the region of romance. We cannot touch *that*." Mrs. Butler concludes her letter by saying, "As I left his place, I felt oppressed with a great sadness, mingled with horror; and, in thinking of M. Lecour, I recalled the words about "man, dressed in a little brief authority," who "plays such fantastic tricks before high heaven as makes the angels weep;" and not only that, but as make women die, cursing God, in horror and despair.—*Une Voix dans le Desert*, p. 22.

Admitted Increase of Unlicensed Debauchery.

In 1868, Dr. Jeannel, one of the most distinguished physicians in France, the author of many medical works, and an officer of the Legion of Honor, published an erudite and exhaustive work,* the great object of which was to prove that clandestine immorality—*i. e.*, immorality which evades the vigilance of the police and the control of the Government surgeons—was constantly and most dangerously increasing. An equally remarkable book† from the pen of C. J. Lecour—the chief of the first division at the Prefecture of Police, in other words, the head of the French system—entirely confirms the statements of Dr. Jeannel. He declares that, in spite of all his vigilance and energy, clandestine immorality yearly assumes vaster and more menacing proportions. He admits that women whom his lynx-eyed agents utterly fail to catch, are to be found "every-where, in the liquor-shops, the concert-rooms, the theaters, and the balls. One meets them in the public buildings, in the railway stations, and even in the trains. They are on all the promenades, in front of most of the *cafés*. Until a late hour at night they circulate in great numbers in the most beautiful boulevards." Lecour states that there are at least

* *De la Prostitution dans les grandes villes au Dix-neuvième Siècle.*

† *La Prostitution à Paris et à Londres*, 1789–1871

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30,000 fallen women in Paris, but that he cannot succeed in bringing more than 5,000 of them into his sanitary net. Dr. Jeannel lays the blame of this hopeless failure upon Lecour and his agents. Lecour, in a recently issued pamphlet,* admits and reaffirms the fact of failure: "I said in 1869, I repeated in 1870: 'Prostitution is increasing, and becomes daily more dangerous to the public health.' Since the Siege and the Commune the evil has assumed such proportions that it has upset all careless indifference." But Lecour indignantly repels the accusation that he and his subordinates are responsible for the breakdown. We will not interfere in this pretty quarrel between the police and the surgeons engaged in the administration of the French system. It is sufficient for us to know that both sides admit the fact that, after a long and full trial, the system in Paris is a gigantic and miserable failure. A similar result has followed similar legislation in every country where the system has existed long enough to produce its natural results.—P. 457.

How the French Commonalty view the Matter.

On her return from the South, Mrs. Butler, accompanied now by M. Humbert, paid a second visit to Paris. Their desire to call a meeting of workmen was abandoned for a profoundly significant reason.

Nothing has interested me so much as the glimpses I have had of the lives and character of the French workmen. There is surely much excellent material there, if it were rightly used. I asked some workmen if they could get together a meeting of their class, to confer on our subject; they told me, and a working man also informed M. Humbert, who made inquiries for me, that it would be easy enough to get a hundred together, (I believe more cannot be called together without the leave of the minister of public instruction,) but that it would be dangerous to do so. And *why*, do you suppose? Because, said these men, out of that hundred there would probably be twenty-five, or thirty, or more, who had a daughter, or a sister, or some one connected with them, in the St. Lazare, or in one of the licensed houses, and that any words spoken on the subject, however cautious, might act like a spark upon a train of gunpowder. When asked, "But how so?" the reply was, "There is too much *hatred*—hatred of the police authorities, and of the whole *régime* which drills the daughters of France, like soldiers, in the service of debauchery." It is evident that many of the blue blouses of the Faubourg St. Antoine, and Belleville Quarter, are honest, sober, home-loving men. How little understood by us in England was the meaning of that noble proclamation of the Commune which, being "hostile to slavery," proclaimed the abolition of every house of prostitution in Paris, and the freedom of the miserable slaves inhabiting them, and which called on the citizens to recognize the necessity for women of freedom to labor with their hands for an honest livelihood. Such an act might "cover a multitude of sins," I think.

We may add that as it was one of the first acts of the grossly misunderstood Communist workmen to abolish licensed prostitution, so it was one of the first acts of the "respectable" Government which superseded them, to restore the infamous system.

* *De l'état actuel de la Prostitution Parisienne.*

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St. Lazare the Prison for Unlicensed Prostitutes, etc.

The most important event during Mrs. Butler's second stay in Paris was her visit to the great prison of St. Lazare, the Bastille of the system of vice. St. Lazare is under the immediate administration of the Prefecture of Police. The *eleven hundred* female prisoners with which it is always crowded, are a striking proof of the impotence of the despotic system to furnish licentious men with victims as submissive and abject as they desire. The unhappy inmates of St. Lazare are divided into three classes: 1. Those who have been arrested on suspicion of practicing prostitution without a license, and are either awaiting their trial or have already been condemned for that offense. 2. Licensed prostitutes who have not conformed to the minute regulations contained in their licenses, or who have been found diseased at the periodical medical examination. 3. Young girls imprisoned either conformably to Articles 66 and 67 of the Penal Code, or by request of their parents.*

Mrs. Butler is the first person who has been permitted to reveal some of the secrets of this modern Bastille. Her graphic and heart-rending description is so important, and furnishes such a picture of the impotence, the cruelty, and the wickedness of the system of which St. Lazare is the key-stone, that we must reproduce at length an account which she wrote to a friend:—

I must tell you when we meet of that *world* contained within the walls of St. Lazare. I went to the great prison. Just as I arrived at the stone archway leading out of the street to the big gates of the prison, a huge prison-van rolled in under the arch drawn by stout horses with clattering hoofs, and followed by gensdarmes, also on stout clattering horses, and gaudily dressed and armed. The van was on high wheels, and had apparently no window at all; strongly secured, and dismal to look at—like a big hearse, only yellow. People fell back as if rather awed, and the great iron gates rolled open. The cortége rattled in, and in a moment the gates rolled back again. I tried to make my way through the gates in the wake of the prison-van, but there was no time—they closed so quickly, and looked inexorable when shut. What powerful ruffians, do you think—what dangerous strong-sinewed criminals were they conveying with all this show of armed force into the prison? The van contained only a few poor weak, helpless *girls*, guilty of not ministering to impurity in accordance with official rules. O manly, courageous Frenchmen, ever athirst for "glory," how well it looks to see you exercising your brave military spirit against the womanhood of your own country! You cannot be expected to govern your own passions, but you can at least govern by physical force the poor women of your streets, and swagger to your heart's content in your hour of triumph as you proudly enter the prison gates with your trembling caged linnets. But no, miserable men, you cannot even do this; you are beaten by your own women! They cannot meet you on stout horses with helmets and military swagger and police tyranny, but they beat you with other and more deadly weapons. We speak much of women, under the vicious system we oppose, being the slaves of men, and we realize all the tyranny and oppression which has reduced women to so abject a state. But since I have been in Paris I begin to see the picture somewhat reversed, in a strange and awful way. You can understand how the men who have riveted the slavery of women for such degrading ends become, in a generation or two, themselves the greater slaves—not only the slaves of their own enfeebled and corrupted natures, but of

* *La Prostitution à Paris et à Londres.* Par C. J. Lecour.

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the women whom they have maddened, hardened, and stamped under foot. Bowing down before the unrestrained dictates of their own lusts, they now bow down also before the tortured and fiendish womanhood which *they have created*. Till now I never fully realized Nemesis in this form. I was reading Whittier's description of an insurrection of negro slaves brutalized by servitude:—

> "And, painted on the blood-red sky,
> Dark, naked arms were tossed on high;
> And round the white man's lordly hall,
> Trod, fierce and free, *the brute he made;*
> Those who, erst, crept along the wall,
> And answered to his lightest call
> With more than spaniel dread—
> The creatures of his lawless beck
> Were trampling on his very neck!"

Just as truly, though it is less perceived, are the men of the modern Babylon the slaves of the "brute they have made," who is trampling on their very neck, and in fear of whom they plot, and plan, and scheme in vain for their own physical safety. Possessed at times with a sort of stampede of terror, they rush to International Congresses, and forge together more chains for the dreaded wild beast they have so carefully trained, and in their pitiful panic build up fresh barricades between themselves and that womanhood which they proclaim to be a "permanent source of sanitary danger." If it were not too awful, one could almost smile to see these brave men trembling at the very thought of any "female" being at large who is not the property of some man. M. Lecour, in his last book, appears to regard every woman who is not under the immediate rule of some man, as he would a volcano ready to burst forth under his feet. You will see how his terror has driven him to contrive a scheme by which all these terrible single women shall be netted by the police, and held fast. His scheme is too terrible to speak of. Take the case of a man who abuses the good gifts of nature to brutalize himself by excess in wine: that passive agent, in itself unconscious, and incapable of motive for good or evil, becomes to him a fiery scourge, his tyrant, and he its slave; "in the end it biteth like a serpent." Much more, and in a far more awful sense, does abused womanhood become the fiery scourge, the torment, and the tyrant of the men who systematically outrage, in her, God's best gift. Just so far as the soul of a woman is above all inanimate things which are susceptible of abuse, so far is the punishment of the man who outrages it increased. It is true he does not become the slave of the woman, but merely of the *female*. Yet, inasmuch as she is not a mere inanimate thing, like intoxicating drink, nor a mere animal, but is endowed with intellect, affections, will, responsibility, an immortal spirit, and inasmuch as men have turned *all this to poison*, so is the vengeance suffered by them in exact proportion. The men of this day who are guilty of the deliberate and calculating crime of organizing and regulating the ruin of women, are preparing for themselves an enslavement, an over-mastering terror and tyranny, compared with which the miseries and enslavements brought about by other vices, terrible as these are, are but as the foreshadowing of a reality,—

> "The curse which through long years of crime
> Is gathering, drop by drop, its flood."

Already they cringe, abject slaves of the tyrant they have created; they are ruled, cajoled, outwitted, mocked and scourged by her. They rave at and curse her, as a wretched dipsomaniac will curse his intoxicating drink, madly grasping it all the time; and they will continue to curse until their emasculate race becomes extinct.

The Success of the Abolition Movement.

The progress made since the formation of the Federation is so great that it would require a separate article to relate it. We must satisfy ourselves with the barest outline.

The movement in Italy has surprised the most sanguine. Mem-

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bers of the highest aristocracy, such as Prince Francesco Pallavicini, Duke Torlonia, and the Marquis of Cassibile, the professors and students of the universities, and especially the working classes of both sexes, from one end of Italy to the other, have espoused the "holy cause" with astonishing readiness and enthusiasm. Ladies' committees exist in all the principal towns. A majority of the leading journals have pronounced in favor of the movement, and the Left of the Italian Parliament, now in power, have incorporated it into their programme. So extraordinary has been the progress in Italy that Signor Nathan—to whom, as we have already said, it is, humanly speaking, chiefly due—was able to write at the close of last year, "I do not think I could name a single town in Italy in which we have not at present some one working for our cause." It is quite possible that this great country, now rising so gloriously from the dead, may even anticipate England, and be the first European nation to emancipate itself from the fatal servitude of legalized debauchery.

The movement in Switzerland, guided by the organizing genius of M. Humbert, has been especially distinguished by the promptitude with which the *preventive* and *constructive* work of the Federation has been undertaken. Asylums in which destitute and friendless girls will be sheltered from the licentious until suitable employment is found for them, have already been opened at Chaux-de-Fonds, Berne, Lausanne, Geneva, Neuchâtel, Bienne, and Vevey.

A most providential opportunity of inaugurating the movement in Germany occurred last autumn in connection with the seventeenth Congress of the famous "Inner Mission" of the German Evangelical Church. At the special request of the Central Committee of the Inner Mission, the Federation sent a delegate, M. Rollier, to advocate its principles from their conspicuous and commanding platform. There can be little doubt that this vast organization will ultimately marshal its enormous forces in support of the movement in Germany.

The first victories of the Federation have been already won. An effort to introduce the English system into South Australia has been signally defeated, largely through the zealous efforts of Mr. Rowland Rees, M.P. In Cape Colony, where the system had existed for some years, it has, after a prolonged struggle, been totally abolished. The chief promoter of repeal was Mr. Saul Solomon, M.P., a member of the General Council of the Federation.

The *chief interest is now centered in the United States, where bold efforts are being made to introduce the system of vice.* The surviving leaders of the antislavery movement, William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, the Hon. Samuel Sewall, Mrs. Lucretia Mott, and other distinguished persons, have already joined the Federation, and are uttering loud protests against the "white slavery." Mr. H. J. Wilson, of Sheffield, and the Rev. J. P. Gledstone, of Chesterfield, have been sent across the Atlantic to encourage and advise the "New Abolitionists" in the States.—P. 475.

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For other historical details we must refer our readers to "The New Abolitionists," an important and profoundly interesting volume compiled by Professor James Stuart, of Trinity College, Cambridge, the author of the University extension scheme. All the newspapers called into existence by the movement—"The Shield," "The Medical Inquirer," "The Working Men's League Journal," "The Bulletin Continental," and "The Methodist Protest"—carefully describe the current progress of the Federation.

We conclude our narrative of the Great Social War with the record of one other event. The first Annual Congress of the Federation was held in London on the 19th of last May. It was numerously attended by representatives from every part of the United Kingdom, and by some distinguished foreigners. M. Aimé Humbert was able to report almost incredible progress on the Continent. M. de Pressensé delivered an address of remarkable eloquence and power. Père Hyacinthe had come to England expressly to take part in the Congress, but being prevented by temporary indisposition, he subsequently addressed a crowded audience in St. James's Hall. A valuable letter of adhesion was addressed to the Congress by M. de Laveleye, the distinguished Belgian publicist and political economist. A communication of characteristic spirituality was received from M. Theodore Monod, under whose influence the whole evangelical Protestant Church of France is rallying to the standard of the Federation. But the most significant circumstance of all was the decision of the Federation that it would hold its International Congress next year at Geneva, immediately after the fourth International Medical Congress had concluded its sessions, "so that if our cause gain a victory among the representatives of science, we may be there to gather together and formulate the results of our triumph; or that if a majority of the Medical Congress declare against the work of the Federation, we may be there to give a refutation to their errors on the very morrow of their proclamation, and to at once weaken their deleterious influence on public opinion." Thus already does this young Federation feel itself strong enough to discard mere skirmishes. It enters the international arena and challenges its greatest foe to a pitched battle.—P. 481.

The address of the British Conference on this subject is deeply interesting, and we are amazed that it has, at this present writing, received no attention from our Methodist hebdomadal press. It is signed by the most eminent Methodist names of England—Gervase Smith, Punshon, M'Aulay, Osborne, Jobson, William Arthur, T. Percival Bunting, etc.

But beyond the objects of this federation there opens an awful vista. There are many of our young ministry and laity who are ardently desirous of wreathing their brows with the laurels of REFORM. They have heard what a noble fight it was

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the lot of their elders to wage in behalf of humanity and freedom. What ennobling obloquies and dangers did the enviable heroes of that battle endure, and what a victory did they win! O for a battle of similar might! We can tell them there now exists a slavery, in comparison with which negro slavery whitens. The Christianity and the philanthropy of this day are silent over it. Whoever engages in this "new abolitionism" will undergo all the obloquy and hard blows he has stomach for. In 1832, when the abolition battle began its ugly stir, a man by the name of M'Dowell issued a periodical unfolding the abyss of prostitution in our country; but the powerful conservatism which feared any "agitation" akin to abolitionism, joined to the engrossment of all our moral power in the antislavery contest, crushed M'Dowell and his movement. Ever since that the supremacy of old silence has reigned.

It is our lot frequently to ride to our office through one of those streets of New York marked with the reputation of sexual guilt. On a fine sunny morning there beams through the opened window many a fair face looking out as if to catch one whiff of heaven after the night of guilt. Those fair young faces are sign-boards that read, "Woman's Honor for Sale Here." When looking at their images, our thoughts run over the fibers which comprehend the whole vast system of sensuality, debasement, public deterioration, and deep damnation, into one system of which this fair seeming is a glimpse. What a faltering comes upon our heart, followed by a sense of woe and impotence! What can we do? We glide on, we banish the fearful vision from our soul, and pass into the domain of old silence, *with the rest.* Can any hoary sage, can any stalwart *reformer*, any gifted woman, give answer to our ejaculation?

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, July, 1876. (New York: The Leonard Scott Publishing Company.)—1. Lord Macaulay. 2. Sunday in England. 3. Early Phases of Civilization. 4. Life of Bishop Gray. 5. Renan's Philosophical Dialogues. 6. Compulsory Medication of Prostitutes by the State. 7. Municipal London.

The third article is a reply to the great work on the "Recent Origin of Man," a volume written by James C. Southall, Esq., of Richmond, Virginia, lately noticed in our Book-Table, and reviewed by Professor Andrews in our present number. As a

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refutation the article appears to our judgment a failure, and we hope to furnish a reply to it by Mr. Southall in a future number. In destroying by Mr. Southall and others the validity of peat, stalagmite, flint implements, and language as measures of a stupendous time, the antiquity argument incurs a damage fatal to the reviewer's case. He fatally fails to restore the credit of these measures, and his argument limps at every step.

We have room at present only for a notice of his summary of the cave argument: "The testimony of all the caverns explored, whether in Great Britain, France, Belgium, or the most recent at Kesserloch, is singularly clear and harmonious; they all give, in the most superficial deposits, traces of man for about 2,000 years, and below in cave-earth representing great antiquity, and generally sealed down by a thick bed of stalagmite, man in a much lower stage of civilization, not yet acquainted with the use of metals, and accompanied by animal remains which, if not utterly extinct, have been strangers to Europe since the historic period." So far nothing is proved. Fling out the mere assertion "representing great antiquity," and the reliability of stalagmite, and you have nothing but a few animals doubtfully "extinct" since the Roman period. Nothing beyond 2,500 years ago is proved, if even that; but we will "donate" 500 more, and say 3,000. But the review proceeds: "Sometimes, as in Kent's Cavern, there is a lower and thicker bed of stalagmite, with traces of others still more ancient, and beneath, another bed of cave-earth of different structure, yet in this lowest-known bed man appears in a still more savage state, accompanied by animals most of which are wholly *extinct*. It is this unvarying record of the antiquity and gradual progression of man through the three ages, confirmed by the deposits in peat-mosses, in ancient forest-beds as at Cromer, and of river-drift, all proving extensive changes both geographical and geological since the advent of man, that must be met and controverted by those who hold the views of Mr. Southall." Now we are able for all this to assign a thousand years more since the flood, or near two thousand additionally before the flood. Nor do all his extinct animals, peat-mosses, river-drift, or flint tools, carry the antiquity beyond that period.

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As to flint implements, Mr. Southall shows that the rough and smooth were used in the same age; that they are often mixed together; that there is no definite boundary line; and that in the notable instance of Schliemann's Troy, the smoother implements were found in the older strata. Now we submit that the pretense that these gentlemen can judge of the time taken to pass from a rough to a smooth stone, borders so nearly on charlatanry that it should be banished from any thing that claims to be science.

German Reviews.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Theological Essays and Reviews.) 1876. Third Number.—*Essays:* 1. RÖSCH, The Jesus Myths of the Islam. 2. SCHMIDT, The Ethical Aspect of the Present Conflict of the Biblical and Modern Theological Views. 3. LECHLER, The Conversion of the Germans to Christ, in its Historical Progress. *Thoughts and Remarks:* 1. STRACK, The Manuscripts of the Hebrew Bible in St. Petersburgh. 2. SEIDEMANN, A Contribution to the History of the Reformation. 3. HARNACK, Remarks on Heb. ix, 3, 4. *Reviews:* 1. GEBHARD, Græcus Venetus, reviewed by KAMPHAUSEN. 2. CHRISTLIEB, Collection of Essays and Treatises by Dr. Hundeshagen, reviewed by RIEHM.

Professor Lechler, of Leipzic, the author of the excellent work on Wiclif, gives in the third article a summary review of the course and progress of the conversion of Germany to Christianity, from its beginning in the second to its completion in the thirteenth century. The first mention of Christian Churches in Germany he finds in the work of Irenæus, the famous Bishop of Lyons. The circumstance that the Bishop of Lyons, who himself was a native Greek of Asia Minor, was the first to mention Christian Churches in Germany, is, according to Lechler, not without significance; for it is probable that the first impulse to the establishment of a Christian congregation in the valley of the Rhine proceeded from the valley of the Rhone, which again received the germs of Christianity not from Rome or Italy, but, by way of Marseilles, from Asia Minor. This view receives a curious illustration by the German word *kirche*, (church.) This word has not taken its way through the Latin Church language, as the words *église*, (French,) *chiesa*, (Ital.,) etc., which the Romanic nations have derived from the Latin *ecclesia*, but it comes directly from the Greek *κυριακόν*. On closing his survey of the history of the conversion of Germany, the author calls attention to a few

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notable facts. It took the Christian missionaries more than eleven hundred years to complete the conversion of the countries which at present constitute the German empire. Such a fact should be borne in mind by those who rashly accuse modern missions of barrenness, because they do not complete the Christianization of vast countries within a few years. The missionaries who labored in Germany were from all parts of the world—from France, Italy, Ireland, England, the Byzantine empire—and the congregations formed by them of course showed traces of these various influences. This variety gave to the piety and culture of Christian Germany that character of universality which distinguishes it. Finally, the German people became for the first time united through their conversion to Christianity. The Germans should mind this important fact. By nature they have a strongly particularistic, centrifugal tendency. It is only the Christian religion which has brought them together and can keep them together.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Theological Essays and Reviews.) Edited by Dr. RIEHM and Dr. KÖSTLIN. 1876. Fourth Number. *Essays:* 1. SMEND, The Condition of the Israelitish Religion in the Eighth Century B.C. 2. FÖRSTER, The Boniface Question. *Thoughts and Remarks:* 1. JACOBI, The two Epistles of Clement of Rome. 2. SEIDEMANN, Documents Relating to the History of the Reformation. *Reviews:* 1. HASE, History of Jesus, reviewed by BEYSCHLAG. 2. HILGENFELD, Introduction into the New Testament, and BLEEK, Introduction into the New Testament reviewed by SCHURER.

By the title "Boniface Question," the author of the second article understands an inquiry into the Christian character of the British monk Winfried, who is better known in Church history under the name of St. Boniface. The Church of Rome has enrolled him in the number of saints, and has conferred upon him the name of Apostle of Germany. It is, therefore, natural that all Roman Catholic historians should extol him as a missionary of extraordinary merit, and that even Protestant writers should regard him with a kind of national patriotism, as a Christian of excellent character, whose subserviency to Rome should be excused by the condition of those times. Rettberg, in his Church history of Germany, Kurtz, Neander, and Gieseler, are mentioned among the historians of the highest rank who still adhere to this traditional view of the character of Boniface, to which quite recently one of the greatest novel writers of Germany, Gustav Freitag, (in his *Ahnenbilder*,) has secured a new popularity. This traditional view of

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Boniface is, however, most strenuously opposed by two Protestant writers of note, Dr. Ebrard, in his work on the "Iro-Scottish Missionary Church," (*Die iro-schottische Missionskirche*, 1873), and A. Werner, in a new biography of Boniface, (*Bonifacius, der Apostel der Deutschen*, 1876,) who undertook to prove that whatever merit Boniface, for his zealous efforts in behalf of Rome, may have in the eyes of Roman Catholics, there is nothing in either his character or his work which entitles him to that high esteem on the part of Protestants which thus far has been prevailing in Protestant literature. The chief arguments of these two writers are presented, in a condensed form, by the author of the above article in the *Studien*, who also takes care to explain his own views whenever they differ from either of the two writers. The subject is divided into five sections, treating (1) of Christianity in Germany before the Roman invasion; (2) of the plan and aim of Boniface; (3) of his Church polity and position with regard to Rome; (4) his relation to political questions and the State authorities; (5) his character.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR WISSENSCHAFTLICHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal for Scientific Theology.) Edited by Dr. HILGENFELD. 1876. Third Number. 1. THOMA, The Lord's Supper in the New Testament. 2. TOLLIN, Servetus's Doctrine of Satan. 3. HARMSEN, Is Christ Represented in Rom. xi, and 1 Cor. viii, as Mediator of the Creation of the World? 4. RÖNSCH, Contributions to a History of the Itala. 5. GÖRRES, Miscellaneous Contributions to Church History. 6. HILGENFELD, The Complete Latin Version of Ezra.

The author of the second article informs us that he has been for eighteen years devoted to the study of the works of Michael Servetus, the famous theologian and physician of the sixteenth century, who, on account of his heretical views on the doctrine of the Trinity, was burned at Geneva by order of Calvin. Tollin has published, in several German journals of theology, valuable articles on important points in the life of Servetus, the contents of some of which have been noticed in our synopsis of German reviews in former numbers of the Methodist Quarterly Review. According to Tollin, the idea now prevailing that Servetus, because he was burned as a heretic by order of Calvin, must have been a kind of free-thinker, is altogether unfounded; on the contrary, he was as firm a believer in the Bible as any Protestant that ever lived, and measured even every new scientific theory by its agreement or non-agreement with the Bible word. He believed in the existence of a Satan

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because he found it taught in the Bible. His speculations on this subject, which are here given at great length, are of less interest than the entire character of the man on whom, it seems, we may expect, ere long, a special work of value from the author of this article.

ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR KIRCHENGESCHICHTE. (Journal for Church History.) Edited by Dr. Brieger. *Treatises and Essays:* 1. GASS, On the Significance of the Historical Sense. 2. PIPER, Contributions to a History of the Church Fathers from Epigraphic Sources. 3. HARNACK, On the so-called Second Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, (First Article.) *Critical Reviews:* MÖLLER, Works on Church History published during the year 1875. II. History of the Church from 325 to 768. —*Analecta*, 1. GEBHARDT, Remarks on the Text of the recently discovered Fragments of Clement. 2. RŒNSCH, On the Last Sentence of the Muratori Fragment. 3. RÖHRICHT, Bibliographical Contributions to a History of the Flagellants. 4. An Unpublished Epistle of Luther. 5. A Memorial of the Cardinal of Lorraine on the Ecclesiastical Condition of France, (1563.)

The Journal for Church History continues in this number the very valuable review of all the works on Church history published in the year 1875. This second article (by Prof. Möller) treats of the works relating to the history of the Church from 325 to 768. The praise which we have bestowed upon the first part of this review in the July number (p. 538) of our Review is also due to this second part; only it seems that the number of non-German works reviewed is still smaller than in the first part.

The great theological discovery of the year 1875, the first complete Codex of the Second Epistle of Clement, (see *Meth. Quarterly Review*, 1876, p. 543,) keeps the theological periodicals of Germany very busy. With remarkable unanimity the writers on the subject agree that now, when we have for the first time a complete copy of this important work, it is clearly shown not to have been an epistle, but a homily. Prof. Harnack, who had but shortly before the discovery of the new Codex, in his edition of the "Apostolic Fathers," declared in favor of another view, now fully concurs in the new theory. The discoverer of the Codex, Archbishop Bryennios, regards the homily as a genuine work of Clemens. If this were correct, we should now have a complete Christian homily of a much earlier date than was formerly supposed—a fact of great importance, for it would improve our knowledge of the homily as a part of the Christian worship in the earliest Church. Professor Harnack, in the article above quoted, enters into a very thorough investigation of the questions about the origin and authorship of the homily. The result at which he arrives will be given in his next article.

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French Reviews.

REVUE CHRETIENNE, (Christian Review.) May, 1876.—1. A French Quaker. 2. CADENE, The Two Ampère, according to their Correspondence. 3. STAFFER, Contemporaneous German Theology, by Astié.

June.—1. RECOLIN, The Tower of Constance at Aignes-Mortes. 2. CADÈNE, The Two Ampère, according to their Correspondence. (2d Article.)

July.—1. SABATIER, The Present State of the Critical Question Relative to the Fourth Gospel. 2. MEYER, Public Instruction in the United States.

August.—1. PRESSENSÉ, Ecclesiastical, Religious, and Moral Life of the Christians in the Second and Third Centuries. 2. MONOD, The Fine Arts in 1876. 3. BOUFFET, Art and Ethics in Literature.

About one half of the articles in the above four numbers contain the substance of new and important French works. Thus the first article gives, according to a French translation of an English work, a full sketch of the philanthropic and missionary labors of Stephen Grellet, one of the most zealous missionaries of the Society of Friends in the present century, who, though a Frenchman by birth, was by the work of his life an American. The book of Astié, on the recent theological literature of Germany, (*La Théologie Allemande Contemporaine*, Geneva, 1875,) is one well suited to give non-Germans an idea of the wonderful literary productivity of German theology. The work consists chiefly of articles reprinted from a monthly periodical of Protestant theology, published in one of the French cantons of Switzerland, (*Revue de Théologie et de Philosophy*,) of which Professor Astié is one of the editors, and which devotes the larger portion of its columns to a full account of the important theological literature of the day. The first article of the July number, in reviewing the second edition of a French Protestant commentary to the Gospel of St. John by Godet, (*Commentaire de l'Evangile de Saint Jean*, 1876,) gives a history of the discussion concerning the authenticity of the fourth Gospel from the time when Baur, the father of the Tübingen school, in his *Critical Researches on the Canonical Gospels*, (1847,) attacked it. In the first article of the August number, E. de Pressensé gives us a chapter of the sixth and last volume of his history of three first centuries of the Church, which will soon appear, and be wholly devoted to the ecclesiastical, religious, and moral life of the Christians in the second and third centuries. The work of Pressensé has long ago secured an honorable and prominent position in the

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Protestant theological literature of Europe. The article on public instruction in the United States, by J. Meyer, presents a very large number of statistical facts, chiefly derived from Hippeau's *l'Instruction Publique aux Etats Unies*, and finds many things in the American school system to admire, and a few to regret. The statement of the general features of our school system are, on the whole, correct, though in the details there are some amusing blunders; thus we read (p. 427) that *Haward* (the author always writes this way) College owes its origin to the liberality of Ezra Cornell.

Art. VIII.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

OLD CATHOLICS.

The old Catholic Church has now completed its organization in Switzerland as fully as in Germany. The Federal Council having sanctioned the establishment of a Christian Catholic Bishopric for Switzerland, (the Swiss having adopted this name in preference to Old Catholic,) the National Synod of the Church convened at Olten, in the Canton of Solothurn, and elected Dr. Edward Herzog, pastor of the congregation of Berne and Professor of Catholic Theology at the university of the same city, as first bishop. Dr. Herzog at first declined the offered dignity, but finally yielded to the urgent and unanimous entreaties of the Synod. He is only thirty-four years of age, and regarded as a man of great scholarship as well as executive ability, and it is hoped that he will succeed in infusing new life into the movement, and in settling the differences which have manifested themselves in Geneva, and greatly injured the progress of the cause. Father Hyacinthe, who had withdrawn in disgust from the movement in Geneva, which he reproved as being political rather than religious, has offered his services to the bishop elect. From the statistical report made to the Synod of Olten, it appears that the membership of the Church in little Switzerland already exceeds that of the German Church. There were at the time of the Synod fifty-five organized congregations with resident priests, and twenty-five societies which are as yet without priests. The total membership of the Church amounted to seventy-three thousand three hundred and eighty persons. Of the reorganized congregations twenty-five are in the Canton of Berne, seven in that of Aargau, three in Solothurn, and eleven in Geneva. Fourteen of the twenty-two cantons are as yet without either congregation or society, although none of them are without sympathizers. The accessions of several large congregations to the movement is soon expected, as the majority of the members have emphatically

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rejected the Vatican decrees. It is noteworthy that in the largest Catholic city of Switzerland (Lucerne) the Christian Catholics are in a decided majority, and expect, by the election of a Christian Catholic Church Council, to retain the possession of the church property. Thus the prospects of the Church are regarded as very hopeful. The resolutions passed by the Synod indicate that there is a full agreement in all essential points with the Old Catholics of Germany, though the Swiss appear to be more resolute and determined in the introduction of reforms. The Synod greeted the union which the Old Catholic Church of Germany is striving to restore with the Protestant Churches and the Greek and Anglican Churches as "a great work longed for by the founders of the Christian religion," and pledged its hearty co-operation with the movement. The Synod declared that it acknowledged "as the sole head of the Church Jesus Christ, under whom she governs herself autonomously in association with her episcopate, priesthood, and diaconate" —and "as ecumenical Church assemblies only the seven councils recognized as such by the undivided Church of East and West." The use of the national language was declared to be permissible at the celebration of the mass, and to be in accordance with Christian antiquity, and a committee was charged with the editing of a ritual and missal in the German and French languages. It was further declared that the obligation to confess at least once a year, introduced in 1216 by the Fourth Lateran Synod, was not regarded by the Synod as binding, and that each man must decide, after consciencious self-examination, whether the reception of the sacrament of penance before the communion is necessary or advisable for him. In regard to the troublesome question of priestly celibacy, it was declared that the capacity for holding spiritual offices is not dependent on the question whether the priest concerned is married or unmarried. The Catholic University, which the Government of Berne has established for the Old Catholics in connection with the University of Berne, has gained an important acquisition by the appointment of Abbé Michaud as professor. The abbé has been, with Father Hyacinthe, the foremost representative of the Old Catholic interests in France, and has probably written more in explanation and defense of the movement than any other writer. His efforts to establish Old Catholic congregations in France have been unsuccessful. In his recent position as professor of theology he is believed to have a more congenial and promising field for his activity.

In Germany the Old Catholic Synod, which met, as usual, at Bonn, under the presidency of Bishop Reinkens, again reported a considerable progress of the Church during the past year. Ahead of all the other States is the Grand Duchy of Baden, which has gained ten new congregations, six priests, and two thousand two hundred and ten adherents. Prussia and Hesse have established two new congregations each, and Oldenburg one. The total number of congregations and societies at present is, in Baden forty-four, in Prussia thirty-five, in Bavaria thirty-one, in Hesse five, in Oldenburg two, in Würtemberg one. Leaving out Bavaria,

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where the existing unfavorable circumstances make it impossible to give exact figures, the numbers were as follows:—

	1876.	1875.	Increase.
Congregations	87	72	15
Families	12,129	10,761	1,368
Individuals	39,241	34,737	4,504

In Bavaria there were reported: In 1876, families three thousand five hundred and eighty-one, individuals ten thousand one hundred and ten; in 1875, families three thousand five hundred and five, individuals ten thousand one hundred and eighty-nine; increase, families seventy-six; decrease, individuals seventy-nine. The number of congregations has also slightly increased. Three priests were ordained during the year, four hundred and twenty-seven persons confirmed, and nine Old Catholic students were studying at the University of Bonn. The most interesting question which this year's Synod had to discuss and dispose of was the abolition of priestly celibacy. About twenty congregations and seventeen priests had presented a motion for its immediate abolition. The most prominent layman of the Church, Dr. Schulte, had published in the course of the year a pamphlet strongly condemning the principle of enforced celibacy. Among both the clergy and the laity the general disposition appears to be altogether in favor of abolition. Nevertheless, the synodal representation reported against the abolition, and the Synod concurred in this report by the overwhelming majority of ninety-five ayes against only eight noes. This result, it was stated, was chiefly due to the influence of Döllinger and a few other prominent leaders, some of them having even threatened to withdraw from the movement in case the Synod should yield to the clamor against celibacy. The only concession which was made was the permission that Old Catholic priests, after resigning the ecclesiatical functions, may enter the state of marriage.

Art. IX.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

The Roman Catholic Church of Germany has lost many of her prominent scholars (as Döllinger, Reinkens, Schulte, Reusch, and a host of others) by the Old Catholic movement. Still there remains in her a greater literary activity than in any other Roman Catholic country. In honor of the centenary birth-day of Joseph Görres, (born January, 1776,) whom they regard as one of the greatest scholars of their Church in the present century, the Roman Catholics of Germany have founded a "Görres Association for the Advancement of Science in Catholic Germany." The Association has offered two prizes each for the best works on the following subjects: 1. A history of St. Boniface, the Apostle of the Germans; 2. A history of German Philosophy since Kant; 3. A biography of Albertus Magnus. The first work must be presented to the

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Association in March, 1878; the second in March, 1879; the third in March, 1880. It is likely that although undertaken in the interest of the Roman Catholic Church, this enterprise will call forth some good works that will fill a gap in theological literature. Thus a good biography of Albertus Magnus, one of the greatest theologians of the Middle Ages, has long been felt as a real want.

The State Church system still has many advocates in Germany, but it is rare to meet with such extreme views as are contained in a work by Constantine Rössler on the German empire and the ecclesiastical question, (*Das deutsche Reich und die Kirchliche Frage*, Leips., 1876.) According to this author, the modern state must resolutely make use of the *jus reformandi* which the Reformation of the sixteenth century conferred upon the Government, and it must remember that it is all powerful by means of the school. The State must govern the Church, as it governs all great interests which are dependent upon it. It must revise the confessions of faith, introduce uniform catechisms prepared according to its directions, and submit the clergy to a rigorous discipline. In the liturgy of the Protestant Church the author intends to substitute music for preaching.

Dr. Hausrath, Professor of Theology at Heidelberg, has begun a work on "*David Friedrich Strauss* and the Theology of his Times." It will contain two volumes, the first of which has appeared, (Heidelberg, 1876.) The first volume is divided into four sections: 1. The life of Strauss previous to the publication of the Life of Jesus; 2. The Life of Jesus; 3. The controversy concerning the Life of Jesus; 4. The call of Strauss as Professor of Theology of Zurich. An appendix gives several interesting documents, among them the report of the theological Faculty of Zurich on the appointment of Dr. Strauss. The author, though belonging himself to an advanced rationalistic school of German theologians, thinks that the appointment of Strauss in a theological Faculty cannot be justified, and that he, if a member of the Faculty, should have voted against it.

A work on the origin of the doubtful writings of the Apostolic Fathers, (*Patrologische Untersuchungen*,) by Constantin Sworzov, professor of patrology at the Academy of Kiev, which has appeared in the German language at Leipsic, is especially interesting as a proof of the progress of theological studies in Russia. The work treats of the origin of the Epistle of Barnabas, the Shepherd of Hermas, the second Epistle of Clemens, the Epistle of Ignatius, and the so-called Areopagite writings. The first Epistle of Clemens and Epistle of Polycarpus are not embraced within the scope of his researches, as these two writings were generally recognized in the ancient Churches as genuine. According to the author, the Epistle of Barnabas was written during the persecution of Domitian, in 91; the Shepherd of Hermas, under Antonnius Pius, against the Gnostic Mark; the second Epistle of Clemens is regarded as a circular epistle really written by Clemens Romanus. The Ignatian epistles are all regarded as spurious, and as having been written by an opponent of the

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Marcionites in Rome between 158 and 169. The works, which have been named after Dionysius the Areopagite, the author ascribes to Dionysius the Great, of Alexandria.

FRANCE.

Prof. Lichtenberger, formerly of the Theological Faculty of Strassburg, has engaged, with a number of other Protestant theologians of France, in the publication of the first Protestant Theological Cyclopedia of his country. It will appear under the title, *Encyclopédie des Sciences Religieuses*, and embrace from ten to twelve volumes of 800 pages each. It is issued in numbers of 160 pages each, the first of which was ready in August. The publisher promises the publication of about two volumes a year. The prospectus announces that the large German Cyclopedia by Herzog will serve as model.

The biographical dictionaries of celebrated French Protestants by the Brothers Haag (*La France Protestante*) will appear in a second revised edition. The first edition contained eight volumes, the second will contain about twelve, of 900 pages each. The first half of the first volume has appeared, and contains the articles from *A* to *Antiqué*.

Pastor Bersier, of Paris, one of the greatest pulpit orators of Protestant France, has published the fifth volume of his *Sermons*, and a new edition of the liturgy of the Reformed Church, (*Liturgie à l'usage des églises réformées.*)

The Roman Catholic literature of France, considering the large membership of the Church, and comparing it with that of Germany, is remarkably insignificant. As a Church historian Abbé Martin has obtained some distinction. He is the author of a life of John Chrysostom, (*Jean Chrysostome*, etc., 3 vols., Paris, 1875.) He has also published a valuable work on the so-called Robber Synod (*Latrocinium*) of Ephesus, (*Le Pseudo-Synode connu dans l'histoire sous le nom de Brigandage d'Ephèse*, Paris, 1875.) Entirely new light has been shed on the history of this Synod, which is of considerable importance in the early history of the Church, by the recent discovery of the acts of this Synod in Syriac. The original Syriac with the English version have been published in England by S. G. F. Perry, and a German translation by Dr. Hoffmann. Abbé Martin himself had published, in 1874, a French translation of the Acts, and (in the *Revue des questions historiques*) an article on their contents. Abbé Pujol has published the first volume of a work on "*Edmond Richer*," (Paris, 1876,) and the renewal of Gallicanism at the beginning of the 17th century. A second volume will complete the work. A new effort to misuse some passages of the New Testament and Church Fathers for proving the doctrine of papal infallibility has been made by the Archbishop of Bourges. His work on the subject (*La Tradition Catholique sur l'infallibilité pontificale*, Paris, 1876) will comprise three volumes, the first of which has appeared. A history of the Roman Popes (*Histoire des souverains pontifes*, Tournay, 1876) has been published in one volume by Bourgeois.

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Art. X.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

The Holy Bible. With an Explanatory and Critical Commentary. (Speaker's Commentary.) Edited by F. C. Cook, M.A., Canon of Exeter. Vol. IV. Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon. 8vo., pp. 702. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1874.

The book of Job, as all at the present day admit, is a poem. The rhythm of the dialogue, and its transcendent imagery and elevation of style, demonstrate it to be didactic poetry. The narrative is framed for and subjected to the doctrine, not the doctrine to the narrative. The poem has, indeed, a prose prologue and epilogue; but even this prose is poetic in spirit. It has ideality overlying the reality. It abounds with arithmetical exactnesses that never occur in real life. So that the whole book is a poem, partly in rhythmical and partly in prose form, having yet a basis in history. Our own deep impressions are that the time both of its events and its composition is Mosaic or pre-Mosaic. Its purpose in the canon is to present a view of patriarchal theology.

It is not difficult, perhaps, to draw a clear boundary line between the history and the overlying ideality. Job's residence is fixed with so literal a definiteness that the geographer, even at the present day, is able to identify it. His own name, and the name of his friends, possess no allegorical meaning, (like those in "Pilgrim's Progress," for instance,) and seem to be literal. The residences of his friends are literally geographical, indicating that they were real persons. The greatness, goodness, and misfortunes of Job, not with the arithmetical coincidences given, but so marked as to render him a signal instance of suffering goodness, were doubtless historical. We may suppose a high debate on the reality of human goodness, and the relation of evil and suffering to that goodness, to have taken place between Job and his friends. But as soon as we commence the rhythmical dialogue we see that it is raised above all human colloquy. Not only the rhythm, but the sublimity, the divine elevation of thought, demonstrate the literal unreality. Four such sublime geniuses as the historical theory makes of our Job and his friends never met on earth. There never lived but one such genius, and that is the "great unknown," the author. And then, if we turn to the epilogue and prologue we find a plane above the level of human life. Job's children are ten; his sons and daughters are the exact sacred numbers *seven* and *three*. His sheep and camels are also *seven* and *three*

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thousands. His oxen and asses are both just half a thousand. On his restoration the numbers of his stock are just doubled, and his wife furnishes him exactly as many children as he had lost. All this is not only poetical, but arithmetical justice. The events as they occur have, also, a certain panoramic exactness. The four announcements to Job are made by the escaping messengers with a dramatic successiveness and sameness of verbal formula. And the demeanor of Job's visitors at the close of the second chapter has a statuesque formality and grandeur. There is nothing so picturesque as their entire silence for just seven days. As in the Apocalypse, seven and three are the favorite numbers. Doubtless some of these instances of artificiality could be by themselves explained; but the instances are too numerous for doubt as to the whole.

It will follow from all this that the vision of God and Satan in the supermundane council of God with his sons, of God interrupting the conversers by a voice from the whirlwind, and of God pronouncing final condemnation on the errorists in the debate, is not a historic reality, but an apocalyptic presentation. This presents truth in image and symbol. And believing, as we do, with the Church of God in past ages, that the writer was an inspired teacher, we hold that the doctrine these symbols image forth is an authoritative doctrine. It was not, indeed, his ultimate purpose to *prove* the theodicic doctrine of the book, but to *exhibit* it in a divine apocalypsis.

Some writers maintain the literality of the converse of Elohim and Satan and the poetic speeches of Jehovah not so much by any argument as by imputation of "rationalism" to the reverse view. But an interpretation is not rationalistic because rationalists have advocated it; nor do we maintain it from any rationalistic proclivity. Wherever miracle is narrated in the Bible with clear historical intent we accept it. The theophanies disclosed to Abram, the rebuke of Balaam, the temptation of Christ, we accept literally because they each occur in the level plane of prosaic history. But the cosmogony of the first chapter of Genesis, the supernaturalisms of Job, and the Apocalypse of John, furnish us, in different degrees yet clearly, with such fair warnings, by their poetic rhythm, symbolical numerals, artificial exactnesses of events, and panoramic imageries, of being not history but a divine apologue, that our interpretation is based on the plainest laws of exegesis, and fully accordant with the spirit of the evangelic Church.

The theme is the true existence, position, and value of human

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goodness or piety in the world. The question is: Is there a human virtue which, in spite of adversities and failings, may still claim God for its trust and Saviour? The issue is between God and Job in the affirmative, against Satan and Job's friends in the negative. God affirms its true existence, as in the instance of Job; Satan denies its reality; and the friends of Job accordantly with Satan affirm, 1. That for Job to profess piety is presumption before God; and, 2. That his great calamities prove him a sinner. They are refuted thus:—

Satan's denial is refuted by Job's persistence in piety in spite of great suffering; by Job's own unshaken profession, and by God's final approval.

The friends of Job are refuted, 1. By God's affirming that Job's piety could not stand before the absolute, but is valid after the permitted standard of probationary humanity; 2. By, triply, the structure of the narrative which reveals Job's sufferings to be divinely permitted and diabolically inflicted *trials;* by Job's triumphant maintenance of his profession through the whole as pure, not before God, but before man; and by God's final decision in his favor and his restoration to peace and prosperity.

We may, therefore, thus summarize the book. The inspired genius of our author takes the instance of this noble oriental Emir to furnish a great discussion of the validity of suffering virtue, and its position before the God of all the earth. He first draws aside the vail, and exhibits apocalyptically the secret of the divine Council over and above the world. The prince of evil is pictured as taking the infidel side, and questioning the reality of human virtue; and God as permitting the sufferings necessary to demonstrate the reality of a virtue acceptable to himself. Then we have, in the case of Job, the sum of human adversity. Children are slain, property destroyed, health reduced to leprosy; even the very last solace, the wife of his bosom, proposing apostasy from God, and the agonies of Job give forth in groaning rhythm the complete picture of suffering nobleness. Then come friends—*friends*, forsooth—with long and pious argument, making his misfortunes a proof of wickedness, and vindicating God at his expense. This completes the specimen case of human misery. Yet there comes meanwhile the discriminating *vindication.* First, self-assertingly, Job in repeated replies to each declares his own integrity, draws a picture of the days of his grandeur, and maintains the sublimity of his own virtue in prosperity. Next, apocalyptically, Elohim salutes him, and maintains that be-

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fore God his virtues and nobleness are a very humble thing, and Job admits it with profound humility. Then comes the final vindication. Jehovah pronounces Job's accusers, whether Satan or men, to be culpably mistaken. For the former there is no atonement; but for the latter sacrifice and penitence are the source of hope. Redoubled prosperity for Job attests the reality of the divine approbation.

With this obvious construction of the argument of the book, we may express surprise at the perplexity of commentators as to the point in which God pronounces Job *right* and his friends wrong. Prof. Lewis rests that divine approval merely upon Job's last repentance and self-abhorrence before God. But it lies patent on the surface of the book that God pronounces Job *right* in the whole controversy, the whole one controversy between God and Satan, and between Job and his friends; a controversy, namely, whether there is a true virtue which can suffer, and can humanly err, and yet be accepted of God. Job was right in maintaining against the devil and his own three friends his own virtue; and when, at the admonition of God, he admitted that though his virtue could stand before men it could not stand before the Absolute, he was completely right. Abraham, says Paul, had whereof to glory, but not before God. (See our note on Rom. iv, 2.)

We may, after the above view, thus skeletonize the book:—

1. The picture of questioned (by Satan) suffering and agonized virtue. i–iii, 26.

2. That virtue questioned (by friends) and debated (iv–xxviii, 28) and sublimely pictured with grandest self-assertion by Job, (xxix–xxxi, 40,) closing the debate with the three.

3. After Elihu's attempt at compromise (xxxii–xxxvii, 24) God himself sublimely arraigns Job's virtues as nothing in comparison with Himself, and Job profoundly submits. Though he had gloried before men, he glories not before God. Whereupon God condemns the grounds of Satan, that there is no human virtue; the grounds of Job's friends, that affliction disproves such virtue in the individual; and, upon Job's admission that human virtue must submit before the Absolute, he pronounces Job right and his assailants culpably wrong. God and Job were true; Satan and the three were false. xxxv–xlii, 17.

It is eminently a Christian book; a book whose lesson is *faith*, whose pages foreshadow the *resurrection* and the *Redeemer*, and whose closing *pronunciamento* is *sacrificial atonement*.

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History of the Cross. The Pagan Origin, and Idolatrous Adoption and Worship of the Image. By HENRY DANA WARD, M.A., U. S. A. London: James Nisbet & Co. Philadelphia: Claxson, Remsen, & Haffelfinger. 1871.

The very ingenious and scholarly article in our present number on *The Pre-Christian Cross* will attract attention; but while it may be presumptuous for us who have not made the subject a specialty to contradict one who has, we venture to doubt as to the legitimacy of its representations. We doubt whether the so-called "handled cross" is any cross at all; whether there is any thing standing in such relations as to be properly called a "pre-Christian cross," and whether the wonder and mystery are not to a large extent factitious.

As the *form* is the essential thing to being a cross, no figure is a cross that does not truly and exactly present the cross form. Now a cross is an intersection of two lines; and the lines must by crossing present four visible points or *termini*. Hence a T, *tau*, is not a cross, though a *t* is, or rather presents, a cross. Nor should the intersection be the result of carelessness formed into habit, and so be a cross only by degeneration. A perpendicular line surmounted by and terminating in a horizontal line is not a cross. We may even say that the churchly *crucifix* is not in idea an essential cross. Its purpose was to bear the human body, to which it is in shape conformed. Now the human body is no proper cross. It is simply a perpendicular trunk with two horizontally extensible arms appended; but the arms send no line across the trunk. There is, indeed, something striking in the wide extent of the tau and circle among the ancient nations, and Mr. Southall, in his great work, "The Recent Origin of Man," quotes it with some force in proof of the unity of the human race. But there the wonder ends.

Now the actual *cross*, and the actual *circle*, are at once the most simple and most striking of all primitive geometrical figures. Hence both are very likely to be largely appropriated for symbolical purposes among various races and ages. This fact warns us to beware of overlooking the independent origins of these appropriations. False identifications are very easy, and certainly have been repeatedly committed, as we may soon show. We have two crosses (+ ×) among our algebraic symbols; two (x and t) in our alphabet; and one (†) among our reference marks. It would be ridiculous to call either of these a pre- or post-Christian cross; but it strikes us as more ridiculous to call the tau and circle of Egypt and Assyria by such an epithet.

We accept the explanation of Zöckler, given on p. 315, that the

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tau and circle represented rudely the sun and the sun's rays. And as the sun and sun-god are to the view of his worshipers the source of life, so the tau and circle symbolized life. Of the generative sun, *taurus*, or the bull, was the symbolic procreative animal; and the phallus, the image of the male organ of generation, was the simplest, yet obscenest symbol. The obscene phallus, publicly exhibited, shame to say, as an object of worship, was as universal as the tau and circle, both representing primitively generative life, and derivatively perpetual life.

Out of any relation whatever with the figures of the tau and circle is the *stauros*, translated *cross*, of the New Testament. The figures had no resemblance. The origins were entirely diverse. The *stauros* was the Roman implement of punishment. The Greek word *stauros* does not truly signify a cross, but a stake, and the horizontal bar forms no necessary part of it. It is derived from the verb ἱστημι, to stand, and in fact *stauros* and *stake* are two forms of the same word. Does any one suppose that the Roman *stauros*, the instrument of death, had any connection with the Assyrian tau and circle?

The little book of Henry Dana Ward, a devout American millenarian scholar, is written to show that the churchly crucifix is not only diverse from the New Testament cross, but is also diverse from the cross seen in vision by Constantine, (which was truly the Chi, X, the first letter of the name of Christ;) and that it is in fact borrowed from the Assyrian tau. We give the following quotation: "That which is now called the Christian cross was originally no Christian emblem at all, but was the mystic *Tau* of the Chaldeans and Egyptians. That mystic *Tau* was marked in baptism on the foreheads of those initiated in the mysteries, and was used in every variety of way as a most sacred symbol. To identify Tammuz with the sun, it was joined with the circle of the sun ☥. Sometimes it was inserted in the circle ⊕. The mystic *Tau*, as the symbol of the great divinity, was called the sign of life, and was used as an amulet over the heart. It was marked on the official garments of the priests of Rome; it was borne by the kings in their hand, as a token of their divinity or divinely-conferred authority. The vestal virgins of Rome wore it suspended from their necklaces, as the nuns do now. The Egyptians did the same, and many of the barbarous nations also with whom the Egyptians had intercourse, as the Egyptian monuments bear witness. There is hardly a pagan tribe where the cross has not been found."—P. 49.

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But we see no good proof that the churchly cross was derived from the pagan *tau*. It was one of the actual forms of the *stauros* used in executing malefactors by the Romans, and hence was a proper form for the Church to adopt. Mr. Ward and his co-millenarians become slightly superstitious in opposing superstition, in their abhorrence of the crucifix and identifying it with the "mark of the beast."

Another false identification is that of the New Testament cross, or even the churchly crucifix, with the above-named Constantinian monogram, the so-called *cross* seen by the Imperator in vision which was subsequently prescribed on his standard and called the Labarum. Many of our best scholars have confounded these two things, for the monogram clearly includes an intersection. It is simply the Greek for the first three letters of the name of Christ. It was first used by the earliest Christians as an abridgment of the Saviour's name. It appears in the catacombs for the first time in A. D. 332, and afterward very abundantly. But it is to be specially noted that the churchly crucifix or cross does not appear in the catacombs until A. D. 407. On this subject consult the valuable work of Mr. Withrow, published at our Book Concern, on the Catacombs, pp. 265–273.

We have personally discovered here in North America a true "rain cross," as genuine as any in Mexico, mentioned p. 625. Within sight of our study window, upon a neighboring structure, is a perpendicular iron rod, surmounted by two horizontal crossing rods, indicating the four cardinal directions, with N. E. W. S. upon their points. This cross is surmounted by a gallant gilt steed, who at all times of the year and all the twenty-four hours may be seen heroically facing the wind whencesoever its blast. As we gaze upon his brave figure he seems becoming a thing of life, and we feel how natural was the fetichism of the primitive world. It is a true "rain cross," but has no connection with the Assyrian *crux ansata*, and none with the churchly crucifix.

One page from Mr. Ward will confirm our caution not to identify things that differ:—

"No. 1. | the *stauros*, stake, or pale. Very rare and ancient.

"No. 2. X Greek initial of Christ, answering to CH in English. Primitive.

"No. 3. ☧ ✠ the Constantinian monogram. A device of the first ☧ two Greek letters of Christ, corresponding to

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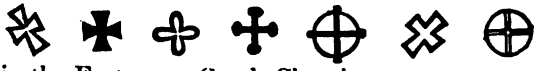
CHR in English. This form alone is found on the coins, medals, and arms of Constantine and his successors. With

"No. 4. ☧ ☧ which are fashionable modifications of the ☧ monogram in the latter days of the empire.

"No. 5. ✚ equal armed, right-angled Greek cross, in various modifications, such as



common in the Eastern or Greek Church.

"No. 6. Y forked form. Rare. The idea of No. 6 is a forked trunk of a tree, to the arms of which the hands were nailed, and the feet to the trunk.

"No. 7. ✝ Common Romish Catholic cross.

"No. 8. ✝ Tammuz or Syrian form.

"No. 9. ⊓ Jugum, the Latin yoke, or common gallows. See Minutius Felix.

"No. 10. ✠ Russian Church in Paris.

"Here are nineteen different forms recognized by great communions and learned authors under one common name in English —the cross—without any attempt to distinguish them from the *stauros*, or from the sorrows endured on it. Besides these, the books of heraldry supply twoscore more images of fancy crosses."

A Hundred Years of Methodism. By MATTHEW SIMPSON, D.D., LL.D., one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church. 12mo., pp. 377. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1876.

This volume is not a history, but rather a historical survey of our progress and institutions as a Church. It is a lucid tracing of origins and developments. It discusses rather by narrative than by argument. It is written in a simple, transparent, flowing style, and the reader easily and rapidly flows with it. It is a manual for our people, and one of the best books in our catalogue for circulation among outside inquirers.

We have but two points of adverse criticism to make.

On page 151 the bishop says: "This report has been generally alluded to in the discussions which followed as 'The Plan of Separation.'" Now, if this misnomer, first forged by the reporter,

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R. A. West, an English Methodist local preacher, and, with culpable carelessness, allowed by the editor to creep into the published minutes, is to be mentioned at all, its fictitious character ought to be mentioned with it. With an equally culpable carelessness our bishops, in the course of that discussion, "referred" to it by this forged title. And just this forged phrase, stereotyped and well circulated through the South, has had a very powerful effect to mislead Southern Methodism. Under its cover the Southern bishops put forth that disastrous dictum at St. Louis, "We separated from you in no sense in which you did not separate from us." The phrase does not indeed explicitly assert all that. It might be truly called a "Plan of Separation," in the sense of being a plan by which the South might separate on *their own responsibility*. But that is not its obvious import, and it has consequently served as a concise embodiment of a very great untruth.

On page 229, the bishop, discussing the sense in which the Episcopacy is called an "order," says: "The word 'order' is sometimes used in the sense of class or diversity of arrangement. We speak of the order of traveling preachers, and of the order of local preachers; we speak of the order of presiding elders, and the order of bishops."

If now the Episcopacy is no more an order than a presiding eldership, or a class leadership, the ordination of a bishop is unjustifiable, and should never have existed. If Wesley had intended his superintendent to be no more of an order than his class leaders, he would never have ordained him. And if the bishop's statement of the matter is accurate, we should strenuously urge that the ordination, by solemn laying on of hands, be forthwith constitutionally abolished. But the very fact of that ordination from Wesley, until now, contradicts and abolishes the bishop's statement.

The word "order" may be discussed as a verbal matter. The word order—Latin, *ordo*, and to *order*, or *ordain*, (for the verb to *order* was anciently used,) *ordinare*—has ever been used in the Church to designate an *ordained* grade of ministry and no other. If we have trustees, stewards, class leaders, sextons, presiding elders, Sunday-school teachers, choristers, surely it is futile to say that they are as truly orders as our ordained officers. It is an absurd classification that puts bishops with class leaders, and not with elders and deacons. Wesley ordained three grades of ministry; those three ordained grades of ministry he sent over here, and they were authoritatively accepted as being just what

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he sent. He sent a form of "ordination" (*his* word was not "consecration") of three ordained grades, and at that time "ordination" was not only accepted, but, by the restrictive rule, was embodied into the constitution of the Church; so that it can be abolished or diminished only by a process of constitutional change. Somebody or other, we suspect it was not our General Conference, has indeed abolished Wesley's word "ordination," and substituted "consecration;" but those words in the English language mean precisely the same thing; or if there be a difference, the latter is the higher term. If, however, the change of the word is an essential change of the thing, whether to something higher or lower, then the change violated the constitution of the Church. And when, later, the General Conference resolved that the Episcopate was an office (like a class leader) and not an order, (like the two other ordained grades,) it committed two or three oversights in the same act. First, it contradicted, without repealing, that permanent and standing declaration with which our Book of Discipline commences, that "Wesley gave Coke letters of episcopal *orders*," and thus leaves us under a contradictory jurisdiction. Second, it classes our bishops with unordained and transient officials of the Church. Third, it contradicts the very title of our Church, for if the resolution be true, it would be more proper to call it the Methodist Class Leader Church than the Methodist Episcopal Church, the class leadership being our most distinctive peculiarity.

The word "order" is, however, of very little consequence. In regard to realities of things there is a general agreement. We all hold that the eldership is the truly fundamental order, the trunk of the ministry, that which must be in order to the bringing and keeping the Church in existence and operation. To this the deaconship is the apprenticeship nearly as indispensable; and by Church and ministry the Episcopacy is voluntarily created as vitally important, yet not absolutely indispensable; while the Church herself is the human fountain of the whole. Ordination of these three grades, by the solemn imposition of hands, is sanctioned, as all believe, by Scripture and the primitive Church; nor is any other form of instituting a ministry so sanctioned; nor is any other than these three sanctioned by any weighty example. We may also safely believe that the absence of ordination from a ministry is a disrespect to Scripture example, and a most serious formal defect. Equally safely may we say that no form of Church government is so sanctioned by Scripture and the Church precedent of all ages as the Episcopal. Any other form is defective, though not inval-

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idating. Surely no one can be frightened at the use of the word order, if it be explicitly understood to mean simply "an ordained class."

Principles of New Testament Quotation Established and Applied to Biblical Science. By Rev. JAMES SCOTT, M.A., B.D. 12mo., pp. 169. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1875.

The quotations of the Old Testament have often been a source of puzzle both to the simple Christian and the learned scholar. The quotation varies from the words of the original author. Nay, the very meaning is different, and seems not to prove the point for which the text is adduced. Sometimes a great number of scraps of Old Testament words are huddled together and applied to something foreign from the original sense. Questions thereby of scripture honesty and of doctrinal theology become deeply involved.

Dr. Scott's little manual is a valuable guide in these matters. He classifies the various quotations, deduces the principles upon which they are made, illustrates them by a survey of the mode of quotation among the early Christian writers, and justifies them by classical and secular examples.

The Old Testament was not only the divine oracle, but the poetry and literature of the Jewish Church. Hence it was not only quoted to *prove*, but to illustrate and adorn the style. Nay, it was natural for a writer to run his thoughts into Scripture phrase borrowed from topics entirely foreign to the subject in hand. Between the Old Testament there is a close sympathy and a living oneness. The Old is preliminary and completed in the New. The doctrine and spirit of both are one.

It is by THREE GREAT WITNESSES that we attain unto religious verity, the WORD, the CHURCH, and the moral CONSCIOUSNESS, and these three are one.

The Word is the great current of spiritual thought running through the written text. Save the Decalogue alone the text is mainly human, and in what proportions the human and the divine are mingled is a problem not wholly soluble. We know the text as it stands is in many cases incorrect; we are often unable to be sure of perfect accuracy of the historic statements in non-essential particulars. We have inherited from ultra-Protestantism, Puritanism, perhaps too mechanical a biblical theory, as if every chapter and verse were written on stone by God's own finger. Admitting textual error only where it is demonstrated, it is never-

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theless often much easier to the penetrative student rather to rest his mind upon the great currents of spiritual thought, (which is the soul of the text,) in which all the ages of the holy have sympathized and been spiritually identified. We are then secure from panic as if all were lost if there be passages whose perfect accuracy may be fairly questioned.

The Church is revealed to us in the history of Christian men, organizations, and doctrines. This gives us HISTORICAL CHRISTIANITY. Woe to the man who "will not hear the Church." For, first, the Church is the great author, preserver, and interpreter of the Word. The volume of the book of the Word has lain in the ark of even the corruptest Church of Christendom. Based upon it, secondly, and found in it, is a great outline type of holy doctrine: the Trinity, the Atonement, the Sacraments, and the Retribution, from which no private interpretation must vary. In that great TYPE of doctrine, and even in one great type of ecclesiastical organization, Irenæus, Chrysostom, and John Wesley essentially agree. There is a great truth contained in the profound maxim, *What has every-where and always been believed by those who hold the supremacy of the Word is true.* This may not apply in exegesis. There may be texts which the great body of the Church have wrongly interpreted. There may have been tenets in regard to physical and cosmical things, and outside the limits of pure theology, in which every individual of the Church was mistaken. But within her limits the Church does not err.

The *Consciousness*, duly regulated by the Word and the Church in regard to spiritual truth, and exerting itself in honesty, is right. The two regulatives serve to secure from fanaticism and rationalism, while the due exercise of the spiritual Consciousness brings home the power of truth upon the soul. Thus under this great trinity of the Word, the Bible; the Church, the great sacramental body of believers in the Bible, and the earnest *Conscience* of the individual, the Christian man rests secure of truth and salvation.

The Speaker's Commentaries. Edited by F. C. COOK, Canon of Exeter, Preacher at Lincoln's Inn, Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen. Vol. VI, Ezekiel—Daniel—and the Minor Prophets. 8vo., pp. 750. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1876.

In this volume the notes on the Book of Daniel are wonderfully enriched from the late Assyrian discoveries. At every step illustrations crowd upon the commentator unknown to his predecessors. The claim that the book was written after the day of Anti-

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ochus Epiphanes is demonstrably refuted, and its true origin in Babylon in the days of the captivity placed beyond candid question.

In his development of the force of Daniel's predictions, however, we think the commentator is weak and wavering. In the prophecy of the seventy weeks he gives at every step a list of opposing opinions and no definite line of thought of his own. He does not know whether the fourth kingdom is Roman or Syro-Egyptian. He thinks that identifying it with the latter does not invalidate its Messianic application. We think, fully knowing, that it is the now fashionable interpretation, that it draws out the spinal column of Messianic prophecy from the Old Testament. This is not, however, our main objection against it. We hold it to be unexegetical. Was it not the Roman kingdom that was smitten by Christ's coming, as the feet of the image was smitten by the stone? Then Rome was the fourth kingdom. And with this agrees the description of Belshazzar's vision of the fourth beast, which was stronger than either of its predecessors, as the Syro-Egyptian was not, though the Roman was.

Of course the commentator is not so old-fashioned as to notice the year-day theory of the prophetic chronology. Consequently he owns entire ignorance of the import of Daniel's two thousand three hundred days, and other numbers. And yet this very year-day reckoning he is compelled to recognize in the seventy weeks of this same Daniel. And in this very volume, under the express rule of "a year for a day," Ezekiel symbolizes the punishment of Israel and Judah of three hundred and ninety years by three hundred and ninety days. And plainly the principles of proportion requires that where a kingdom is represented by so reduced an object as a beast, or a series of kingdoms by the image of the human form, there should be a correspondent chronological reduction of at least a year to a day. As a beast is to a kingdom, so is a day to a year. We are as yet of the belief that the commentator that despises this key to prophecy will find Daniel and the Apocalypse crisp and wither in his hands.

To our own mind it greatly clears the difficulties of these two prophetic books to recognize the true symbolic import of the number *ten*. As *four* is the number of the creation as a frame, so *ten* is the representative number for the nations of the world, including the profane races. The Decalogue, with its *ten* laws, is the law for the world. The ten plagues of Egypt were a world-sign. The ten toes of Nebuchadnezzar's image are not to be found, as com-

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mentators have sought, in precisely ten kingdoms into which the Roman empire divided, but in the universality of all the nations, more or less, of the world, succeeding the downfall of that empire, and even now existing in either hemisphere. These are symbolized by so small an image as the toes because unimportant to Daniel and his age, being minified as in perspective by distance of time. The same principle applies to the ten kings and to the ten horns both of Daniel and the Apocalypse. And the millennial thousand years being the cube of *ten*, is not an exact thousand, but a world-period of great indefinite length.

Methodism and the Centennial of American Independence; or, the Loyal and Liberal Services of the Methodist Episcopal Church during the First Century of the History of the United States: with a Brief History of the Various Branches of Methodism, and Full Statistical Tables. By Rev. E. M. Wood, Ph.D. 12mo., pp. 414. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1876.

Like the great majority of our thoughtful young men, Mr. Wood is religiously proud of the history and position of the Methodist Episcopal Church. With the great army of militant Methodism, his heart and soul are not with Strawbridge, O'Kelly, and M'Caine, the three erratic Irishmen, but with Asbury, Emory, and Wilbur Fisk. He does not invest in the job of taking down the timbers of our historical structure. Failures are a million where success like ours is but one. Demolition is easy, up-building is wearisome. Twelve Asiatic cities for decades of years, with millions of wealth, were required to build the proud Ephesian temple; it took but one incendiary with a single torch, in a single night, to lay it in ashes. Genius alone can construct, any fool can tear down; and among fools, the man who leads in tearing down our own Methodist Episcopal Church is entitled to wear the tallest foolscap.

The marked merit of Mr. Wood's book is that it leads through a variety of discussions, several of which are new. Another is that his discussions of trite topics themselves are seldom trite. He opens with a defense of Wesley's character against the charge of high toryism and hostility to American liberties. He traces the loyal history of American Methodism. He discusses and protests against public evils, including our position on the school question, and defends our view of the Christian and Protestant character of our nation.

In his Second Part he traces the history of our free, voluntary Episcopacy, its origin from Wesley; the failure of English Methodism to accept Wesley's Episcopacy and its unfortunate results.

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Then come in series the questions of our own Episcopacy, the Presiding-Eldership, Lay-Delegation, the Union of Methodism, with a variety of other specialties. Mr. Wood has made a live, young, loyal, and jubilant book. We predict, and no man living will ever be able to refute our prediction, that an edition of it will be munificently printed and largely read by the joyous Episcopal Methodism of 1976.

The failure of English Methodism to accept Wesley's Episcopacy, of which Mr. Wood gives a full and interesting history, may be excused, but the attempt on the part of some English Methodists to interfere with ours cannot be excused. On this subject the course of the English delegates to our last General Conference was scantily courteous. The truth of Mr. Pope's statement that Methodism is universally Presbyterian, we promptly deny. Mr. Wesley avowedly disliked Presbyterianism, preferred an Episcopal form of government, and in accordance with his plan we are negatively not the Methodist Presbyterian Church, but positively the Methodist Episcopal Church. We became so by our own free choice, and by our own free choice we shall so remain.

What the best English Methodists "think of us," so far as that is important, we may find in the following words of Dr. Dixon, who, of all the delegates from England that ever visited our Church, is most worthy of our honor: "If we mistake not, it is to the American Methodist Episcopal Church that we must look for the real mind and sentiments of this great man." We may also quote the following words of the London (Wesleyan) Quarterly: "It may be questioned whether any form of Church government in the world has more of the elements of power and permanence than this, which expresses Wesley's own idea of a fully organized Church."

The Legends of the Old Testament traced to their Primitive Sources. By THOMAS LUMSDEN STRANGE, late a Judge of the High Court of Madras. 8vo., pp. 243. London: Trubner & Co. 1874.

Judge Strange finds the originals of the Old Testament narratives in the old Aryan literature by giving to the Aryan a stupendous antiquity, and to the Hebrew an extreme recency. Old Jacob Bryant had a century or two ago found coincidence between the classic mythology and Hebrew history; but holding the Hebrew to be by far the more ancient, he maintained that the mythology was the borrower. Mr. Strange reverses this process, and main-

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tains that the Hebrew is the plagiarist. And did he *prove* this immense antiquity of the Aryan he would in some instances make out a case. His proofs are, first, the archaic character of the Aryan literature, and, second, the records of Indian Astronomy. Professor Whitney's dictum, quoted in the last Quarterly, denying that languages furnish any chronological measure, reveals the slender value of linguistic proofs of antiquity; and his treatise on Indian Astronomy, in a former volume of his, disposes of the argument from that source. Charles L. Brace, in his valuable work, "The Races of the Old World," though a favorer of the immense antiquity of man, tells us that "the Indian history, so long boasted of for its immense antiquity, is, without doubt, the most modern of the ancient records, and offers nothing certain beyond 1800 B. C."

On the other hand, the early chapters of Genesis are the guidebook of George Smith and the Assyriologists in decyphering the earliest remains of the earliest empires. Mr. Strange believes that Ezra made the Old Testament after the Babylonian captivity. But the writer of the Pentateuch was, as Ezra was not, intimately acquainted with Egypt, and the Mosaic ritual was largely appropriated from that of Egypt. Its Babylonian origin, after the first eleven chapters of Genesis, is out of the question. Those eleven chapters did undoubtedly come from Babylonia with Abram himself.

The question of the antiquity of the Aryan race is very important to Dr. M'Causland's theory of the plurality of human origins. His doctrine is, that the Adamic-Messianic race, being the Caucasian, is the latest created, belonging to the Edenic center of creation. This Adamic or Caucasian race includes, as he thinks, the Japhetic or Aryan, the Shemitic, and the Hamitic. The other races, as the Chinese, the Lapps and Finns, the negro, and the fossil man, are either *antediluvian*, having been unreached by the flood, or *pre-Adamic*. If pre-Adamic, the race is still one in mental and physical nature, one in blood, that is, in prolificacy, and one in the headship of Christ.

The Lord's Land: A Narrative of Travels in Sinai, Arabia Petræa, and Palestine, from the Red Sea to the entering in of Hamath. By HENRY B. RIDGAWAY, D.D. 8vo., pp. 745. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1876.

In the year 1874 Dr. James Strong, our chief rabbi at Drew, led a small caravan of Christian scholars through the Arabian desert to the Holy Land, and through the Holy Land, inclusive of Moab,

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to Beyrout. The route, selected with scholarly skill, took in nearly every point of biblical interest, and so its narrative claims to be more complete than any other itinerary record. Starting from Cairo, it crosses the northern point of the Red Sea, and furnishes discussion and clear conclusion of the true Mosaic crossing. Entering the desert plainly marked by Moses's own statement, they pass by the assumed and the real Sinai. They pass by Petræa to Hebron, and from Hebron to Jerusalem. Jerusalem, the City of the Great King, is their objective point, the center of interest, where they linger and survey the sacred localities. An excursion eastward discloses to them the Land of Moab. Thence from Jerusalem through Samaria, passing Gerizim and Ebal, they career to Jezreel, Tabor, and Nazareth. Dr. Ridgaway narrates and describes in a pure, clear, scholarly, and attractive style. His volume is furnished with most excellent maps, and very graphic pictorials. We travel with him both by faith and by sight. Whoso wishes to survey by proxy the "sacred acres" he can never see with eye corporeal, will hereby perform the exploit with eyes mayhap better than his own. And the delight of his expedition will be grandly enhanced by the rare style with which Nelson & Phillips have done up the work. Seldom does any publishing house in America or Europe issue so beautiful a book.

Sermons. By E. M. MARVIN, D.D., LL.D., one of the Bishops of M. E. Church, South. Edited by T. O. Summers, D.D. Pp. 552. Nashville, Tenn. Publishing House of M. E. Church, South. 12mo. 1876.

Most of Bishop Marvin's sermons here published were delivered from the pulpit, yet are presented with such modifications as transfer from pulpit to press would suggest. A large share of them presuppose, what the ordinary congregation is not, an audience of thinkers. A line of elevated thought is maintained. The style is animated, and often bold, without being sensational or prevalently pictorial. The expositions are fresh and clear, and the applications of truth to actual life are pertinent and forcible. The doctrines are evangelical, as might be expected from the high position of the preacher. We wish it had been in the easy power of Dr. Redford to do better justice to the bishop's productions by a richer external style.

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Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

Mind and Body. The Theories of their Relation. By ALEXANDER BAIN, LL.D., Professor of Logic in the University of Aberdeen. 12mo., pp. 196. 1875.

Professor Bain may be considered as the almost official psychologist of the dominant materialistic atheistic school of thinkers in England and America. Their fundamental doctrine is by them often called *monism*, or unisubstanceism; that is, the denial of that *dualism* which implies the essential distinction between mind and matter, God and the creation. Believing in one substance solely, they nevertheless profess not to decide whether that substance should be called matter or spirit, and so dislike to be called materialist or atheists. Nevertheless, as the monistic substance they admit as solely existing is what we really know as matter, they seem really to be materialists. So far as the mind is concerned, it is, they hold, a series of *states of consciousness* through which organized matter passes, and the series must therefore terminate with the break-up of the organization. The soul is but a phase of bodily organism. Mr. Bain is explicit in declaring that soul has no separate existence; and the fact of the non-existence of such a separation recognizable by science is his ground for holding the monistic view. The closing statement of his volume is: "The arguments for the two substances have, we believe, now lost their validity; they are no longer compatible with ascertained science and clear thinking. The one substance with two sets of properties, two sides, the physical and the mental—a double-faced unity—would appear to comply with all the exigencies of the case."

This magisterial dictum, however, is preceded by nothing in the volume, so far as our hunt through its pages has discovered, which sustains it. The book is a very weak performance. Modern science, which it so pretentiously quotes, has not at all advanced the real argument for materialism. The main change attained by science is such an anatomization as to show the stupendous number of fibers and cells contained in the nervous system and brain. There are enough to furnish a route and a locality for every mental movement and idea of our lives. This furnishes ground for clearly viewing the physical system as a most complete and complex *mechanism* or instrument for the soul. But this view Prof. Bain rejects, inasmuch as "it assumes that we are entitled to speak of mind apart from body. Of mind apart from body we have no direct *experience*." But this statement is nothing more than the old stronghold of materialism. There is nothing new

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about it. Every form of the argument for that doctrine that has ever existed is reducible to this one: we have *no experience of mind separate from organization.* Personally we should deny the truth of that statement. Personally we believe the spirit of man, surviving the death of the body, has often made itself visible to living men. Rejecting all those so-called spiritualistic phenomena produced by human manipulation or other means, we say that there are too many well-authenticated narratives, furnished by unimpeachable authority, of the actual existence and disclosure of spirit separate from the body to allow of reasonable denial. With Henry More and Wesley, we meet materialism with this argument just at this point and deny its proof from *experience.*

Our materialistic, or, as they prefer to be called, "monistic," brethren are very anxious to prove that all *mind-power* is identical with *matter-force.* Their maxim is, as propounded by Buchner and adopted by Bain, "there is no force without matter and no matter without force," which is a very *forcible*, though, as we view it, false antithesis. But the non-identity and absolute contrariety between mind-power and matter-force, or, as we will call it, psychological power and physical force, we attempt to demonstrate in the following manner:—

General Grant is in command of one hundred thousand men. This one hundred thousand men, with an individual weight, each man, of one hundred and fifty pounds, possesses a weight of fifteen million pounds avoirdupois. And as their weight is equal to a solid block of granite of that same specific gravity, we will, by way of clearness, call them a block of solid granite. Now the problem is how to move this solid block of granite weighing fifteen million pounds by an antecedent which is not a physical force. It is a case of Grant *versus* granite, and the process is as follows:—

General Grant is sitting in his big tent with a map before him, looking very demure. He slowly comes in his cogitations to a mental *conclusion;* he forms next a distinct mental *conception* that the block must move, and he ends with a *volition* that it shall move; which presuppose three *psychological* processes. He then orders his aid-de-camp to deliver his commands to his generals. In a few hours the granite block of fifteen millions avoirdupois is moved to a position five miles distant. Now by what commensurate physical force was the block moved? The only antecedent was General Grant's volition (passing through the intelligence and wills of a few of his officers) to effectuate the movement. Leaving out the intermediates, General Grant's mere voli-

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tion moved a block of granite weighing millions. Here, then, was a stupendous *psychological* causation producing an immense material movement. Had the block been moved by a physical machine, what a vast apparatus would have been necessary! *Solid matter, then, to an extent without assignable limit, may be necessitated to obey a purely psychological causation.* There is a mind-force which is not a matter-force and yet controls matter.

In General Grant's brain there was, indeed, a slight molecular movement, implying an infinitesimal amount of physical force. In his act of speaking, also, there was exerted by the volition a small amount of corporeal force. Upon the tympany of the ear of his aid there was a slight physical impulse produced by the articulate sound which was the vehicle of the *idea.* None of these minute forces, however, are, as physical forces, of any account in the moving the block. These slight forces passing from tongue to tympanum are merely the *carriers* of the non-material *idea.* And that non-material IDEA it is, followed by the series of equally non-material volitions, conducted by these carrriers, which moves this block of fifteen millions.

Physical force, we are told, may be *stored*, as in fact it is, in the coal mine. But no force of fifteen million pounds was stored in the white matter of General Grant's brain. In his brain there is only that modicum of force sufficient for the molecular action co-ordinate with the thought-action. The precise antecedent, therefore, of the movement of this fifteen million avoirdupois is a psychological causality, namely, a mental volition. The stupendous physical movement was the precise result of a purely psychological causality, in total absence of any physical force. It is a psychological power producing an enormous physical effect. Does not this plain fact demonstrate forever the absolute difference between *mind-power* and *physical force*, and the ordinary subordination of the latter to the former?

Let us now look into the mind of each individual soldier as he starts in this movement. First, his tympanum is affected by an articulate vocality which is the vehicle of a thought mentally received. That *thought* is then formed by him into a distinct mental *conception* of what he is to do, and that *conception* is succeeded by a mental *volition.* Thus far the causation process is purely mental, with only enough of the physical conditions to furnish vehicles for the successions of mental causation. But now comes a physical phenomenon. A mass of matter weighing one hundred and fifty pounds, namely, one human body, is moved in

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immediate consequence of that volition, in strict obedience to it, and in absolute and pure causation by it. And thus a train of purely psychological causations, passing from General Grant's mind, through the minds of the officers, to the minds of the soldiers, produces a physical phenomena as great as a small earth quake. From this we deduce these corollaries:—

1. That mind-power is in essence entirely another thing from physical force; and so mind is probably an entirely different essence from matter.

2. That matter receives from mind-power a compulsion to obedient motion, and is by it moved and shaped. A material substance is controlled by a spiritual agent.

3. This fully agrees with the maxim in Zoology, that it is life or mind which constitutes and shapes organization, and not organization life or mind.

4. The conception of this primordial origination and supremacy of mind-power over physical force and substance has no definite limits. The universal amount of physical organization is doubtless produced by an anterior amount of mind-power. The whole world-system is mind-created.

5. When we say Ego, and our mind falls inward and back upon our *self*, we are right in identifying that *Ego* as something back of and superior to the bodily frame, to the brain, or to the nerves. There is the spirit distinct from the body; organizing and using the body as its machine.

6. The spirit ruling the body, yet conditioned by it, rightly feels its own analogy with the supreme Spirit which rules the body of the Cosmos.

7. It is out of reason to suppose that between us and the supreme Spirit there are no intermediate intelligences. Science may know nothing of them, yet truth and reason may. How improbable that our five little senses can take in all there is! Were we endowed with a new sense as comprehensive as our sight, what a world of new existences would it uncover, not contradicting any now known truth, but opening a vast addition in conformity with it. Hence common sense rejects the narrowness of materialism.

The Development of Creation on the Earth. By THOMAS LUMISDEN STRANGE, late Judge of the High Court of Madras. 8vo., pp. 109. London: Fulner & Co. 1874.

Mr. Strange writes from the stand-point of ethical or pious deism, of which he appears to be a somewhat voluminous cham-

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pion. He has written a work entitled "The Bible; Is it the Word of God?" also, "The Speaker's Commentary Reviewed;" and "The Legends of the Old Testament," noticed below. In the present work, assuming the existence of God, the immortality of the human soul, the validity of prayer, and the eternity of matter, he furnishes an outline of the process through which the system of things has evolved from primordial crudeness to its present state of comparative order. Assuming the theoretical nebular stage, as well as the existence of a central fire, he, of course, accepts an "earth's crust." He finds this crust first covered with water; and marine life, vegetable and animal, first coming into existence. Rejecting Darwinism with decisive hostility, he claims that the key to living forms of existence is "spontaneous generation." Thus far Judge Strange appears, in spite of himself, to agree with Moses; for, so far as we hold the first chapter of Genesis to be a literal history of the stages of creation, "spontaneous generation," *based upon the divine purpose and power*, seems to be the Mosaic statement in express words. The words of God (Gen. i, 9, 20) are, "Let the earth bring forth grass," "Let the waters bring forth abundantly." This language seems most naturally interpreted to mean that living beings sprang by divine power from water and from land. All that was visible in these processes was "spontaneous generation;" and the divine fiat underlying the process Judge Strange would not deny. He quotes the atheist Büchner as saying, "Spontaneous generation played, no doubt, a more important part in the primeval epoch than at present; nor can it be denied that in this way beings of a higher organization were produced than now." Why not, indeed? If a mite can be produced by spontaneous generation, why not a mammoth or a man? To suppose the difference of magnitudes in such a matter should make any difference in the possibilities is absurd. The difference of magnitudes is great only as measured by the grasp of our eye-sight; and the productive power of nature certainly cannot be regulated by a due proportion to our optics. A mammoth is no bigger than a mite to the Absolute. We have, indeed, little "doubt," that phenomenally, at any rate, Moses, and the atheist Büchner, and the deist Strange, are all three harmonious and correct. We believe, with our present light, that *infusoriæ*, and fishes, and mammoths were produced in full size by a divinely determined "spontaneous generation." The geologic page we all know presents the mammoth, for instance, *at once full grown;* and Darwinism must hunt a good while for the many needed

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links connecting it, by the very long needed chain, with any predecessors of inferior magnitude and lower species.

From the doctrine of spontaneous generation Mr. Strange argues the falsehood of the statement of Moses, that God rested from creation on the seventh day. New beings, he claims, are being perpetually brought into minute existence. His argument, however, rests on the assumption that spontaneous generation takes place, as a purely natural process, subsequent to the close of the creative week, and even at the present day. That assumption we do not admit, and science denies.

Mr. Strange believes indeed in the immense antiquity of man, quoting the stock proofs of that hypothesis with faithfulness; nor do we know that such hypothesis would at all contradict Genesis. If man were created as he essentially maintains, instead of being developed from a lower animal form, there may have been different centers of creation, and Genesis may be the narrative of a special center. And this would establish a plurality of origins, but a oneness of human nature and general destiny. Such a conclusion might affect our exegesis of a few texts, but would destroy no article of our theology. But the evidences for the pre-Adamic man seem growing small by degrees and beautifully less.

We quote the following sharp thrust at Darwinism:—

> Dr. Strauss is one among the many in the ranks of the learned who have accepted Mr. Darwin's theory. He thus endeavors to illustrate the development of form through the operation of the instincts and habits of the animal itself. "Let us suppose," he says, "a herd of cattle of primeval time to be still destitute of horns, only possessed of powerful necks and protruding foreheads. The herd is attacked by beasts of prey; it defends itself by running against them, and butting with the head. This butting will be the more vigorous, the bull the fitter to resist the beasts of prey, the harder the forehead with which he butts. Should this hardening in any individual have developed to an incipient horny accretion, then such an individual would have the chance of preserving his existence. If the less well-equipped bulls of such a herd were torn to pieces, then the individual thus equipped would propagate the species," (*The Old Faith and the New*, 217, 218.) It will be observed how determined the process of begging resorted to in view to establish the required results. But are they established? We may have the thickening of the frontal bone, and the production on it of excrescences. But why are these latter, in their ultimate development, ever confined to a pair correspondently arranged, tapering to points as if constructed under an artist's eye? We might look not for two, but twenty such developments, forming a regular *cheval de frise*. Why do we never even see the fabled unicorn? How is it that elephants, the most violent butters in the world, have their horns (so to call them) growing out of their mouths, and not from their foreheads? Can the beautiful convoluted ornaments on the head of the antelope, or the complicated branching antlers of the stag or reindeer, many pointed, with each point on the one horn matched by a similar one on the other, be possibly due to the art of butting? The butting would splinter off the branches, but assuredly not favor their symmetrical growth.—Pp. 34, 35.

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Man and Apes: an Exposition of Structural Resemblances and Differences bearing upon Questions of Affinity and Origin. By St. George Mivart, F.R.S., Lecturer on Zoology and Comparative Anatomy at St. Mary's Hospital. Small 12mo., pp. 200. 1874.

If we are really and truly descended from the apes this is an important book; for every man must be interested in making the acquaintance of his ancestors. All true Darwinians, therefore, should rejoice in the fact that its pages abound in pictorial exhibitions of their ancestry; for inasmuch as the proof that they are the legitimate progeny depends on likeness, they must be profoundly interested in tracing their own lineaments in these miniatures. So profuse, indeed, are the pictorials, that the book might well be entitled The Darwinian's Mirror. From the profound enthusiasm which many Darwinians exhibit in favor of their ape descent, and the fervor and rapture they display in propagating their theory, we are almost converted to the concession that *they* specially are tail-less monkeys, not only in descent, but in heart and soul. When *we* come really to believe in the original plurality of races, we shall easily assign these exultant devotees of brutalism to the ancestry they so fondly covet. Otherwise it seems to us that, even if proof compelled them to the belief of Darwinism, they would confess it with a slow and sad reluctance. Nothing but a downward proclivity can, as it seems to us, inspire this devout joy in proving a brutal pedigree.

Mr. Mivart's purpose, however, seems to be the reverse. His purpose is to show that there are great difficulties in deducing man from monkeys. No one species of monkey specially so approximates to man as to make any easy transition. The points of resemblance are scattered through a variety of species, and some of the most striking analogies are found in apes of low and remote grade. The gorilla in particular is more a brute than some of the smallest apes.

We may remark that Mr. Huxley thinks he has established a great deal when he can say that the anatomical distance between the lowest monkey and the highest monkey is as great as the distance between the highest monkey and man. But does that mean any thing? It only proves that there may be a long trail of descending ape species; and if the chasm between man and monkey is as broad as that long monkey trail is long, it may be a very enormous chasm. One or two invariable traits running through an immense series of animal grades may tie them into a species or genus. And if man is distant from monkey through the whole length of that series, then the missing links

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between man and monkey may be immense in number. And so they are. Geology must hunt a good while to find them.

And now we will tell these, our inquiring apes, what is the proof we require. Mr. Darwin went to the "pigeon fanciers," and succeeded in developing breeds of pigeons so widely diverse from each other that had they been seen by a stranger to the process the different varieties would have been taken for different species. And this piece of fancy play is palmed upon us, as some proof of the development doctrine. But, 1. The pigeon is known to be a creature of flexible variability; as the goose, for instance, is not. 2. The pigeons developed by Mr. Darwin would all revert back to the original form if left to themselves. 3. The different varieties were prolific among themselves. But we will now propound a crucial test of the ape descent of man. Let Mr. Darwin or Professor Huxley take a menagerie of apes, and by scientific process work up a man, a Frankenstein, or a manufactured Huxley. Let the whole cohort of Darwinists supply themselves each with a whole cohort of monkeys, and develop them into true, live Darwinists and Huxleyans, and they may succeed so largely as in due time to become a majority by manufacture. We will then give it up; not only because we are out-voted, but because we are convinced.

This is a simple test, and so easy in itself that it ought not to be declined. If it be true, as Mr. Huxley tells us, that man is as near to monkey as monkey is to monkey, then man ought to be deducible from monkey. We hear it boasted that some most accomplished breeders can furnish you in sufficient time almost any model of animal you please to delineate. Very well, we present a challenge. We chalk out a perfect outline of Prof. Huxley's figure, and say: "Friend Seebright, we want more Huxleys. Here is your model; take a *quantum sufficit* of apes, and turn us out a first-class lot of *savants* to order." Be it done, and we surrender.

Annual Record of Science and Industry for 1875. Edited by SPENCER F. BAIRD, with the assistance of Eminent Men of Science. 12mo., pp. 628. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876.

Dr. Baird's valuable annual brings us, promptly and faithfully, his summary of the results of the advances made by our scientific brethren in the various parts of the world. We cannot too much admire the divine curiosity and earnest enthusiasm with which they prosecute their journey toward omniscience; which assuredly is a long as well as "a hard road to travel." The triumphs of science go far to excuse the arrogance in which some of its leading

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masters indulge. Pure love of truth and glowing ambition for its discovery are royal attributes of the *savant;* leaving it profoundly unnecessary for him to create a sensation by any utterances that menace the foundations of morality or religion.

The present volume begins with a copious analytical index of sixteen pages, rendering reference to any item easy. Then follows a general summary by the Editor of near two hundred pages of scientific progress. The remainder of the volume is devoted to brief paragraphs reporting the various items of research.

Under the head of Prehistoric Researches we find that some highly imaginative *savants* have been drawing up magnificent "prehistoric charts" of France, Germany, etc. The following will do for a specimen:—

At the Geographical Exposition, Paris, a prehistoric chart of France was exhibited by M. Mortillet. The same author has completed a scheme of French early history.
The *Palæolithic Age* he divides into four epochs:—
St. Acheul. (Almond-shaped flaked ax.) The oldest.
Moustier. (Flint arrow-heads and scrapers, bilateral flake.)
Solutré. (Bay-leaf shaped arrow-head, bilateral chipping.)
Madelaine. (Barbed bone arrow-heads and flint knives.)
The *Neolithic Age* has one epoch:—
Robenhausen. (Polished stone axes, flint arrow-heads, serrate chipping.)
The *Bronze Age* has two epochs:—
Morgien. (First appearance of bronze.)
Larnaudien. (Objects hammered out, greater variety and finish.)
The *Iron Age*, *Protohistoric Era*, has two periods—the *Tumulus* and the *Gallic.*
The *Tumulus Period* has one epoch:—
Hallstattien. (First appearance of iron.)
The *Gallic Period* is called
Marnien: epoch of the Marne, Helvetian epoch, third Lacustrian epoch. (Appearance of money.)
The *Iron Age. Historic Era*, has two periods—the *Roman* and the *Merovingian.*
The *Roman Period* has two epochs:—
Lugdunien. (Roman money and industry prevailing.)
Champdolien. (Decadence of art and industry.)
The *Merovingian Period.*—Pp. clviii, clix.

Great difficulty is experienced in tracing the pedigree of man back to his original animalcule. The difficulty is to bridge it across from the vetrebrate to the lower orders. Darwin finds the bridge to be the *lancelet* or *Amphioxus*, which has a notochord or long ligature, serving as a sort of backbone. Agassiz objected that the notochord ran along the belly, and so was no backbone at all. The following presents the present "situation" of the discussion:—

In a work on the origin of the vertebrates, Dr. Dohrn indulges in some speculations as to the ancestry of these animals. His embryological investigations lead him to seek for the probable ancestors of the vertebrates among the Arthropods (crustacea and insects) rather than the Tunicates or Ascidians, and to revert to the views of the elder St. Hilaire, who described insects as vertebrates which

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walk with their backs downward, rather than to those of Kowalevsky and others, who trace the line through the Ascidians and the lancelet. So far from being the representative of the original vertebrates, the *Amphioxus* is regarded by Dr. Dohrn as a degenerate descendant of the cyclostomous fishes, and the so-called larvæ of the Ascidians are the result of a still longer-continued process of degradation.

On account of these and other speculations, renewed attention is being paid to a study of the embryology and anatomy of *Amphioxus*, the lancelet. Mr. Balfour considers that it is not necessary to conclude that *Amphioxus* itself was the ancestor of the vertebrates, but merely that the earliest stages of development of this supposed vertebrate ancestor were similar to those of *Amphioxus*. The egg of *Amphioxus* differs from that of other vertebrate animals in having less food-material or yolk, and Balfour thinks that this accounts for the differences in the early stages of the embryo. Still he thinks that all the modes of development found in the higher vertebrates are to be looked upon as modifications of that of *Amphioxus*. One common feature which appears prominently in reviewing the embryology of vertebrates as a whole is the derivation of the middle germ-layer (mesoblast) from the third or inner layer, (hypoblast,) though it should be stated that so high an authority as Kölliker thinks that the middle layer is derived from the outer one. Among the invertebrates, however, the middle germ-layer is derived from the inner germ-layer.

Professor Huxley publishes meanwhile a note upon the "brain and skull" of *Amphioxus*. By reason of the supposed absence of renal organs, and of any proper skull and brain, Agassiz was led to separate the lancelet from all other fishes; and Haeckel, going farther, made a distinct division of the Vertebrata (*Arcania*) for its reception; while Semper, in a lately published paper, separates it entirely from the vertebrates. Huxley now describes what he believes to be the representative of the ducts of the Wolffian bodies, or "primordial kidneys" of the higher vertebrates, in *Amphioxus*, and he also endeavors to point out that, although *Amphioxus* has no completely differentiated brain or skull, "yet it possesses very well-marked and relatively large divisions of the cerebro-spinal nervous axis and of the spinal column, which answer to the encephalon (brain) and the cranium of the higher Vertebrata." Professor Ray Lankester also contributes an important paper on the anatomy and embryology of *Amphioxus* as compared with the higher fishes.—Pp. cxcviii–cc.

Professor Cope gives the following sketch of the geological origins of certain mammals:—

The elephant is a Pliocene form, and the true rhinoceros Upper Miocene. In the northern hemisphere the dogs are Miocene. In North America the opossum, and probably the raccoon, are Eocene; the wolves and foxes appeared in the Miocene age, and the weasels in the Pliocene. Perhaps the cats first appeared in the American Pliocene. Comparatively few mammalian types mark, by their origin, the latest geologic epochs. Such are the ruminants, as deer and oxen, with the true horses, which all commence in the Upper Pliocene of the northern hemisphere. Finally, man alone signalizes the last or glacial period, and is to reach his culmination in the ages that intervene between that great time-boundary and one to come. Thus a certain proportion only of the life of a given epoch is characteristic of it—that is, originates in it; the remaining members being legacies from preceding ages. Hence the latest forms of life embraced in an extinct fauna are the true indicators of the chronological relations of that fauna.—Pp. ccviii.

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Missionary Life among the Villages in India. By Rev. T. J. Scott, D.D., Twelve Years Missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church in India. 12mo., pp. 343. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1876.

Minds interested in the subject of missions often feel a wish to realize the nature of actual missionary life. We wish to *see*, as with our own eyes, what are the daily and weekly details which the preacher of Christianity passes through in his routine of work. It is just this wish that Dr. Scott endeavors to fulfill in these pages. There are few expansive pictures or comprehensive general views. It was from his pen some years since that we published in our Quarterly the first description perhaps ever furnished in America of the Brahmo Somaj, the new sect of Hindus, who, having fully discovered the futility of their traditional religion, are trying to found a religion upon intuitional theism and natural ethics. But his present purpose is to narrate the daily and nightly adventures, moral and physical, through which the missionary passes, so that we may know how it seems to be a Methodist preacher in Hindostan.

The variety of characters and events encountered furnishes a study. Now he meets a candidate for conversion who will become a Christian for a few village lots, or one who will turn Christian when certain others do. Now turns up a vociferator, who, by mere continuity of brawl, will occupy the time and prevent the missionary being heard. Now comes a smart logician, who will prove that as God has made hell, folks ought to be wicked and go to hell, lest the object of the creation of hell be defeated. Then a learned Mohammedan, well read up in the books, ready to prove to the missionary that Christians have corrupted the New Testament by expunging all those texts that predicted the coming of the Arabian prophet. Then comes a Buddhist, who, with dreamy eye and hollow voice, maintains that all things are *maya*, illusion; there is no reality; the object of life is to dissipate the fatal phantasmagoria and attain *nirvana*. A Panthiest then, an Asiatic Ralph Waldo Emerson, mounts the stage, to whom all things are God, including especially himself. And every-where, through all this East, reigns the doctrine of fate, *kismat*, paralyzing every moral energy and every practical enterprise, reducing the masses to inertness and stolidity. For all these, Christianity, with its practical morals, its strong exhibit of individual responsibility, its emphasis upon the Divine Personality, its doctrine of sin and salvation through a divine

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Redeemer, its alternatives of eternal bliss or woe, seems to be the true remedy. In offering with unceasing steadiness this remedy from place to place, Dr. Scott's adventures strikingly resemble those of Jesus and Paul. He meets now with noisy opposition, now with soulless indifference, now with captious gainsaying and insult; but anon with calm attention, or listening interest, or solemn inquiry. There are those who would be Christians for a temporal advantage; those who would be so but for the great opposition they would suffer; and those who will be so when the rest of the people are. And, finally, there are the elect few, who realize their sin, and seek for Christ as their great deliverer. These are the seed of the Church and the hope for lost India.

Dr. Scott's narrations and occasional reflections enable us to see very clearly that the conversion of the three hundred millions of India to at least a nominal Christianity is but a question of labor and time. Among the causes of such a result are the following: *First.* The English Government is a just and benevolent despotism, bringing anarchy to order, with a constant spontaneous moral pressure favorable to Christianity as the supreme power. *Second.* The establishment of schools and universities will destroy the Hindu system of religion, and leave the minds and hearts of the people vacant, an "aching void" which no people can long endure. *Third.* The presses of the Bible and Missionary Societies are scattering, through colporteurs, Bibles, religious books, and light tracts, with a plentiful hand, and with a diffusive and powerful effect. By these the missionary finds himself every-where auspiciously anticipated; and the people are being gradually impregnated with Christian impressions. Mr. Scott suggestively says: "It is probable that a conviction of the truth and infinite superiority of Christianity will gradually permeate the mass long before the people in large numbers turn openly to Christ. Then the movement will begin—family will follow family, village will follow village, in a rapid spread of true and nominal Christianity. Now we must work away, scattering broadcast the seed, till for India also glorious 'times of refreshing come from the presence of the Lord.'"—P. 232. But, *Fourth.* The living missionary, the ardent, tireless evangelist, the flaming Methodist itinerant, is absolutely necessary to exhibit the example of spiritual life, to prevent the Christianity from being merely nominal, to rouse the people to a true Christian zeal, and to fight with the sword of the Spirit the earnest battle of genuine conversion and true holy living. In this work nothing is so important as the rapid raising up of a noble

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body of native evangelists of the right sort; men of deep Christian experience and rich baptism of the blessed Spirit. How earnestly and constantly should the prayers of our home Church ascend to God for the bountiful outpouring of the gift of holiness and power on the native members of our young conferences in Hindostan! And never may we forget our own beloved missionaries, whose hearts would faint amid their weary work but for the consciousness that in their own America the sympathies and prayers of multiplied thousands are ever alive in their behalf.

Dr. Scott's volume is a valuable addition to our missionary library.

Queen Mary: A Drama. By ALFRED TENNYSON. Author's edition, from advance sheets. 16mo., pp. 263. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co., (late Ticknor & Fields, and Fields, Osgood & Co.) 1875.

"Queen Mary," a tragedy by Tennyson—how different from Tennyson! Where is that tender streak of his earliest poems, that most delicate and delicious hide-and-seek of love and fancy? Where the deep, but not profound, debates of "Locksley Hall," "The Two Voices," and "In Memoriam?" Where the tripping narrative of "Enoch Arden?" Hardly a vestige of it here. As Longfellow's "New England Tragedies," so Tennyson's; each has the sweet and musical author left out. There is stir here. Ever at arms. There is conflict of politicians and priests. Every thing but life and Tennyson. Once or twice a Tennysonian expression gets in, but it seems as out of place as the "wee, timid, cowering beastie" of a mouse under Burns' scythe. Green's story of Mary, in his "History of the English People," is more dramatic than Tennyson's. The drama is valuable as a political pamphlet, but it will never make or unmake a Romanist or a Protestant. Shakspeare's dramas are a necessity of Shakspeare, as Scott's historic and local poems and novels were of Scott. Had Shakspeare essayed the epic he had failed. A grand outburst against Romanism, or a subtle, dreamy, story-telling poem, showing its absurdity and crime, would have dropped into the heart of all England and America. It is as true of poets as of shoemakers, that they must stick to their last.

Here are lines that Tennyson might have written when at his best:—

> "God change the pebble which his kingly foot
> Impresses into some more costly stone
> Than ever blinded eye."

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Cleopatra's barge is copied here:—

"We had your royal barge, and that same chair,
Or rather throne, of purple on the deck.
One silver cross sparkled before the prow,
The ripples trembled at their diamond-dance.
The boats that followed were as glowing gay
As regal gardens: and your flocks of swans
As fair and white as angels, and your shores
Were in mine eyes the green of Paradise."

Not much of Shakspeare or Tennyson here. Far better this:—

"How many names in the long sweep of time
That so foreshortens greatness, may but hang
On the chance mention of some fool that once
Brake bread with us, perhaps: and my poor chronicle
Is but of glass."

Best yet this:—

"I have seen
A pine in Italy that cast its shadow
Athwart a cataract: firm stood the pine—
The cataract shook the shadow."

The poem is full of force, if not of fancy, and will do good service in the great battle between mailed superstition and Christian truth. As such, its spirited characterization may be more valuable than mere imaginative musings. H.

The Masque of Pandora, and other Poems. By HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW. 16mo., pp. 146. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co., (late Ticknor & Fields, and Fields, Osgood, & Co.) 1876.

Longfellow's last is one of his best, the "Masque of Pandora." Especially are the minor poems attached to this leading drama of the highest finish of this poet's art. Belisarius, and the three sonnets to Felton, Agassiz, and Sumner, are admirable. The eye does not yet lose its brightness, nor the brain its music. Why will he not turn his gifts to turning Homer into English hexameter? He is its only master. He can give us the immortal English from the immortal Greek. His Masque shows his leanings. Let it also lead to higher things. His own line necessitates work; let it be in these high directions:—

"Much must he toil who serves the immortal gods."

H.

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Periodicals.

The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease. Edited by J. S. JEWELL, M.D., Professor of Nervous and Mental Diseases in Chicago Medical College, and H. M. BANNISTER, M.D. Associate Editors, W. A. HAMMOND, M.D., New York; S. WEIR MITCHELL, Philadelphia; E. H. CLARKE, M.D., Boston. July, 1876. Whole Series, vol. iii. 8vo., pp. 538. New York: G. P. Putnam & Sons.

This periodical, put forth by our able and energetic contributor, Dr. J. S. Jewell, is an honor to the University whence it comes; but however attractive the mysterious territory between mind and matter which forms its subject, the periodical is too entirely professional to interest generally the non-professional reader.

In the present number, however, a special interest is awakened by a lively skirmish between the chief editor and Dr. Hammond, the New York assistant editor. Dr. Hammond, who has lately published a work on nervous diseases, is a most pronounced materialist, and, like a certain class of physicists, assumes, by virtue of his scientific acquirements, to be master of theology and psychology, and all other branches of human cognition. Though denying the Omniscient, they virtually profess omniscience. Dr. Hammond in his book, maintains that mind is force generated by the brain. We suppose it would follow that as there is no infinite material brain, so there is no infinite mind. And doubtless Dr. Hammond would admit that with the dissolution of the brain there is a consequent dissolution of the mind. Dr. Jewell does not press him with these consequences, but subjects the crude statement that mind is force to a severe analysis, which is all that was necessary.

One of the flashes of Dr. Hammond's omniscience appears in a book-notice by him of Brinton's "Religious Sentiments" in terms following: "That prayer is [has?] ever a direct response of [from?] the Deity, either negatively or affirmatively, Dr. Brinton does not believe—and we presume not many enlightened theologians will venture to disagree with him. The benefits of prayer are entirely subjective." Indeed! Then He who said, "Ask, and ye shall receive; seek, and ye shall find," was not an enlightened theologian. We will then quote an author for whom Dr. Hammond may entertain a higher respect, David Hume, who on this subject very truly said, "We can make use of no expression, or even thought, in prayers and entreaties which does not imply that those prayers have an influence." So that even Dr. Hammond may, perhaps, see that his doctrine reduces all prayer to a farce and a folly, which, indeed, he probably thinks it is. But, then, as to "theologians," he must

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understand that all Protestant theology holds that forgiveness of sin, justification, sanctification, and eternal life, are gifts bestowed in direct "response" to prayer. What an omniscient in theology he must be who does not know this!

Foreign Theological Publications.

Die Christliche Lehre von der Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung. (The Christian Doctrine of Justification and Atonement.) Von ALBRECHT RITSCHL. Bonn: A. Marcus.

Professor Ritschl, of Gottingen, one of the first thinkers of Germany, has given us here the fruit of a life-time of study. It is regarded as the weightiest issue from the German press for some time past. The work embraces three stout volumes. The first and second are historical and critical; the third presents the author's own views. Notwithstanding the twofold title, the work is chiefly a treatise on the doctrine of the atonement. The historical volumes will have the most worth for general readers, for they present a critical statement of the series of views on the atonement which have prevailed in the Orthodox Church, such as can nowhere else be found with such exhaustive and satisfactory thoroughness. The chapters of the first volume, after an Introduction, run thus: The Atonement, as held by Anselm and Abelard, by Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus, by the later Middle Ages, by the Reformers; the Reformatory view as against that of the Romanists and of Osiander; the Orthodox Lutherans and Calvinists in conflict with the Socinians; the dissolution of the Anselmic view by modern thought; the Atonement among the Kantians; revival of the Abelardic tendency by Schliermacher and his disciples; the Pietistic and neo-Lutheran view; the recent speculative views. This will show the wide and rich field over which the author takes his readers.

As to what the author's personal position is, we shall here only state that it is not rationalistic in our American sense of that word. On the contrary, it aims to be thoroughly loyal to the Bible. But the author claims the right to derive his views directly from Scripture rather than through the tortuous channel of dogmatic tradition. One of the results is that Dr. Ritschl is inclined to moderate St. Paul's too commercial and rabbinical view of justification by the views of Peter and James. These two apostles, being eye-and-ear

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witnesses, were better prepared to give an uncolored reflection of Christ's views than Paul, who was not. As far as critics have yet discussed the book, they abound in praise of its erudition and scientific value. Some shrug ominously their shoulders, but they hesitate as yet directly to attack it. It is a ponderous shot from so heavy a gun that they feel safer in waiting until the first reverberations have died away.

Martin Luther: Sein Leben und Seine Schriften. (Luther's Life and Writings,) Von Dr. JULIUS KOSTLIN, Professor in Halle. Elberfeld: R. L. Friedrichs.

Three hundred and twenty-eight years is a long time to wait for one's biography. But Luther has done it. True, he has had scores of so-called biographies, small and great, but none of them were standard; none gave general satisfaction. They were either dull chronicles of facts, or gross laudations, or violent assaults. The proper depiction of the great man as a man, as a Christian, as a reformer, and as a Church father, had not taken place, and could not well take place before our own day. Luther's own Church could not well have given him a satisfactory biography. That Church, like too many others, has been divided within itself, and each section has never claimed to be more truly Lutheran than any other. Hence it needed precisely the present day of mitigated dogmatism, of unionistic aspirations, of earnest Christian liberalism, to give to Luther the worthy biographer. Dr. Köstlin is this. His great work of eight books, in two stout volumes, is a masterpiece of research and of elegant composition. It will, doubtless, furnish also the basis for fresh Lives of the reformer in other languages.

Die Spekulative Theologie, (Speculative Theology.) Von IMMANUEL HERMANN FICHTE. Leipzig: Brockhaus.

This work of (the younger) Fichte, though published several years ago, is yet of such sterling worth as to be worthy of fresh notice. Fichte's aim is, in opposition to Hegel's abstract idealism, to establish upon a firm basis a true system of ideal-realism. He rejects all *à priori* knowledge, and admits only such conceptions as spring from clear intuitions. Starting out from the world of reality with its monadic personalities, (man, etc.,) he reasons his way back to the first monad, the absolute person, (God.) Taking the world as a *fact*, he argues, as absolutely necessary to any explanation of its actual structure and peculiarities, to one primitive, *designing*

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Will. His speculative theology is, therefore, a carried-out argument as to the existence and character of God, whereof the concrete world, with its orderly complexity, furnishes the premises. He lays particular stress upon the teleological argument, giving to it a new significance. The world is not merely a totality of relations; it is also an ascending series of purposes or ends. Each single thing is both an end for itself, and a means for another—the result of a lower series, and the basis of a higher. And here appears the curious fact that the realized end, though a product of its antecedents, is yet that on account of which the antecedents alone existed. Thus, that which does not yet exist is efficient by anticipation: the end is both the cause and the consequent; and the means is also both consequent and cause. The ends are anticipatorily active in their means; hence the means do not themselves effect the end. But anticipatory action of the ends in the means is not real, for the ends are not yet real. Hence a third factor is implied, to direct the means toward its end, to point the end before it exists. This third factor is the absolute, or God—the one who fixes the end, and evolves it out of its means. This idea of an intelligent and volitional Absolute, working in the means to an end, is the sole possible explanation of the vast *quantum* of uncon scious teleological action which is every-where manifest in the world. Having attained to this idea of God, as the thinking and volitionating Absolute, Fichte proceeds to evolve from it its inner riches, as constituting the *absolute personality.* God has in his being an ideal and a real phase—*spirit* and *nature.* Fichte lays great stress upon the nature-phase of God, and shows that, with the common, abstract, natureless God of deism and of too many theologians, the conception of creation out of pure will is impossible. Even pantheism is better than such a deism, it being absolutely impossible to think the attributes of omnipotence and omnipresence, of world-preservation and world-government, without admitting a realistic immanence of God in the world. Here the conception of the trinity is explained as the absolute interpenetration, in God, of spirit and nature, of subject and object, of the knower and the known. In regard to creation, Fichte regards the ordinary notion of creation out of nothing as unbiblical, unnecessary, and absurd. Creation is conceivable only as a going forth, into duality, of the nature-phase of God's own being. God is himself, so to speak, the material of creation. Thus the universe is not outside of God, but in God. God is not the world, but the world is in God. The world is not a machine once finished and

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set in motion, and then left to run itself, but its inner vitality is the potentiality of the primitive, divine nature which constitutes its essence. Miracles are not transcendent incursions into nature by a metaphysical, transmundane God, but they are, properly understood, simply such divine action upon the world as is identical with ordinary divine providence. Fully comprehended, they no more interrupt the course of nature than does the divine action which causes the lily to blossom. This holds true even of those master-miracles, revelation, incarnation, inspiration, regeneration. There is no iota of the arbitrary, or unorderly, or extraordinary, either in God's nature or in the goings-forth of this nature in creation and history. We only need to have our eyes opened in order to see that in all things there is harmony, unity, consistency.

So runs the general course of Fichte's philosophical theology. Such systems, though not filling the place of biblical theology, have yet their great uses. They help dogmatic theology gradually to slough off the deformities with which a mistaking exegesis and a venturesome metaphysics have burdened it.

Der Kampf des Christenthums mit dem Heidenthum. (The Contest of Christianity with Heathenism: Pictures from the Past as Mirrors for the Present.) Von G. UHLHORN, Dr. Theol. Ober-Consistorialrath in Hanover. Stuttgart: Meyer und Ziller.

A very excellent, liberal, orthodox, historical review of the process whereby true religion took root in humanity, overturned Græco-Roman heathenism, and seated itself in the thrones of the civilized Occident. It is also a book with a "tendency," that is, with a calculated practical bearing; it aims to show how religion should treat the State, and what the State has to do with religion. To do this it shows the inner nature of Christianity, describes the *manner* of its revolutionary action on the old state of things, and explains its sudden paralysis so soon as seated in the imperial throne. It consists of three books and ten chapters, 376 pages in all.

Book First: The Two Powers in Conflict. Chap. I. The Religious Condition of the Heathen World. Chap. II. The Moral Condition of the Heathen World. Chap. III. The Christians.

Book Second: The Contest. Chap. I. The First Engagement. Chap. II. The Christians brought to Judgment. Chap. III. The Inner Change in both Parties. Chap. IV. The General Persecutions.

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Book Third: The Victory. Chap. I. The Definitive Struggle. Chap. II. The Triumph. Chap. III. The Last Reaction of Heathenism.

It is rare that we find pleasanter or more useful reading than these ten unitary, but yet organically connected essays. Aside from its rich review of historical and religious truth, the lesson of the book is this: the absolute dangerousness of the least intermingling of Church and State. Leave to Cesar the outer secular world of form and force; leave to the Church the inner world of theology and conscience.

Die Genesis, nach Knobel neu bearbeitet von Dr. August Dillmann, Professor in Berlin. (Knobel's Genesis thoroughly reconstructed by Prof. Dillmann.) Leipzig: Hirzel. 1875.

Dr. Dillmann's Commentary on Genesis, though based on the work of Knobel, is one of the most thorough, original, erudite, and critical works to be found in theological literature. In form it is rather distinctive and rationalistic, but in spirit it is respectful and reverent. It holds fast to the hypothesis that Genesis is a digest from three primitive, but widely-differing, documents. But, irrespective of its hypercritical hypothesis, the work furnishes in detail a store-house of critical, archæological, and topographical lore which the scholar will thankfully acknowledge.

Miscellaneous.

First Century of the Republic. A Review of American Progress. By Rev. T. D. Woolsey, D.D., LL.D., Rev. F. H. P. Barnard, LL.D., Hon. David A. Wells, Hon. Francis A. Walker, Prof. T. Sterry Hunt, Prof. William G. Sumner, Edward Atchinson, Prof. Theodore Gill, Edwin P. Whipple, Prof. W. H. Brewer, Eugene Lawrence, Rev. John F. Hurst, D.D., Benjamin Vaughn Abbott, Austin A. Hunt, M.D., S. S. Conant, Edward H. Knight, and Charles A. Brace. 8vo., pp. 506. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876.

Lectures on the Gospel. By J. H. Seiss, D.D. 8vo., pp. 1160. Lutheran Bookstore, Smith, English & Co. 1876.

Daniel Deronda. By George Eliot. Two Volumes, 12mo. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876.

Daniel Deronda. By Charles Elliott, author of "Adam Bede," etc. Complete in one volume. Paper cover. 8vo., pp. 274. New York: Harper & Bros.

The Two Destinies. A Novel. By Wilkie Collins. With Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 312. New York: Harper & Bros. 1876.

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Pastor's Comprehensive Directory. For the Pocket. Arranged by Rev. ALEXANDER M'LEAN, of the New York Conference. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1876.

This Directory may be recommended as a very ingenious "pocket" convenience for Pastors.

Jehovah-Jesus: The Oneness of God; The True Trinity. By ROBERT D. WEEKS. 12mo., pp. 140. New York: Dodd, Mead, & Co. 1876.

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